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ARS ORIENTALIS VOLUME 34 (2004)

COMMUNITIES AND COMMODITIES

Western India and the Indian Ocean, Eleventh–Fifteenth Centuries

This volume is the result of an interdisciplinary workshop by the same name, convened at the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology at The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (November 7–10, 2002).

Transliteration

The contributions herein have required the transliteration of certain words from Sanskrit, Gujarati, Persian, and Arabic into Roman characters. Well-known place names, such as Gujarat and Rajasthan, have been left without diacriticals, while more specialized terms have been transliterated from their original languages. The system employed for transliteration of Sanskrit and Gujarati terms is the generally accepted Sanskrit Pronunciation and Diacritic Guide, with slight modifications for Gujarati. The transliteration of Arabic and Persian words has followed the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* style as outlined in the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. The only modification to this style is the uniform rendering of the *tā marbūta* as -a for both Arabic and Persian.

CONTENTS

7	INTRODUCTORY ESSAY Communities and Commodities: Western India and the Indian Ocean, Eleventh– Fifteenth Centuries	ALKA PATEL, GUEST EDITOR American Institute of Indian Studies
19	TOPOGRAPHIES OF TASTE Indian Textiles and Mediterranean Contexts	GRANT PARKER Duke University
39	THE BEGINNINGS The Artisan and the Merchant in Early Gujarat, Sixth–Eleventh Centuries	HIMANSHU PRABHA RAY Jawaharlal Nehru University
62	ARTISANS, COMMUNITIES, AND COMMODITIES Medieval Exchanges between Northwestern India and East Africa	MARK HORTON University of Bristol
82	QUSEIR AL-QADĪM IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY A Community and Its Textiles	KATHERINE STRANGE BURKE AND DONALD WHITCOMB University of Chicago
99	CARVING AND COMMUNITIES Marble Carving for Muslim Patrons at Khambhāt and around the Indian Ocean Rim, Late Thirteenth–Mid-Fifteenth Centuries	ELIZABETH LAMBOURN University of London
134	INDIAN TEXTILES FOR ISLAND TASTE Gujarati Cloth in Eastern Indonesia	RUTH BARNES Oxford University
151	LUXURY GOODS AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY The Case of Printed and Woven Multicolored Textiles in Medieval India	PHYLLIS GRANOFF Yale University
172	PATTERNS IN TIME AND SPACE Technologies of Transfer and the Cultural Transmission of Mathematical Knowledge across the Indian Ocean	CAROL BIER Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

COMMUNITIES AND COMMODITIES

Western India and the Indian Ocean, Eleventh–Fifteenth Centuries

THIS VOLUME of *Ars Orientalis* is the result of an interdisciplinary workshop by the same name, convened at the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, November 7–10, 2002. As is the case with all fruitful intellectual endeavors, the sources of inspiration for the gathering, and consequently for this volume, were multiple. Initially, during my perusals of the Kelsey Museum's various collections for objects that could be useful in teaching (we know that nothing excites students as much as interaction with the actual "subjects" of their studies), I was struck by the museum's textile holdings. Specifically, the block-printed cotton fragments produced in western India and excavated in Egypt seemed to be perfect for teaching by virtue of their beauty and export history. Fortunately, the Indian fragments had already been exhibited and published by Ruth Barnes.¹ As a project related to teaching but feasible as a separate enterprise, a visualization of the production and circulation of these imported cloths *together* with textiles belonging to the indigenous Egyptian and Levantine traditions, particularly the silk, cotton, and linen *ḫirāz* fragments produced primarily for elite consumption,² would, I thought, greatly deepen our knowledge of non-modern patterns of trade, travel, and transmission of ideas.

The western Indian and *ḫirāz* fragments, when considered simultaneously, seemed to provide the perfect supports for detailed investigation of the historical realities of the eleventh through fifteenth centuries. Among the issues they urged us to examine were the differing consumer demands among the various socioeconomic strata of a society. Connected with this focus were the market specificity of import and export commodities and the awareness of these differing consumer demands on the part of merchants trading in these commodities, and perhaps even on the part of the supposedly less mobile communities of craftspeople who produced them.

These early centuries of the second millennium, however, did not seem to be as directly accessible as the late fifteenth through twentieth centuries. The latter era saw the ascendancy of naval and colonial powers over previously unexplored regions and unknown societies, which in turn gave rise to many archives such as those of the British, French, Portuguese, and Dutch Foreign Area offices. It is important to note that, for the earlier period treated here, it was the surviving objects themselves that suggested directions for in-depth investigation. This approach diverges fundamentally from that of many studies concentrating on later centuries, in which it is the already archived documentation of commercial travels and transactions that has led to a more intimate investigation of historical patterns. Bearing in mind the lack of surviving archival material dating to the eleventh through early fifteenth centuries,³ one method by which the objects' suggestions of historical realities could be investigated further involved collaboration

of scholars from various disciplines. Thus a group of historians, archaeologists, art historians, and textual specialists were invited to participate in the project. Happily, they accepted the invitation.

Eventually, the presentations by the workshop participants, and particularly the discussions they generated, made it apparent that a volume compiling a small number of the papers could contribute not only to the field of Indian Ocean studies but also to other disciplines. Certainly, the field of Indian Ocean history was well established by the groundbreaking work of George F. Hourani and S. D. Goitein,⁴ to name only two prominent figures whose publications have been especially useful for the conception and execution of this project. More recent contributions to the field by scholars such as K. N. Chaudhuri, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Janet Abu-Lughod, H. P. Ray, and Mark Horton,⁵ among others, have been equally valuable in both deepening and broadening our knowledge of the history of people, things, and ideas moving throughout the Indian Ocean and its borderlands. These more recent works have, moreover, also contributed to the very scholarly methodologies by which we identify and approach historical processes.

Without these important studies, the present volume would not have been possible. Indeed, it can be said that, in addition to the Kelsey Museum's textile collections, the broader intellectual inspiration for the workshop and this collection of papers was the groundwork laid by previous scholarship. Therefore, this volume's development of the frameworks and data presented by preceding studies is, we hope, the most fitting tribute to them.

The primary contribution the present volume seeks to make to Indian Ocean studies and other fields is its emphasis on a methodological framework anchored in regional specificity. As is true of most disciplines, the initial stages of development are characterized by approaches that are overarching in their geographical, and sometimes also chronological, scopes. This quality is demonstrated, for example, by Chaudhuri's influential publications. In *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean* (1985), and *Asia before Europe* (1990), Chaudhuri first applied to the study of the Indian Ocean the usable elements from the Braudelian framework, which was itself developed as a methodological tool for investigation of the Mediterranean and its bordering societies.⁶

Chaudhuri's analysis of the concept of Asia concluded at the outset that it was "essentially Western," since "there is no equivalent word in any Asian language ... though expressions such as the 'Sea of China' or the 'Sea of Hind' held certain analogous meanings in Arabic and some of the Indian languages."⁷ Nevertheless, exploring the applicability of the Braudelian framework to the Indian Ocean—with the addition of religious ideologies as fundamental in the shaping of social and material realities⁸—required a less general but still somewhat overarching

treatment of culturally disparate regions. In place of Asia as an identifiable and intellectually viable whole, Chaudhuri's work proposed the identification of "four [distinguishable] Indian Ocean civilisations," namely those of Islam, Sanskritic India, Southeast Asia, and China.⁹

The distinct identifications of Islam and Sanskritic India are particularly noteworthy for our purposes. Not only in Indian Ocean studies, but also in most other scholarly fields, the eleventh through fifteenth centuries of the history of South Asia have traditionally been analyzed through the two ends of what has effectively become an intellectual polarity between "Islam" and "India." It should be remembered, however, that one component of this polarity is a spatially specific designation, while the other is a socioreligious system with a regional origin, but without a fixed physical location over time. Thus the intersection of these two cultural processes—for both "India" as well as "Islam" are, it must be confessed, always in the making—is surely unique in its *regional* manifestation. This work, then, proposes to keep in sight the historical specificity of the space of western India and its cultural surroundings, and thereby explore the unicity of the negotiations and changes initiated by Muslim and other communities in the region.

Since this work hopes to contribute to the study of Indian Ocean societies, it cannot remain methodologically introverted, concentrating only on the events taking place within the region under investigation. Thus several of the papers herein explore commercial and other exchanges between the western Indian coast of Gujarat and other geographically remote but long-connected nodes of the Indian Ocean world. As Horton points out in his essay in this volume, the analysis of a specific region, defined as historically and culturally unique, and its interaction with other Indian Ocean societies presents an important contribution to a methodology becoming increasingly prominent in Indian Ocean studies.¹⁰ Moreover, the twofold approach of exploring the unicity of a region, along with the connections it maintained with other, equally distinct places, breaks the hegemony of overarching frameworks. General approaches and ideas had certainly been necessary during the initial stages of investigation. Thanks to the advances they brought about, we can now beneficially concentrate on smaller parcels of study, which will in the end reciprocally aid in nuancing the larger frameworks.

One final note must be made prior to an introduction of the articles in this volume. In light of the many excellent contributions to the workshop, selection of the papers to be included was especially difficult. Since the workshop was underpinned by the Kelsey Museum's holdings of western Indian and *fīrāz* fragments, a sizable number of the contributions treated textile production and commercial exchange. In order to provide readers with a wider study of Indian Ocean mate-

rial history during the eleventh through fifteenth centuries, other commodities of exchange were also emphasized. This aim of wide representation, in conjunction with limited space, necessitated the selection of papers treating the circulation of a variety of commodities and ideas over some papers on textile history.

The articles by Grant Parker and Himanshu Prabha Ray elucidate important precursors to the patterns of commerce, travel, and transmission of ideas in place during the eleventh through fifteenth centuries. Parker's article makes several noteworthy contributions toward our understanding of Indo-Roman commercial and cultural contacts spanning the first century B.C. through the fifth century A.D. Archaeological data recovered from Roman sites in the Italian peninsula indicate that commercial traffic was not unidirectional, flowing only from the Mediterranean to the Indian subcontinent on voyages of goods acquisition. Remnants at several Roman ports of Indian textiles and teak, the latter most likely coming from seagoing vessels, remind us that ships of Indian origin also made their way far westward. These data, together with finds of imported items such as pepper and ivory at numerous sites, suggest that consumption of luxury commodities took place in various ambits well outside the *urbanitas*, or cosmopolitanism and sophistication of Rome. Along with imperialism and Christianity, then, Parker proposes a third universalism, namely a universalism of the exotic. Just as India represented the extent of the known world and the limits of empire and religious mission, its commodities by synecdoche represented the extent of the unknown world, the ultimate other. This representation made the acquisition and possession of these commodities all the more desirable.

Ray's contribution turns our attention to western India, and specifically to Gujarat. Her investigation of the movements of merchant and artisan groups during the first millennium of the Common Era, and of the role of state structures in this mobility, provides an important chronological background to later investigations. First, she points out that inscriptions dating to the second century A.D., issued during the reign of the Kṣatrapa Rudradāmana, already identify Gujarat as a regional entity numbering among the territories of this ruler. Although the precise bases for defining this regional identity in the minds of contemporaneous merchants, artisans, and other communities remain unclear, the region's identification as such is nevertheless methodologically important. It identifies the beginnings of a recognition of the area's cultural uniqueness, which seems only to solidify and become more precisely articulated throughout the following centuries.

Supported by Parker's work, Ray also notes that despite the paucity of references to long-distance travel and trade in surviving Sanskrit canonical texts, archaeological finds and inscriptions prove that the communities of western India were clearly important participants in maritime travel for commerce as well as

ports and inland networks, these regions essentially constituted the active catalysts in commerce. Thus the find of Chinese porcelains in East Africa, for example, does not necessarily indicate direct links between the latter and the Chinese mainland. By way of explanation, Horton (together with Parker) brings our attention to the importance of cabotage, or tramp-trading, in nonmodern commercial networks. Rather than calling at only one emporium per trip, merchant groups and individuals most often traded in several ports of call in order to increase the profit and efficiency of their long and perilous oceanic journeys. This practice led to a widespread, surprisingly consistent valuation of certain items throughout the Indian Ocean regions. This consistency is an important index of the interconnectedness among far-flung regions on the basis of traded commodities, an interconnectedness that has heretofore been little acknowledged in studies of the eleventh through fifteenth centuries.

Once again, archaeological data indicate that merchants and middlemen were not the only groups traveling the seaways and overland routes. Communities of craftspeople also traveled long distances and in fact sometimes settled at their points of disembarkation. Horton proposes precisely this scenario as an explanation for the rapid rise of cloth production in East Africa during the eleventh through fourteenth centuries. He suggests that the movement of artisans from northwestern India—perhaps Gujarat itself—and their settlement along ports of the East African coast brought concomitant transfers of technology, namely cotton cultivation and the weaving and printing of textiles. We know these practices to have been part of a long-established and well-developed tradition in Gujarat and surrounding areas of northwestern India. Horton claims this to be the plausible explanation for the accelerated rise (in only three hundred years) of a textile industry in East Africa, an industry that had not been evidenced in the region prior to ca. A.D. 1000.

From this example, Horton further proposes that artisan mobility was probably more common than previously thought in Indian Ocean scholarship. Rather than making several round-trip voyages—the common practice among merchants and their trading guilds—migrating artisan communities more likely settled in their port of call or nearby areas. Since their settlement often lasted over several generations, these artisan communities in all probability assimilated themselves within their new sociocultural homelands, over time relinquishing at least some of their distinct identity markers. Therefore, the indices in the historical record of their migration from great distances, including oral transmission of origin stories across generations, frequently became less fixed and over time diminished in historicity. Nevertheless, these origin stories should be borne in mind by both anthropologists and archaeologists, as they can be possible indica-

tors of the migration and cultural assimilation of artisan communities that had originated across the ocean.

Next, the article by Katherine Strange Burke and Donald Whitcomb provides, among other things, a unique historical perspective. It highlights the effects of changing Indian Ocean trade patterns during the mid- to late thirteenth century on the quotidian and luxury items consumed and traded by a single mercantile family at the important port of Quṣeir al-Qadīm, Egypt. Based on archaeological data, the work posits a credible narrative that is singularly effective in depicting the use and significance of imported items. We see that cotton block-printed cloth from western India, most likely Gujarat, was a ubiquitous item in the archaeological site known as the Sheikh's House, serving for garments as well as furniture coverings. These printed textiles were decorated largely with aniconic motifs and Arabic pseudocalligraphy, providing a strong indication that they were produced specifically for Islamic markets in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. The market specificity of these cloths, evident by virtue of their motifs, becomes even more apparent when compared with the textile exports from northwestern India to Southeast Asia, presented later in this volume by Barnes.

Quotidian items are not the only commodities treated by Burke and Whitcomb. The excavations of the Sheikh's House at Quṣeir al-Qadīm West and of another residence after the settlement shifted eastward within the same port area reveal that several luxury items numbered among the families' possessions. These include Islamic glazed ceramics and Chinese celadons. Stratigraphic analysis indicate that these items were retained among the households' belongings over generations. Consistent with Horton's proposals for the East African coast, Burke and Whitcomb's finds also suggest that certain luxury objects were not for trade but rather were prized possessions for trading families, probably items gifted to them by prosperous merchants or other parties. Moreover, the valuation of suitable gift items changed in seeming simultaneity throughout Indian Ocean networks. By the second half of the thirteenth century, Islamic glazed ceramics, likely originating in the regions bordering the Persian Gulf (see Horton in this volume), lost their status of coveted gifts as the popularity and demand for Chinese porcelains was on the rise.

Elizabeth Lambourn's contribution to this volume brings together many of the issues addressed in the previous works from different perspectives. In her investigation of marble cenotaphs produced at the important Gujarati port of Khambhāt, she proposes that these creations were distinctive and highly prized commodities both in their area of origin and at other nodes of the Indian Ocean network extending from the coast of East Africa to Southeast Asia. Thus this study refutes the misconception that small, lightweight, portable objects such as textiles

were by and large the only commodities to be shipped vast distances on the Indian Ocean's waterways. Heavy stone products also traveled far and wide, fulfilling not only the demands of consumers upon arrival at their destination but also serving as ballast for ships during their journeys.

Lambourn's analyses of the gravestones' iconographic programs also provide insight into the possible collaboration of various artisan communities residing and working in a single region. Her comparisons of the gravestones' iconographic motifs with those of other northwestern Indian productions, such as architecture, printed textiles, and manuscript illustrations, strongly suggest that motifs were shared by craftspeople across specializations. Moreover, these motifs were shared by the various religious ambits of northwestern India, encompassing Jainism and Brahmanical Hinduism as well as Islam. These gravestones, then, along with the buildings, textiles, and manuscripts used as *comparanda*, lead us to reconsider the rigidity of our definitions of objects as "Islamic," "Hindu," or "Jaina."

These considerations of iconography also have bearing on the "international" marketing of the gravestones. Lambourn makes the extremely important point that printed textiles from Gujarat were already in circulation throughout the regions where demand for the gravestones was also substantial. It is possible, then, that the motifs which were commonplace on these ubiquitous printed textiles in effect stimulated the demand for the stone grave memorials. Clearly, the predilection for block-printed Gujarati cloth continued largely unchanged in these regions from the eleventh through nineteenth centuries. The carving in stone of motifs that were familiar and pleasing from textiles could have fomented—and perhaps actually introduced—a taste for the gravestones as well.

In addition to the insights regarding the local manufacturing processes of these stone grave memorials, Lambourn's work also casts light on the mobility of their producers. The gravestones found at sites in regions other than western India strongly indicate that artisans trained in Gujarati stoneworking often traveled overseas with their commissions. At the time of their assembly, these intricate memorials required the highly specialized skills of craftspeople trained in the stone-carving traditions of Gujarat, so that their presence at the sites of the gravestones is most strongly implied. Moreover, in consonance with the scenario proposed by Horton, it is likely that some of these artisan groups settled at these new places and probably integrated themselves into the indigenous communities. Some gravestones found at sites in Java and Sumatra, but clearly belonging to the Khambhāt corpus based on the execution of their carving, evince a confluence of western Indian and local motifs. Lambourn proposes that one of the ways this confluence could have been achieved was through the long-term presence of Gujarati stoneworkers in these areas, permitting the amalgamation of indigenous

motifs and stylistic elements with an execution recognizable as belonging to the Khambhāt stoneworking tradition.

As noted in the discussion of Burke and Whitcomb’s article in this volume, there is compelling evidence of the market specificity of certain commodities traded throughout Indian Ocean networks during the eleventh through fifteenth centuries. The groundbreaking work by Barnes on the export of western Indian textiles to Southeast Asia confirms and adduces to this evidence. While the cotton textiles traded to Egypt and the Red Sea ports were printed primarily with aniconic and pseudocalligraphic motifs, those traded to areas such as eastern Java and the island of Sulawesi tended to be replete with the colors and figural motifs that were culturally significant to Southeast Asian communities. These included lavish court and entertainment scenes set against large swaths of deep and vibrant red backgrounds. This specificity of motifs indicates that the communities of Southeast Asia were by no means passive consumers of the textiles shipped to them from the ports of Gujarat and northwestern India. They most likely communicated their preferences either indirectly through the repeated success of some cloths and not others or perhaps directly by “placing orders” with merchants traveling between the points of manufacture and consumption.

Barnes also makes note of the very different roles western Indian textiles played in Southeast Asian communities when compared to their Near Eastern counterparts. Unlike the everyday functions they fulfilled in the ports along the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, covering both human limbs and furnishings, Gujarati cotton cloths, as well as the more expensive and highly valued *paṭolās* (double-ikat silk), were markers of familial and dynastic wealth and status in Southeast Asian societies. As such, they were often carefully preserved and retained among a household’s possessions over generations.

Indeed, it is noteworthy that *paṭolās* were exported only to Southeast Asia and not westward to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. This trend is explicable, at least in part, by the generally higher status of western Indian cloth in Southeast Asia. The labor-intensive and therefore high-priced *paṭolās* would not have been salable commodities in the western reaches of the Indian Ocean world, where Gujarati cloth was used exclusively in daily garments and considered rugged enough even for the covering of floors, walls, and furniture. A forceful and consistent effort—akin to a powerful “advertising campaign”—would surely have been required to convince Egyptian consumers that a labor-intensive, low-quantity, and expensive cloth was produced by the same region that, to them, was known primarily for informal, everyday clothing and upholstery.

In contrast to the preceding analyses of textiles as commodities for transport and trade across vast distances and throughout vastly different societies,

the articles by Phyllis Granoff and Carol Bier once again shift our gaze—this time to textiles as conveyers of multiple meanings. Granoff’s work treats a previously unexplored type of consumption of textiles, and close to home within the geographical region of their production. Rather than commodities for sale or exchange, the study points out how cloth, particularly the variety woven from threads of several colors, was the metaphorical cornerstone of reflection for the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika or Indian Realists, a highly influential school of medieval Indian philosophers. It was the enigma of the multicolored (*citra*) cloth, creating a color of its own, that sparked reflection on perception and ontology, leading to debates with their arch-rivals the Buddhists. The same multicolored cloth that had been carried long distances and served varying functions ranging from the mundane to the ceremonial was, in a very different sphere of consumption, made to serve philosophical functions. In fact, *citra* cloth was instrumental in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika’s abandonment of some long-held philosophical tenets.

Bier’s work further develops the ontological distinction between the textile as object and commodity and the abstract mathematical principles inherent in the weaving and patterning of cloth. This article innovatively posits that weavers and printers of cloth had a practical awareness and understanding of key mathematical principles, with which members of the intelligentsia of the medieval Islamic world engaged on a purely theoretical level. In effect, textiles could have served as the conveyers of mathematical ideas from the Indian subcontinent to the Near East and possibly vice versa. Not only did these highly portable commodities serve as links between epistemologically different cultures, but they also could be seen as the conduits of interaction among various strata of the same society. Thanks to the practical engagement with mathematical principles required by their vocations, artisans could participate in the highly esoteric discussions of these very principles that were taking place among the intellectual elites of their time.

In essence, this volume compiles articles that rely primarily on the surviving, “unarchived” material remains as the bases for investigation into historical patterns of Indian Ocean trade during the eleventh through fifteenth centuries. It is hoped that this work will collectively lead to future contributions in Indian Ocean history that treat the many lives of commodities in nonmodern worlds—ranging from the commercial to the symbolic and philosophical—and also of the communities that produced them.

NOTES

1. Ruth Barnes, *Indian Block-Printed Cotton Fragments in the Kelsey Museum* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993). Barnes's publication of the Newberry Collection of Indian textiles at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University, forms a valuable companion to the Kelsey publication: *Indian Block-Printed Textiles in Egypt: The Newberry Collection in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
2. While these fragments have been treated piecemeal in some early publications, the most comprehensive analysis remains Florence E. Day, "Dated Tiraz in the Collection of the University of Michigan," *Ars Islamica* 4 (1937): 421–46.
3. The immediate exception that comes to mind is the work by S. D. Goitein with the Geniza documents. For our purposes, his "India book" is of course particularly noteworthy, which was at least partially compiled as *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders: Translated from the Arabic with Introductions and Notes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973). For his other articles concentrating on the Geniza documents' information on the India trade, see Selected Bibliography.
4. George F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times* (1951; rev. and ed. John Carswell, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*.
5. Some foundational works include K. N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (1985; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (1990; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). For other works, see Selected Bibliography.
6. See esp. Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe*, 24–25.
7. Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe*, 22.
8. See Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe*, 24, 36.
9. Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe*, 49ff.
10. Many recent works share in this methodological shift, including Angela Schottenhammer, ed., *The Emporium of the World: Maritime Quanzhou, 1000–1400* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Momin Mohiuddin, *Muslim Communities in Medieval Konkan (610–1900 A.D.)* (New Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan, 2002). See also Selected Bibliography.
11. See esp. V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art* (Varanasi: Prithvi Prakashan, 1965), 2; Pramod Chandra, *On the Study of Indian Art* (New York: Asia Society, 1983), 39–80; Chandra, *The Sculpture of India* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1985), 20.

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TOPOGRAPHIES OF TASTE

Indian Textiles and Mediterranean Contexts

Abstract

South Asian textiles were traded within multivalent networks linking the Roman Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, by land and by sea. This article begins with a brief survey of the available evidence before examining the attitudes evinced in Roman sources about such commodities. The emphasis is on consumption. Cities played a prominent role in consumption, but evidently not to the degree that ancient texts suggest. The article examines the complex ways in which such commodities were linked with Roman worldviews, and indeed did much to shape them. It emphasizes both the particularism of specified origins and the universalist aspects of metropolitan consumption.

FOR REASONS BOTH SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL, the prehistory of our common theme might profitably embrace the Roman empire. The Mediterranean in the period of roughly the first century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. exhibits some of the same patterns of exchange that receive more detailed discussion with regard to other areas and later periods. Indeed, though farther west, the ancient Mediterranean brings to light some of the social processes in which South Asian textiles, along with other objects, became involved. It is here that we can observe the social construction of the exotic, and indeed of a pointedly generalized conception of “the East.” This article undertakes the treatment of the Mediterranean life of South Asian textiles. In the pages that follow I hope to show that this line of inquiry is productive, especially in view of the rich variety of available sources.

The article will begin with a brief overview of South Asian textiles in the ancient Mediterranean as well as a consideration of their routes of circulation before proceeding to some specific questions concerning their consumption. These are as follows: To what extent was the taste for such exotic goods an urban phenomenon? How were textiles and other objects “mapped” in Roman minds? Here I propose that this mapping deserves consideration both in terms of their supposed provenance and of the routes by which they were transported. Finally, I shall consider the social meaning of this South Asian “exotic” in broader terms, relative to Roman cosmologies. If production, distribution, and consumption are the three paradigmatic phases of economic activity,¹ then this article will concentrate on the third of these. Yet, as I shall show with regard to mental maps, this third stage relates to the earlier ones in some surprising ways. As one aspect of the life of commodities, the phenomenology of consumption concerns the ways in which “India” existed in the minds of Roman consumers.²

Textiles Plus

At the outset it is necessary to identify the textiles themselves and the other objects with which they have been found. For the prime evidence we must look outside of the Mediterranean itself, to the Red Sea coast of Egypt. Since the late 1970s, archaeological work has focused on a number of sites, notably Quseir al-Qadīm³ and, more recently, Berenike.⁴ In fact, the site of Berenike continues to put forth important material that has only begun to change the overall assessments of long-distance trade along the monsoon route.

Cotton has been among the varied finds at Berenike, beginning on a modest scale in 1994.⁵ Since then, finds have run to hundreds of fragments each season. Those of the S/S group have been identified as Egyptian or Nubian;⁶ on the other hand, the Z/Z cottons were likely imported from the Indian subcontinent.⁷ On this score there was some doubt in the earlier years of the dig, but circumstantial evidence now points clearly in this direction, not least on the grounds that the subcontinent was a major producer of cotton during the period under discussion.⁸ While the designs on some of the textile fragments (e.g., rosettes and lotus buds) still require detailed study, the general conclusion is that these are of Indian origin. Some of the textile fragments appear to have been part of shipbuilding and repair (sail and rope), particularly in light of timber remains (Indian teak) that most likely come from seacraft.⁹ Yet the majority probably represent trade goods or, in smaller quantities, the personal effects of those involved in the monsoon trade.

These cotton finds are a valuable addition to the archaeological record of the sea route between Egypt and India, especially given the scarcity of cotton remains in climates less dry than that of the Eastern Desert. Cotton is mentioned in one of the earliest Greco-Roman references to India, namely in the *Histories* of Herodotus (ca. 485–ca. 425 B.C.). In this “most easterly part of the inhabited world” there are, according to him, “wild trees which produce a kind of wool which is more attractive and of better quality than that of sheep, and which is used by the Indians for clothing” (3.106).¹⁰

The desirability and novelty value of this product are immediately apparent. This cotton or “tree wool” also featured among the accounts of the historians and scholars accompanying Alexander on his campaign to the east in 327–325 B.C. For example, the naval commander Nearchus is quoted in Strabo’s *Geography* (15.1.20 C693) on the use of cotton in garments; Strabo mentions silk in the same breath. Finally, the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, a ship captain’s manual from the mid-first century A.D. written in Greek, makes several references to the transport of cotton on the monsoon route. Both cloth (chapters 48, 49, 51) and garments (chapters 48, 51, 59) occur among goods brought into Egypt, whereas exports from Egypt to Arabia, India, and the East African coast include various kinds of garments (e.g.,



Bronze statuette of Indian origin, found at the site of Khor Rori, southern Oman; probably second century A.D. H. 8.6, w. 4.5 cm. American Foundation for the Study of Man, Falls Church, Virginia, 3103.

chapters 6, 24, 56).¹¹ At a port called “Ganges” in the Ganga delta it was possible to acquire high-quality cotton, in the form of garments: “On [the Ganges] there is a port of trade [*emporion*] sharing the same name as the river, Ganges, through which malabathron, Gangetic nard, pearls, and cotton garments of the very finest quality, the so-called Gangetic, are transported” (chapter 63). It is typical of the *Periplus* that various objects are linked in the context of a particular port. The designation of quality, *diaphorôtatai*, has connotations of distinctiveness as well as value.

Silk is another textile frequently mentioned by the *Periplus* as being transported from the subcontinent to the Red Sea. This is one of only two products, along with nard, to originate from all four of India’s major exporting regions mentioned there. The southwestern ports of Muziris and Nelkunda offered “silk cloth” (*othonia sêrika*, chapter 56). Barbarikon offered in the Indus delta “Chinese pelts, cloth and yarn” (*sirika dermatà kai othonion kai nêma sirikon*, chapter 39);¹² and the Ganges delta likewise, in addition to silk floss (*erion sêrikon*, chapter 64). The very word for “silk” provided the Greek and Latin name for China and its inhabitants—the “silk people” (*Sêres*). This connection, in which the word for the object chronologically precedes that for place and people, is an interesting case of a cognitive geography related to commodities, as I shall discuss further below. Indeed, silk presents special problems concerning provenance, especially as it is unclear whether it was produced in the subcontinent at this time.¹³

Before we can investigate the social context of the textiles, it is important to consider other objects that formed part of the same exchange networks. There is plenty of evidence of the importation of spices to the ancient Mediterranean. Less clear is their exact provenance, when the same ships would combine goods from the Arabian peninsula with those from South Asia (see below). Archaeological evidence found at Berenike, in the form of peppercorns, resonates with the *Periplus* and other sources to illustrate that pepper was the most significant of these. White and black pepper came from the *piper nigrum* trees in Kerala on the southwest of the subcontinent, whereas long pepper (*piper longum*) originated in the north. What is striking is the heightened demand for pepper, as for other spices, that emerges from literary sources. Whereas pepper had been used pharmacologically in the Mediterranean since the late fourth century B.C., during the period of Rome’s ascendancy it took on major culinary proportions. In the nearly five hundred recipes transmitted under the name of Apicius, who lived at the time of Augustus and Tiberius, pepper features almost without exception, even for wine and sweets. Apart from pepper, the Apician *corpus* mentions eight spices that must have come from South or Southeast Asia: ginger, *putchuk*, nard-leaf, cinnamon, spikenard, asafoetida, sesame seed, and turmeric. A much longer list of less

exotic seasonings could be made from Apicius, i.e., of ingredients that came from within the bounds of empire.¹⁴

Precious stones constitute another class of commodity imported from India: e.g., diamonds, emeralds, sardonyx, turquoise, and onyx. All of these are mentioned in the Digest, a synthetic work of Roman law codified in A.D. 533 under the emperor Justinian; these, like the other forty-nine kinds of commodities mentioned in that list, were subject to duty upon entry into Alexandria (39.4.16.7). Literary texts often mention these in a social-critical vein, especially as linked with conspicuous consumption on the part of Roman women (e.g., Propertius, *Elegies* 2.22.10).

The above-mentioned passage from the *Digest* mentions “Indian eunuchs” among the taxable items, and thus points to human traffic as well.¹⁵ Conversely, the *Periplus* mentions that the ruler of Barygaza would readily purchase concubines and “singing boys” brought from Egypt (chapter 49). More frequently seen in texts is a Mediterranean interest in, and thus demand for, wild animals and birds, especially parrots.

On the other hand, craft goods constitute a surprisingly small and idiosyncratic group of objects. Among them is a statuette of a young Indian woman engaged in her toilette, attended by two small servants. This finely crafted ivory object stands twenty-three centimeters tall and was made in such a way as to be viewed from three sides, perhaps as the leg of a small table.¹⁶ It was found in Pompeii in the Via dell’ Abbondanza, and it is quite possible that this was at the home of a long-distance trader. The Indian provenance of this object is beyond doubt in view of *comparanda* from the subcontinent, particularly the Begram ivories. Furthermore, it is clear that it made its way to Pompeii before the volcanic eruption of A.D. 79. A second class of craft objects is harder to account for, in part because it lacks any context: a number of marble busts now in the Galleria Borghese in Rome are discernibly of Severan date (early third century A.D.). Their unusual feature is that they have “Indian” hairstyles: cirrus knots that can be paralleled in Indian sculpture rather than Roman portraiture.¹⁷ The story behind these heads is a complete mystery.

By Land and by Sea

The period around 3300–2200 B.C. saw the vigorous exchange of goods between the Mesopotamian and Indus valley civilizations. Since the 1930s evidence for this exchange has come from Mohenjo-Daṛo and Harāppā as well as from Baḥrain, designated as Dilmun in Sumerian sources. Closer to the period under discussion, there is further evidence of networks of exchange within the Persian Gulf: trade activities of the Seleucids were a continuation of much older patterns.¹⁸ It is

worthwhile to bear this long-range background in mind while considering routes during the Roman period.

Two major routes linking continental Asia with the Mediterranean come immediately to the fore: the network of overland routes between East and West Asia, collectively called the Silk Road, and the monsoon route, extending from the Red Sea to the west coast of India. Each of these has been the subject of considerable scholarly attention, quite apart from wide popular interest. For one thing, there are serious questions as to whether this trade network touched on peninsular India, or indeed as far as the Mediterranean.¹⁹

Even if some of the more grandiose talk about a Silk Road in our period is exaggerated, and even if the term itself is misleading, there is clear evidence of overland networks stretching from Central and South Asia to the eastern Mediterranean. For example, the *Parthian Stations* of Isidore of Charax charts an itinerary from Antioch to Afghanistan, crossing the Euphrates at Zeugma.²⁰ While this work of about A.D. 25 is fragmentary and jejune, it does suggest a route of overland trade. Needless to say, this in no way precludes the possible existence of other land routes. The fact that this period saw hostilities between the Roman empire and its Parthian neighbors renders such evidence for trade all the more significant. When considered alongside the abundant archaeological and epigraphic evidence from Palmyra, it presents further proof of overland trade across western Asia, some of it in the same period as the monsoon trade.²¹

What we might call the monsoon route is described by the elder Pliny, stage-by-stage from the mouth of the Nile to peninsular India (*Natural History* 6.101–6). As part of his conspectus of world geography, he lists the settlements along this route as well as the distances between them. It stretches from the delta up the Nile, then across the Eastern Desert for 309 Roman miles or 12 days. Once having reached the city of Berenike, Pliny's implied traveler sails out of the Red Sea to the southern point of the Arabian peninsula, and then for forty days with the monsoon at his back, to the west coast of India. Pliny mentions a number of ports on the west coast of India, along with comments as to their viability and their access to inland commerce. Though Pliny's list of ports differs substantially from that of the *Periplus*, the passage strikes much the same tone, especially in view of its focus on the logistics of sea travel.

Several conflicting accounts of the “discovery” of the monsoon exist in ancient Greek and Latin texts. Even allowing for the implicit ethnocentrism in the concept of discovery, such texts do make it clear that the monsoon and the route it made possible were a source of fascination. It is thus no accident that Pliny's account has a moralizing edge: he prefaces the description by saying that in any one year it absorbs 50 million sesterces of the Roman empire's wealth (1.101). While Pliny in

the compendious *Natural History* does have a tendency toward moralizing comment, it is striking that a similar sentiment is repeated in a different context. Thus, while discussing spices systematically according to their origin, he has this to say about the southern part of the Arabian peninsula, “Happy Arabia” (*Arabia Felix*):

But the title “happy” belongs still more to the Arabian Sea, for from it come the pearls which that country sends us. And by the lowest reckoning India, China and the Arabian peninsula take from our empire 100 million sesterces every year—that is the sum which our luxuries and our women cost us. For what fraction of these imports, I ask you, now goes to the gods or to the powers of the lower world? (12.84)²²

Here it is important to notice that Pliny conflates three parts of Asia, in a generalizing manner, as sources of luxury goods.²³

But this conflation is not merely a matter of mental maps: in fact, it closely reflects one aspect of ancient trade. Cabotage or tramp-trading features large in a major new account of nonmodern Mediterranean history.²⁴ This trading involved the exchange of goods en route—i.e., an ongoing process of purchase, sale, and exchange at any given point on a commercial sea voyage, as opposed to long-distance shipping that involves a single origin and a single destination. As regards the monsoon route, this type of trade is in fact implied by the *Periplus*: its recurrent pattern is one of selective purchase and sale of specific goods, at particular points en route.

To take another example, the monsoon route, as described in the *Periplus*, extends from the Red Sea to India in only one of its vectors: by another, it stretches down the east coast of Africa, perhaps as far as Zanzibar. Again, we are dealing here with commodities that are so distinctively non-Mediterranean that the differences between the routes are easily minimized. From the first century A.D. Axum (ancient Ethiopia) played a major role in the monsoon trade, and from the fourth and fifth centuries, at the height of Axumite power, its traders eclipsed the role of those from Roman Egypt.²⁵

The above discussion should serve to underline the coexistence of land and sea routes: thus, to judge from their material and documentary evidence, the port of Ostia tells us mostly about maritime traffic within the Mediterranean, and Palmyra about overland trade. As different excavations vie for attention, there is a danger that one is recognized at the expense of the other. Even if any “balance sheet” between trade networks is impossible to obtain, it is at least important to grasp their simultaneous existence. Certainly the Berenike excavation has received considerable attention in both the popular and the academic presses in

recent years. Compelling as its evidence might be, it should not shift the discussion entirely toward sea routes.

Urbanism and Urbanity

If the foregoing discussion has focused on commodities and the routes whereby they reached the Mediterranean, we can proceed to examine the social patterns within which they became entwined once having traveled. How can the Mediterranean consumption of South Asian goods be mapped? In particular, to what extent are we to regard consumption an urban phenomenon?²⁶ It will be necessary to consider these questions both in the narrower sense relating specifically to South Asian goods and more broadly relating to exotic goods.

First, in the narrower sense: to take one of the commodities discussed, silk does not fit the pattern of urban consumption, judging from the archaeological record. Certainly there are literary references indicating its role in the lives of metropolitan Romans and especially elite women of the city. Yet finds have clustered much more extensively toward the fringes of the Roman empire, and by no means only to major settlements. These include Bavaria on its Rhine-Danube frontier, Kent in Britain, and Sarmatian tombs in Kerch and on the Volga. Some of these silk finds have occurred on points situated on trade routes, e.g., Arsinoe and Panopolis in Egypt as well as Palmyra and Dura Europos. These tend to be from the third and fourth centuries, and thus from the later Roman empire.²⁷ Only some of the settlements listed above involve cities.

Silk is, anyway, something of a special case, given that India was not its sole (or even main) point of origin. Beyond that, the main archaeological evidence for the presence of South Asian goods in the Mediterranean world comes from Berenike. Certainly this is true of cotton, now that there is clarity on Indian origins among the finds discussed above. If, on the basis of literary texts, we might have expected the city of Rome to be the main consumer, this assumption presents a problem. Rome was, after all, the ancient Mediterranean world's "consumer city" par excellence; by the first century A.D. its population might have been around a million people, making it a major megalopolis even by modern standards.²⁸

Or does it present a problem after all? Self-evidently, many of the objects brought from South Asia will have been more subject to decay in the moister soil and air of Italy than that of the Red Sea coast. From this point of view it is not surprising that Rome offers little evidence directly relevant to the present discussion. Nonetheless, there are some suggestions about the kind of evidence that is now lost to us. The city of Rome had its own pepper houses, the *horrea piperatoria* built in A.D. 92 by the emperor Domitian on the northern slope of the Palatine hill, this being some thirteen years after the elder Pliny's death in A.D. 79.²⁹ There is no doubt

that such buildings were of considerable proportions. Further, the continuing status of pepper as a luxury item well into late antiquity is underlined by a remarkable statistic: when in A.D. 408 the city of Rome was blockaded by the Visigoths under Alaric, the Roman Senate offered him, together with 5,000 pounds of gold, 30,000 pounds of silver and other gifts, and no less than 3,000 pounds of pepper subject to his withdrawal, as we learn from the fifth-century historian Zosimus (*Historia nova* 5.35–42). Such a huge quantity is hard to square with what would otherwise seem to be declining proportions in pepper trade in the later period. At the same time, the enormity of this statistic is in itself grounds for suspicion. Yet, even if Zosimus exaggerates the quantity, such a story at least reminds us of the high prestige attached to pepper.

Evidence of this nature is fragmentary and unreliably anecdotal. But it does not detract from a more generalized image of Rome as a consumer city. In classical studies the currency of this term owes much to its use by Moses Finley,³⁰ following Werner Sombart and Max Weber: that is, the city that derives its maintenance from taxes and rents rather than its own production, in which respect the medieval city provides a contrast.³¹

Indeed, the concept of a consumer city in antiquity has been the source of much controversy following the work of Finley.³² Now it is perhaps rendered moot, given, for example, that the city of Rome has been shown to interact in manifold and complex ways with the economies of its hinterland.³³ Still, we are left with a very considerable discourse about urban life, by which ancient people made much of Rome's consuming habits. It was under the rule of Augustus that the city began to earn the status of world capital, partly through that emperor's ambitious building program.³⁴ In the first century A.D. there was a fine line between the cultured elegance of villas and gardens, on the one hand, and the conspicuous consumption of a nouveau riche former slave such as the fictional Trimalchio in Petronius's *Satyricon*. A moral tradition in Roman thought, seen in social commentators such as the younger Seneca (4 B.C.–A.D. 65), lay great store on such a distinction, which parallels that between leisure and slothfulness.³⁵ It is in this sense that I refer to urbanity (Latin *urbanitas*) as a sense of sophistication, expressed in the most obvious sense in relation to city life. It is in the first century A.D., following the end of civil war, that the concept of *urbanitas* is most clearly visible in the Roman world, the word now carrying wider connotations of sophistication beyond merely denoting the city.³⁶ *Urbanitas* should be seen as a discourse about the city that lays much emphasis on its consuming habits.

Constantinople can be considered in the same light, providing perhaps more evidence of a demand for specifically South Asian goods.³⁷ When the emperor Constantine founded this city in A.D. 324 he intended that it should become a new

Rome—a strategic and symbolic alternative to the older metropolis. This is a role it did in fact assume, particularly while the empire in the West suffered major political and military setbacks in the fifth century A.D.³⁸

If the consumer city model persists, through a combination of ancient discourse and modern scholarship,³⁹ then there are two modest points to be made here, specific to the current topic. First, it should not blind us to practices of exotic consumption outside of urban settlements. Finds of peppercorns and silk in less urbanized, more remote parts of the empire are already a suggestion to this effect. More important, the Bay of Naples shows significant evidence of this life of luxury in, but not limited to, the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum.⁴⁰ The life of cultured leisure celebrated, for example, by the poet Statius (ca. A.D. 45–96) in *Silvae* 2.2, is situated far away from the hustle and bustle of urban life, at a villa in Sorrento.⁴¹ Such a place presented an ideal setting for Epicurean thought, which centered on the capacity of philosophy to bring freedom from anxiety. These lavish villa and garden settings are a reminder that consumption was by no means limited to cities.

Second, the evidence for specifically exotic commodities points to the phenomenon that we might, for current purposes, more securely call transit cities. Points along the routes discussed above show so much evidence of consumption that they reveal a close connection between the practices of distribution and consumption. Implicit in this insight is a warning to avoid falling into hoary notions of center and periphery in assessing such networks. This observation is particularly applicable, both in general and specifically, to Berenike and Palmyra. Little was known about Berenike before the excavations of the past decade; in a relatively short time, a picture has emerged of a settlement that functioned not merely as an entrepôt but as a settlement that harbored wealth and made the life of consumption possible. It would be wrong, therefore, to consider Berenike a mere conduit. The larger archaeological context now emerging makes it clear that some of the objects found there would have been used on-site rather than automatically transported to the Mediterranean proper.⁴² And furthermore, though excavations at Ostia Antica have thus far failed to turn up anything distinctively South Asian, the site does offer many different indications of wealth in the private and public spheres, the kind of wealth associated with luxury consumption.⁴³ After Rome's conquest of the Carthaginians in 146 B.C., its maritime activity increased, and the city grew, reaching its height under the emperor Trajan.

In sum, it is certainly interesting and significant that silk shows widespread diffusion, suggesting a many-centered “Roman Mediterranean” with several points of consumption. There can be no denying the power of Rome, and later Constantinople, as centers of consumption, but the comments above offer two modifica-

tions to the model. First, the Bay of Naples goes beyond any narrow definition of urbanism: it is here that we have much evidence of the life of high consumption—parts of a lifestyle that might have been considered leisure (*otium*) by its participants or decadence (*luxuria*) by its critics. Second, Berenike now appears from excavations to have been not merely a place for the transmission of commodities but also a place for their consumption, even if at a modest level.

Foreshortening the East

We have considered above some of the spatial dimensions of Mediterranean consumption, as practiced by Romans. But it is another matter entirely to adumbrate the mental maps engendered by the objects themselves with regard to their supposed origins. Where did these exotic goods *seem* to come from, and how did their supposed places of origin relate to Roman worldviews?

Let us begin at a transit city close to Rome.⁴⁴ One of the most remarkable sectors at Ostia Antica is a large forum of the trade guilds, the Piazzale delle Corporazioni. It is in the form of a double colonnade, located directly behind a theater. Both were built in the time of Augustus; both were public spaces in the heart of the city. Leading off the colonnade were sixty-one small rooms. In front of most were mosaics indicating the occupation or origin of their incumbents, either visually or verbally or both. The fascinating aspect of the Piazzale, for current purposes, is the visual representation of the trading guilds on the large mosaic floor that survives today.⁴⁵ There is no Iberian element in evidence, but this may be because only half of the mosaics survive today. Included in the surviving mosaics are representations of Carthage and Alexandria, and of Arelate and Narbo in Gaul. Thus diverse parts of the Mediterranean are represented—in what we can even call a kind of map, given that the floor represents geographical space. Presumably, merchants using a particular room were engaged in trade with the Mediterranean port indicated on the mosaic, or perhaps originated from that place.

Seen in this light, the mosaics are emblems of Mediterranean “connectivity,” to use a key term from the major new study by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell.⁴⁶ It would be reasonable to think that it tells us more about the distribution than the origins of commodities, even though it might still add to a sense of the exotic. Significantly, this map of distribution is articulated at a place that is close to a major center of consumption, namely the city of Rome.

We would be hard pressed to find an equivalent map of the origins of luxury goods in the ancient Mediterranean. It is not clear that any such representation exists. What does survive in profusion is geographical writing from, likewise, a high point of Mediterranean connectivity, namely the *pax Romana* that followed Octavian/Augustus’s conquest of his last remaining rivals in 31 B.C. Most obviously,

there is the lengthy survey of the “inhabited world” (*oikoumenê*) by a geographer and historian at the time of Augustus, Strabo (64 B.C.–after A.D. 24). Within his systematic coverage of different parts of the world, their topographies and indigenous customs, Strabo has little to say about commodities associated with particular areas. Certainly his comments about Indian commodities are extremely limited compared with the nearly exclusive focus on them in the *Periplus*.⁴⁷ Yet there are indications that merchants plying the monsoon trade, not unlike the author of the *Periplus*, provided much of Strabo’s information for his description of India, particularly the east coast of India.⁴⁸

Several decades later than Strabo’s *Geography* was the equally extensive *Natural History* of the elder Pliny (briefly discussed above), with its compendious view of nature (*Natura*). Though Pliny’s debt to earlier writers, especially those of the Hellenistic period, is obvious and significant, his text is very much a product of its times, and its subtext of Roman “world empire” impossible to overlook.⁴⁹ It is in this later work that we find both systematic geography and a consciousness of commodities. Such a combination is not surprising, given the encyclopedic scope of Pliny’s work, within which different topics occur in different books. The phenomenon of encoding commodities spatially, e.g., “Gangetic nard” in *Periplus* chapter 63, as we have noted above, is by no means limited to Pliny or even to geographical writers. In the case of exotic goods, it is profusely evidenced in the *Deipnosophists* of Athenaeus of Naucratis, who flourished around A.D. 200. This is a work supposedly representing dinner party conversation; it centers mostly on literary topics but involves much discussion about the wherewithal of ancient dinner and drinking parties—e.g., drinking vessels. Far beyond its model of the *symposion* from Plato’s classical Athens, it is thus a celebration of exotic consumption.⁵⁰

In the Greco-Roman discourse about luxury goods, various parts of western Asia recur with frequency, both as the source of luxuries and as locations of consumption. Certainly this discourse is an important part of classical age Athenian representations of the Achaemenid world.⁵¹ Such an ethnographic profile of the Iranian world continues into later periods of the Greco-Roman world.⁵² Even if this observation seems at first like a literary commonplace, there is a serious point here. Part of South Asia that was known as “India,” i.e., the Indus valley, was a satrapy (province) of the Achaemenid empire, as reorganized by Darius I in 522–521 B.C. (Herodotus *Histories* 3.96–106). The courts of the Achaemenid kings themselves collected luxury commodities and also provided centers for the exchange of geographical information. Thus, if the spatial encoding of goods was a common phenomenon in ancient Mediterranean societies, then it is no accident that Greeks and Romans associated both Persia and India with luxury: that is, India as an ultimate source but Persia, i.e., the Achaemenid court, as a center of

luxurious consumption.⁵³ By this reckoning, the centralizing and hoarding tendencies of the Achaemenid court provided one factor in Rome's generalizing view of luxuries from the East.

But there are also other factors that made western Asia and the northwestern Indian Ocean littoral subject to this process of foreshortening in Greco-Roman thought. Most obviously, several West Asian lands offered the Mediterranean either the same or similar commodities. Thus the aromatics associated with Arabia seemed not radically different from South Asian spices. For example, Pliny the elder frequently mentions the two groups together in his discussion of spices and aromatics in his *Natural History* 12.26–50.⁵⁴ In the case of spices, we might well ask whether Romans would link these exotic products with any particular land or with the tropics in general.

Further, these same or similar goods are being transported along the same routes. If we allow, with the *Periplus* as well as Horden and Purcell, that tramp-trading was the predominant means of exchange, then we should all the more expect some generalization in Roman minds. Specifically, the Arabian and Indian peninsulas both formed part of the monsoon route, and both produced exotic commodities for consumption mainly in the Mediterranean.

Finally, we see direct comparison between India and Egypt (or Ethiopia) at several points in Strabo's extensive description of India, for example, in his *Geography* 15.1.13 C690 the deltas of the Indus and the Nile, the animals living there, and the physical appearance of the inhabitants. In this passage Strabo compares Ethiopia with India as well, i.e., both the upper and lower Nile valley with the Indus valley.⁵⁵ He is here presenting the less familiar with reference to the more familiar. This is a case of translation in the wider, culturally located sense of that term.⁵⁶ There is no doubt that Strabo's readers would have been more familiar with Egypt, directly adjoining the Mediterranean and the breadbasket of the Roman empire. But at the same time this comparison reflects the routes that brought Indian commodities to the Mediterranean and especially to the city of Rome. The last part of the monsoon route from India to Rome would have coincided with the shipping routes for Rome's corn supply.⁵⁷

In sum, Roman geographic thinking evidences an overlap between India and other lands of the northwestern Indian Ocean. Various reasons can be advanced for this overlap, including the common (tropical) climate that differs from the Mediterranean climate. Thus it is that spices are by definition non-Mediterranean commodities, coming as they do from the tropics; herbs, on the other hand, were well known in the Mediterranean world from an earlier stage. Here it is worth emphasizing that the monsoon route (even more than the land route) unites different lands. From the point of the Roman consumer, it mattered little from where

exactly a particular object came; what did matter is that it came from afar; what is more, it is western Asia that was the major source of luxury goods.

We have here what initially seems like a paradox: there was a strong tendency to mark commodities spatially in the Roman world,⁵⁸ and, at the same time, a foreshortening of the East whereby different parts of the monsoon route were conflated from the perspectives of Mediterranean peoples. In the absence of a distinctive notion of East and Southeast Asia in Roman topography,⁵⁹ we might well describe India as Rome's Far East. However, this is not really a paradox at all, if we bear in mind that we are speaking less about formal, scientific geographies (notably the *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy, second century A.D., with its extensive list of coordinates) than about popular ideas concerning the extent of the world. And it is in this latter, everyday sense that commodities had such power to connote.

The Universal, the Particular and the Exotic

Two kinds of universalism emerge in Jacques André and Jean Filliozat's *L'Inde vue de Rome*, the major book synthesizing Roman visions of South Asia.⁶⁰ The first of these visions involves Alexander, whose campaign, which took his troops to modern Pakistan in 326 B.C., stretched as far east as the Indus valley. Though the campaign did not stretch far west of the Aegean, it was presented to contemporaries as "world conquest." That it might have been—within particular worldviews that celebrated Alexander as a hero. The image owes much to Alexander's own manipulation of a public image: he presented himself, by turns, as the god Dionysus and as the hero Heracles, both of these being linked with the edges of the earth (and with the East especially, in the case of Dionysus).⁶¹

It is this imperial brand of universalism that underlies much of the political discourse of the Roman empire. Though Alexander himself was to remain a controversial figure, a conception of world empire outlived him and was in many cases associated with him.⁶² At the level of philosophy, some of the major branches of Hellenistic (i.e., post-Classical) thought are discernibly the products of an Aegean world very different from that of the classical city-state (*polis*). Both Stoicism and Epicureanism have been described as "refugee philosophies" in their political disengagement, particularly in their resignation at the curtailment of citizen participation in public life.⁶³ A particular kind of universalism was central to Stoicism, and it is the Stoic thought of Posidonius (ca. 135 B.C.—ca. 50 B.C.) that informed Strabo's conception of the world.⁶⁴ Stoicism was also a major influence on the elder Pliny.⁶⁵

The second universalism identified by André and Filliozat is in the realm of Christianity. The idea that salvation is open to all souls, at least potentially, was (and in some parts of the world still is) a motor-force behind Christian mission-

ary activity.⁶⁶ Several related elements may be identified here: first, God's power as lord of all, a concept going back to Judaism.⁶⁷ In Byzantine Christianity the term *Pantokratôr* (Lord of All) was one of the most important epithets of God. Further, there was Jesus's injunction to the disciples to bring the good news to all people throughout the world.⁶⁸ Underlying these terms and texts is the idea that salvation is open to all who believe. It is these related senses of universalism that spurred Paul's missionary travels in various parts of the Mediterranean and underlies the theology of his letters, preserved in the Christian scriptures.

Within the capacious topic of the perception and interpretation of South Asia by Mediterranean societies, such an analysis is undoubtedly apt. India, being on the "edges of the earth" was a benchmark of imperial conquest, and thus important to the self-presentation of emperors beginning with Augustus.⁶⁹ Within Christianity the story of mission concerns the apostle Thomas. According to the apocryphal Acts of Thomas (a Syriac text dating to the late second century A.D.), it is Thomas who was sent to bring the good news to India, a journey he undertakes only with reluctance and one that led to a martyr's death. The memory of Thomas continues to play an important role in the Christianity of southern India to this day.⁷⁰ In both Roman imperialism and Christianity, India thus presented the ultimate test of success: if Roman power or Christianity prevailed *even in India*, then it could claim to be a genuinely worldwide phenomenon.

But André and Filliozat's account of universalisms is not necessarily comprehensive. The discussion in this article would suggest a third universalism: that of commodities. It might initially seem surprising to view commodities in this light, but I believe there is a case to be made for a "global" sense of commodities in the ancient Mediterranean. As we have seen, Athenaeus, more so even than Strabo and Pliny, presents one object after another with reference to its supposed point of origin. The traffic in long-distance commodities to Rome and other Mediterranean centers created a certain kind of geography for their consumers, a universalism realized at these points of consumption.

It might be most apt, then, to describe this universalism as a universalism of the exotic: the sense that exotic objects, whatever their actual origins, express the extent of the world. By "exotic" here I mean radical otherness, particularly an otherness that is materially expressed and thereby open to exchange. In a Roman world that witnessed a greater traffic in luxury items than ever before, this phenomenon reached new levels. Paradoxically, this traffic constitutes a universalism of particulars, based on particular points of origin, as they are imagined. But it does deserve the designation of a universalism because it involves points of articulation, namely the sites of consumption discussed above. This is another way of saying that commodities represented a way for Romans to think about the

extent of the “inhabited world” (*orbis terrarum*), largely removed from the scientific geography, a kind of popular geography that continued to be made and remade in ongoing patterns of social practice. I have suggested that this phenomenon applied especially to the northwest Indian Ocean zone, with India being part of this zone and sometimes even representing it by synecdoche, the principle of part-for-whole.

The exotic aspect of Mediterranean consumption might seem on the surface to be a highly particularistic phenomenon, especially given the frequent stipulations of origin in texts such as Athenaeus or Pliny or the *Periplus*. But if it is in fact the otherness of objects, more than anything else, that confers exotic status, then a broader view of provenance is appropriate. For it is an aggregate of these particularisms that allowed a totalizing view of the “inhabited world” (*oikoumenê* or *orbis terrarum*) in a text such as Pliny’s *Natural History*. India had an important place within this composite exotic. As we have seen most clearly in relation to silk, there was a certain degree of fudging between various zones of origin in the larger Indian Ocean basin. But it is the Piazzale delle Corporazioni that points most clearly to a universalism of the exotic during Rome’s imperial age, suggesting, as it does, that value derived as much from the very dynamics of Mediterranean connectivity as from any specific provenance.

NOTES

I should like to thank Alka Patel, Emily Mackil, the anonymous readers of *Ars Orientalis* and, not least, the conference participants for their comments and suggestions.

1. John Moreland, "Production and Exchange in Historical Archaeology," in *Companion Encyclopedia of Archaeology*, ed. Graeme Barker, 2 vols. (London: Routledge, 1999), 637.
2. It is in this special sense that I have made bold to use the term "Roman India" in the larger research project from which this article derives: this term constitutes an oxymoron and provocation, given that the Roman empire never did gain political or military control over South Asia, however vividly "India" might have featured in Roman imperial imaginations. The current essay covers some of the same ground as Grant Parker, "Ex Oriente Luxuria: Indian Commodities and Roman Experience," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 45.1 (2002): 40–95, but with significantly different emphases. Of course there is an inherent ethnocentrism in such a history of representations. For a different approach to some of the same material, see Romila Thapar, "Indian Views of Europe: Representation of the Yavanas in Early Indian History," in *Cultural Pasts* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 536–55.
3. Donald S. Whitcomb and Janet H. Johnson, ed., *Quseir al-Qadim 1978: Preliminary Report* (Cairo: American Research Center in Egypt, 1979); Whitcomb and Johnson, *Quseir al-Qadim 1980: Preliminary Report*, American Research Center in Egypt Report 7 (Malibu: Undena, 1982); Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Resist Dyed Textiles from Quseir al-Qadim, Egypt* (Paris: Association pour l'Étude et la Documentation des Textiles d'Asie, 1990); Carol

Meyer, *Glass from Quseir al-Qadim and the Indian Ocean Trade* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1992).

4. Steven E. Sidebotham and Willemmina Z. Wendrich, ed., *Berenike 1994: Preliminary Report of the 1994 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert* (Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1995); *Berenike 1995* (1996); *Berenike 1996* (1998); *Berenike 1997* (1999); *Berenike 1998* (2000), and continuing. For a recent synthesis, see W. Z. Wendrich, R. S. Tomber, S. E. Sidebotham, J. A. Harrell, R. T. J. Cappers, and R. S. Bagnall, "Berenike Crossroads: The Integration of Information," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 46.1 (2003): 46–87.
5. A. M. I. Van Waveren and W. Z. Wendrich, "Textiles," in *Berenike 1994*, 63–68.
6. J. P. Wild and F. C. Wild, "The Textiles," in *Berenike 1996*, 236. S/S and Z/Z threads are named for the direction of weaving: the names match the slope at the center of each letter. See further E. J. W. Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 66.
7. J. P. Wild and F. C. Wild, in *Berenike 1997*, 272, with considerable caution in inferring provenience. A. J. Veldmeijer, "The Cordage," in *Berenike 1997*, 267, relates such evidence to the question of when cotton was first cultivated in Egypt.
8. E. J. W. Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 32–33.
9. F. C. Wild and J. P. Wild, "Sails from the Roman Port at Berenike, Egypt," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 30.2 (2001): 211–20.
10. "India," i.e., the Indus valley now mostly in Pakistan, arises in Herodotus's account of the Persian Wars because it was a satrapy (province) of the Achaemenid empire set up by Darius and thus

forms part of the background to his main narrative. Herodotus' emphasis on the natural wealth of "India," and thus of Darius's empire, is no coincidence.

11. Lionel Casson, ed., *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989). For an attempt to read the work in light of the objects and routes involved, see Grant Parker, "Porous Connections: The Mediterranean and the Red Sea," *Thesis Eleven* 67 (2001): 59–79.
12. Since the word *dermata* denotes the skins of animals, the adjective *sirika* cannot here be translated as "silk."
13. See, in general, Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 30–32, with further references.
14. The single best overview of spices in the Roman empire is J. Innis Miller, *The Roman Spice Trade* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969). However, the certainty with which the author identifies particular spices from ancient literary references adds a note of doubt about its reliability. Miller's controversial presentation of the "cinnamon route" (153–72) now receives support from Andrew Dalby, *Dangerous Tastes: The Story of Spices* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 36–41. Cinnamon and cassia (sometimes identified as a separate spice) had found their way to the eastern Mediterranean by the seventh century B.C.; they originate both in Sri Lanka and in the northern parts of Southeast Asia.
15. For another example, compare Horace, *Satires* 2.8.14–15.
16. Bhagwant Sahai, *Iconography of Minor Hindu and Buddhist Deities* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1975) 157–79. The statuette is in the collections of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples.
17. R. M. Cimino, *Ancient Rome and India* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1994), 126–28.
18. Jean-François Salles, "The Arab-Persian Gulf under the Seleucids," in *Hellenism in the East*, ed. Amélie Kuhrt and Susan Sherwin-White (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 75–108. For the long view, see now especially Himanshu Prabha Ray, *The Archaeology of Seafaring in Ancient South Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
19. Indeed, the question of the Silk Road may seem a nonstarter, given the degree of anachronism and even of romantic fantasy involved in positing a single transcontinental road. In its extreme form this idea of a single road cannot be maintained. However, it is equally important to insist that there was overland transport of silk, one of the products under discussion, and for that reason deserves consideration here. For one, Fergus Millar sounds a skeptical note: "Caravan Cities: The Roman Near East and Long-Distance Trade by Land," in *Modus Operandi: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Rickman*, ed. Michel Austin, Jill Harries, and Christopher Smith (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1998), 119–37. For a trenchant analysis of the supposed Silk Road as a "modern fabrication" — after all, the term was coined only in the mid-nineteenth century — see Warwick Ball, *Rome in the East: The Transformation of an Empire* (London: Routledge, 2000), 138: "Any ancient 'route' ... was at best simply a broad channel of communications across a region for the movement of people, goods and ideas. It rarely followed any fixed pathway. It was never transcontinental."
20. Modern Kavunlu, formerly Belkis. R. J. A. Talbert, ed., *The Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), map 67, F2.
21. For a particularly important document AD 137, showing how the city's wealth was related to trade activity passing through it, see J. F. Matthews, "The Tax Law of Palmyra: Evidence for Economic History in a City of the Roman East," *Journal of Roman Studies* 74 (1984): 157–80. On the link between Palmyra and South Asia, see the telltale aside in Appian's account of the civil wars, while narrating Marcus Antonius's unsuccessful attack on that city: "for, being traders, they bring Indian and Arabian objects from Persia and get rid of them in Roman territory" (*Roman History* 5.9).
22. Pliny, *Natural History*, vol. 4, bks. 12–16, trans. H. Rackam, rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986).
23. Below I shall delve more deeply into the worldview implied here. It should be noted that the Latin adjective *felix* is most obviously translated as "happy" but also carries strong connotations of wealth, as in the Pliny passage quoted. Compare n. 47 below for the Greek equivalent, with its similar semantic field.
24. Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), e.g., 140, 142.
25. N. V. Pigulewska, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1969), 175–271.
26. Certainly, to consider a major theorist of a millennium later, the consumption of luxury goods is central to Ibn Khaldun's account of what constitutes cities and makes them attractive to nomadic people: e.g., 1.224 and 1.276 in Franz Rosenthal, trans., *Ibn Khaldūn, The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, 3 vols. (New York: Bollingen, 1958), 1:252–53, 308–9, respectively.
27. Manfred G. Raschke, "New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.9.2 (1978): 625, 727–28.

28. Peter Garnsey and Richard Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 6.
29. Lawrence J. Richardson Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 194–95.
30. Moses Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).
31. Garnsey and Saller, *Roman Empire*, 48–49.
32. For a useful review of approaches, ultimately reaffirming the consumer model as the best available, see C. R. Whittaker, “Do Theories of the Ancient City Matter?” in *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, ed. T. J. Cornell and Kathryn Lomas (London: Routledge, 1995), 9–26. For attempts to find alternatives, see Helen M. Parkins, ed., *Roman Urbanism: Beyond the Consumer City* (London: Routledge, 1997). At stake, among other things, is a minimalist approach to ancient economic practice. Thus, according to the consumer model, “the cities of the ancient world depended on the exploitation of their hinterlands through rents and taxes for their sustenance and . . . aimed for a large measure of regional self-sufficiency. The corollary of this . . . was that there was little need for, or actual development of, urban manufacturing and inter-regional trade.” David J. Mattingly, “Beyond Belief? Drawing a Line beneath the Consumer City,” in Parkins, *Roman Urbanism*, 210.
33. Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 105–8.
34. Nicholas Purcell, “Rome and Its Development under Augustus and His Successors,” in *Cambridge Ancient History*, ed. A. K. Bowman et al., 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996–2000), 10:782–811; and “Rome and Italy,” in *ibid.*, 11:405–43.
35. J. P. Toner, *Leisure and Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995).
36. Edwin S. Ramage, *Urbanitas: Ancient Sophistication and Refinement* (Norman, Okla. 1973), 112.
37. Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz*.
38. Certainly this is the romantic image of the city, as expressed in W. B. Yeats’s poem, “Sailing to Byzantium” (1908).
39. In tracing links between ancient and modern, Ray Laurence, “Writing the Roman Metropolis,” in Parkins, *Roman Urbanism*, 1–20, interestingly compares the dystopian image of Rome in the Latin satirist Juvenal (Satires 3) with that in Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961), e.g., 233.
40. John H. D’Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples: A Social and Cultural Study of the Villas and their Owners from 150 BC to AD 400* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970); Paul Zanker, *Pompeii: Public and Private Life*, trans. D. L. Schneider (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998).
41. R. G. M. Nisbet, “*Felicitas* at Surrentum (Statius *Silvae* II.2),” *Journal of Roman Studies* 68 (1978): 1–11.
42. Thus, for example, Wild and Wild, in “The Textiles” in *Berenike 1996*, discussing the use of textiles on-site: “In their homes Spartan furniture and rough finished walls would have been disguised under an astonishing range of high-class coverlets, hangings and curtains. Berenikians, even in the fifth century AD, had high expectations” (236).
43. Russell Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973).
44. For a recent reassessment of Ostia Antica, see esp. Nicholas Purcell, “The Ports of Rome: Evolution of a *Façade Maritime*,” in “*Roman Ostia*” *Revisited*, ed. Anna Gallina Zevi and Amanda Claridge (London: British School at Rome, 1996), 267–79. He argues against describing it as “the port of Rome” and applies instead the idea of a “*façade maritime*,” involving an “interlocking and complex whole” (279). As the volume title suggests, Meiggs’s *Roman Ostia* remains fundamental; see 283–88, 449–51 on the Piazzale delle Corporazioni.
45. Approximately half of the mosaics survive. See further, Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 60–65.
46. Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 123–71.
47. Note Strabo *Geography* 15.1.13 C690, 15.1.18 C692, and 15.1.30 C700, which I regard as exceptions to this trend. Especially worthy of note are 15.1.18 C692, a general comment on its fertility (*eudaimonia*, literally “wealth”), and 15.1.69 C718 on rival displays of wealth.
48. “As regards the merchants who currently sail from Egypt by the Nile as far as India, only a small number have sailed right up to the Ganges, and even these are merely private citizens and not useful as regards the account [in Greek, *historian*] of the places they have seen” (Strabo *Geography* 15.1.4 C686). This striking passage reflects Greek and Roman prejudice against traders, especially as Strabo goes on to describe embassies received by Augustus from India that are, by implied contrast, acceptable sources of topographical knowledge because they are related to the emperor. In the more mathematical and less discursive *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy (ca. AD 100–ca. 178), written about a century after Strabo, it is clear that commercial travelers have generated much of the information, not least for the Bay of Bengal.

49. A. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Elder Pliny and Man's Unnatural History," *Greece and Rome* 37 (1990): 80–96.
50. David Braund and John Wilkes, ed., *Athenaeus and His World: Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000).
51. Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989); Christopher Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1996), 132–77.
52. Horace *Odes* 1.38.1. In this regard, R. G. M. Nisbet and Margaret Hubbard compare other examples of eastern (and especially Persian) luxury. *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 423–24.
53. Amélie Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East, c. 3000–330 BC*, 2 vols. (London: Routledge, 1995), 648.
54. In the case of many spices Pliny confuses source and entrepôt. Miller, *Roman Spice Trade*, 20–21.
55. See also Strabo *Geography* 15.1.16 C691, invoking Herodotus's description of Egypt alongside that of Alexander's general Nearchus on India, and 15.1.18–19 C692–693.
56. James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).
57. G. E. Rickman, *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980).
58. On this phenomenon, see further Parker, "Ex oriente luxuria," 78–87.
59. John Ferguson, "China and Rome," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.9.2 (1978): 581–603.
60. Jacques André and Jean Filliozat, *L'Inde vue de Rome* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1986), 11.
61. Andrew F. Stewart, *Faces of Power: Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
62. Diana Spencer, *The Roman Alexander: Reading a Cultural Myth* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002).
63. Martha C. Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).
64. Katherine Clarke, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999).
65. Wallace-Hadrill, "Elder Pliny"; Mary Beagon, *Roman Nature: The Thought of Pliny the Elder* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992).
66. Denise Kimber Buell, "Race and Universalism in early Christianity," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 10.4 (2002): 429–68.
67. Psalms 24:1–2: "The earth is the Lord's and all that is in it; for he has founded it upon the seas, and established it on the rivers" (New Revised Standard Version).
68. Matthew 29:19–20: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything that I have commanded you." Compare Mark 16:15; Luke 24:47. And see Acts 1:8: "you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, in all Judaea and Samaria, and to all the ends of the earth" (all New Revised Standard Version).
69. *Res Gestae* 34. See also the emperor Trajan in Dio Cassius *Roman History* 68.29.1.
70. See, e.g., Paul Thomas, *Christians and Christianity in India and Pakistan* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1954).

THE BEGINNINGS

The Artisan and the Merchant in Early Gujarat, Sixth–Eleventh Centuries

Abstract

This article aims at locating trading activities in Gujarat primarily through an analysis of archaeological data, inscriptions, and textual sources. The continuity between the early and medieval periods is essential to understanding the underlying structures in terms of the hierarchy of routes, utilization of local resources, and organization of water transport in the region. The first section of the article highlights diverse trends in the study of northwestern India, particularly in the context of Indian Ocean sailing. The primary focus in the latter part of the article is the period from the sixth to eleventh centuries, which marks an expansion of contacts with the Persian Gulf and other parts of the Indian Ocean region. In traditional historical writing the emphasis has been on agrarian expansion and the spread of Sanskritic culture through movements of *brāhmaṇas* at the behest of the emerging regional states and the consolidation of a feudal order. In contrast, this article shifts the emphasis from the centrality of the state and addresses issues relating to the organization of craft activities, interaction between the artisan and trading groups, and diverse consumption patterns. The article also argues for autonomy of religious traditions, apart from the state, and highlights the complex religious landscape of Gujarat, thereby contesting the somewhat misplaced emphasis on Brahmanization or Sanskritization of the region.

IT IS GENERALLY BELIEVED that from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries, the Indian Ocean had become a “Muslim lake,” Buddhism having declined in the Indian subcontinent and Hinduism having become inward looking.¹ This view persists despite the fact that early narrative literature in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Pali, Tamil, and other vernaculars contains glowing accounts of maritime travel by merchants, craftspeople, musicians, and others. In addition, the diversity of evidence provided by a range of archaeological and architectural sources when collated furnishes fascinating vignettes for an understanding of the maritime orientation of communities settled in northwestern India.

This article attempts to draw out evidence from archaeological finds, architectural remains, and early inscriptions to present the early history of trading communities in northwestern India. As will be discussed in greater detail below, archaeological finds have generally been used to support preconceived theories presented by historians, while religious structures have been studied either in terms of style and chronology or as objects of royal munificence providing legitimization to the political elite. In contrast, this article examines religious shrines within their social context as indicators of community identity, including that of

trading groups.² The picture that emerges is that of a diverse religious landscape patronized by varied communities.

Traditionally, three broad trends have influenced historical studies on ancient India in the postindependence period. One is the Marxist school, which supports the Indian feudalism theory.³ The paradigm opposing the theory of Indian feudalism emphasizes the centrality of the political structure in initiating change and suggests three discontinuous phases of urbanization around which other economic activities coalesced. These phases have been defined as the Harappan (third–second millennium B.C.), early historic (600 B.C. to third–fourth centuries A.D.), and early medieval (sixth–seventh–twelfth–thirteenth centuries) periods.⁴ Three major historical processes have been postulated for the early medieval period within this framework: expansion of state society; assimilation and acculturation of tribal peoples; and integration of local religious cults and practices.

A third model for understanding the development of trade is evident in writings by André Wink. He argues against the decline of Roman trade, since Greek-Byzantine traders again became active in the India trade from the fourth to sixth centuries.⁵ In the fifth–sixth centuries, Persian commerce synchronized with the ascendancy of the Sasanian empire, and with the coming of Islam there was an increase in trading networks in the Indian Ocean. Wink suggests that control of trade was a motivating factor in the Arab conquest of Makrān, Sindh, Kāṭhiāwār, and Kachh. The period until the tenth century was characterized by Arab and Persian settlements along the Indian Ocean littoral and the emergence of an integrated Muslim trading empire. Furthermore, Buddhism largely disappeared from India in the early medieval period, though it continued to flourish in Gujarat until the ninth century. Finally, due to restrictions stipulated in the *Dharmaśāstras* (Law Books) on maritime travel, the Hindu population turned to “agrarian pursuits and production, away from trade and maritime transport.”⁶

The position adopted in this article is different from the above three models in several ways. In contrast to the rural/urban dichotomy and early historic/early medieval disjunction supported by both R. S. Sharma and B. D. Chattopadhyaya, this article highlights the centrality of the community in the study of the past and continuity in the settlement pattern as evident from the archaeological record. There were, no doubt, shifts, gradations, and growing complexity in the variety of settlement types over time, but few or no ruptures. For example, the lower Shetrunji valley and the area around Pādri and Hathāb in Bhāvnagar district emerged as the core region of the early Maitrka rulers in the fifth century A.D., as evident from inscriptions. This settlement was by no means a “new beginning,” since archaeological exploration in the region has provided evidence for twenty-two early historic sites located in a linear pattern along the river and a multitier settle-



Map of Gujarat.

ment hierarchy.⁷ Amreli is another important archaeological site located upstream of the survey area on the Thebi, a tributary of the Shetrunji, and excavations conducted here yielded continuous occupation of the site from the first century B.C. to the eighth century A.D.⁸ Similarly, the site of Valabhi first occurs in inscriptions from the sixth century onward, though archaeological excavations at the site date the earliest settlement located on a small island between the two arms of the Ghelo River to the first–second centuries A.D. The settlement gradually expanded in a linear pattern along the river.⁹

This complex settlement pattern is further supported by information from inscriptions. While the second-century A.D. inscription of Kṣatrapa Rudradāmana refers to the threefold division of town, market, and rural space (*nagara-nigama-janapada*), Maitrka epigraphs (A.D. 493–776) mention a diverse variety of territorial subunits (*palli*, *padraka*, *grāma*, *dranga*, *bhukti*, *bhūmi*, *paṭṭa*, *peṭha*, *viṣaya*, and so on).¹⁰

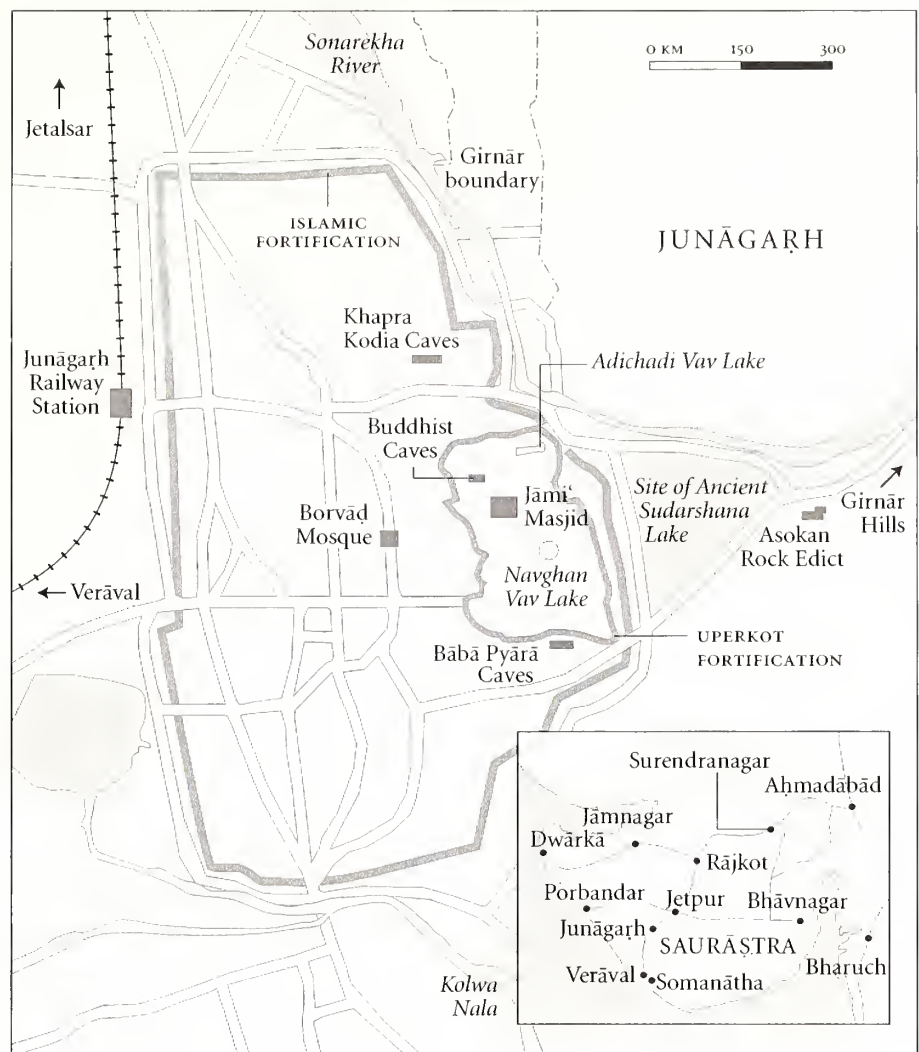
There is little evidence of state-sponsored trade, though rulers were constantly devising means for taxing and controlling the lucrative business. Trade involved

a complex hierarchy of transactions, such as gifts to those in authority and, at the local and regional level, barter and monetary exchanges. Only commodities required by powerful groups were controlled. It is significant that while archaeological data and distribution networks of ceramics indicate local, regional, and oceanic interaction, starting from the third–second millennium B.C. onward, inscriptions from Gujarat are largely silent about trading activities until well into the fifth–sixth centuries A.D. From this period onward inscriptions reflect an increasing complexity in commodities traded and in the nature of transactions conducted.¹¹ The post-tenth century marks a further change, with shops and markets in the vicinity of temples contributing materials to the performance of rituals and festivities. For example, a thirteenth-century record, inscribed on a long slab of polished black stone from one of the temples at Somanātha, refers to the purchase of shops by the benefactor and their donation to the temple.¹²

While Wink's emphasis on continuity of trading activity in the western Indian Ocean is well taken, studies on trade must involve a discussion of transportation, shifts in coastal centers, and emergence of new settlements. For example, Bharuch, Sopārā, and Kalyān were important outlets for trade in the early centuries of the Common Era but gave way to Valabhi around the middle of the first millennium A.D., when it became prominent under Maitrka rule. Arab attacks on Valabhi around the latter half of the eighth century led to its abandonment.¹³ There was the consequent rise of Stambhatīrtha, or Khambhāt, mentioned in the Kavi grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Govinda III (A.D. 827). Another important coastal settlement was that of Somanāthapaṭṭana (modern Prabhās Pāṭan), which continued to play an active role in maritime trade.

Maritime travel in the ancient period involved a variety of watercraft. Cargo carriers formed the foundation of trading ventures. Merchants and traders in some cases certainly owned ships and watercraft, but they neither manned nor sailed them.¹⁴ More often, goods and cargoes were entrusted to the captain of the vessel, who was then responsible for their sale and profit. Thus maritime activity involved diverse groups from the owners of watercraft to those who commanded them and still others who sailed them. Hence there can be no simple caste attributions of the communities involved in trading activity. Moreover, the normative rules laid down in the *Dharmaśāstras* need to be balanced against the narrative literature in Sanskrit, which provides extensive accounts of maritime travel by merchants, craftspeople, and many others.

Similarly pertinent to this discussion are commodities and crafts, which in the archaeology of Gujarat refer to ceramics, bronzes, beads, and other items of ornamentation. These have generally been interpreted as indicators of the ethnicity of trading groups, with little discussion of either their context or changes in their



Archaeological monuments in and around Junāgarḥ.

use over time. Several objects found in Gujarat have been cited as evidence for Roman trade, including amphorae fragments,¹⁵ Roman coins,¹⁶ a bronze handle from Akotā, dating to A.D. 50–100, now in the Baroḍā Museum,¹⁷ and ceramics such as red polished wares. It is significant that of the fifty-five sites where fragments of Dressel 2–4 type amphorae have been found, twenty-five are in Gujarat and thirteen of these are clustered around Junāgarḥ.

The area around Junāgarḥ provides a fertile stretch, and, as I will discuss later, it formed a core region in the early period. This area was also the location for royal inscriptions and religious shrines. Other find-spots of amphorae sherds include coastal centers such as Dwārkā, Somanāthapaṭṭana, Nagara, and Valabhi, among others. Sites such as Valabhi developed into political centers by the middle of the first millennium A.D. In contrast, others, like Somanāthapaṭṭana and Dwārkā, were pilgrimage centers of great sanctity. At Somanāthapaṭṭana archaeological evidence of historical settlement dates to the fourth century B.C., but religious structures, such as temples, emerge in the fifth–sixth centuries A.D. Clearly, “imports” need to be contextualized within the parameters of patterns of distribution and consumption.

One of the strategies adopted by craftspeople, such as weavers, was mobility as a means to improving economic livelihood. Mobility also aided in resisting

the state-sponsored efforts to control labor. The best-known example of this strategy is the Sanskrit inscription of the chief of a guild of silk weavers from a now-lost temple at Maṇḍasor in Central India. The guild moved from Lāta, identified as the region between the Narmadā and Tapti rivers, to Daśapura (modern Maṇḍasor) “bringing their children and kinsfolk.” In spite of having adopted a variety of occupations, the silk weavers retained their collective identity and met together to make an endowment to a temple of the sun god “with hoarded wealth.”¹⁸ The importance of gifts to the temple in the social life of the community is thus evident.

The religious landscape influenced the trading system in several ways, from molding cultural preferences and choices to active participation. Religious shrines were both consumers of a variety of commodities used in ritual as well as important locales for trading activity, as indicated by shops and markets within or in the vicinity of temple premises. The building of new temples stimulated economic growth, thereby transforming both the geographic and social landscapes of the region.¹⁹ At the same time there are several instances of a differential tax on commodities required for religious purposes. More important, of course, several commodities such as textiles were imbued with multiple meanings and were both items of common consumption as well as products for elite and religious requirements. This complexity of interaction between patrons and other interest groups and religious structures can only emerge when trading activity is studied not merely in commercial terms, but issues of identity and status markers are also brought into the discussion.

The Maritime Network

Archaeological investigation in northwestern India has provided information on several long-lasting coastal settlements. For example, the site of Māndvi on the estuary of the Rukmāvati River at the entrance to the Gulf of Kachh has been known as a port town with links to both Oman and the East African coast since archaeological exploration conducted in the mid-nineteenth century. In addition to a range of ceramics, important finds include local and regional coins, as well as a Byzantium solidus of Heraclius dated to A.D. 638 and an Arab ‘Umayyad dinar of A.D. 716.²⁰

Dwārakā, located on the north coast of Saurāṣṭra, is another contemporaneous site with a long period of settlement from the first century B.C. to almost the present. Its importance stems both from its coastal location as well as the religious significance of its temples and sacred association as a center of pilgrimage.²¹ Other continuously settled sites along the Gujarat coast include Porbander, Somanātha, and Valabhi at the head of the Gulf of Khambhāt, as I will discuss in a later sec-

tion. While sites such as Valabhi developed into political centers by the middle of the first millennium A.D., others, like Somanātha and Dwārkā, were pilgrimage centers of great sanctity. At Somanātha archaeological evidence of historical settlement dates to the fourth century B.C., but religious structures such as temples emerge only in the fifth–sixth centuries A.D.

Farther south, Chaul, referred to as Campāvati or Revatikṣetra in the Epics, is mentioned in inscriptions and literary sources from the early centuries of the Common Era to the seventeenth century. In a copper plate record of 1094, three major coastal centers are identified and include, in addition to Chaul, Thāne and Sopārā also in northwestern India. While no systematic archaeological work has been undertaken in the area, villagers digging wells in coconut plantations unearthed crucial information regarding settlement from 250 B.C. to A.D. 1600, though for a brief period from A.D. 250 to 500, the site seems to have been unoccupied.²² Epigraphs dating from the tenth–eleventh centuries refer to these coastal settlements as linked to each other through land routes as well as to those in the interior.²³

The Sasanians ruled Iran and adjacent countries from 224 to 651 and were active participants in the trade of the Indian Ocean. The Nestorian annals refer to trade with India and Sri Lanka during the reign of Yāzdigird I (399–421), while Ṭabarī reports that his successor, Bāhrām V (421–38), married an Indian princess and received as a dowry the port of Daibal in the Indus delta, together with the adjacent parts of Sindh and Makrān.²⁴

Archaeological excavations conducted at Sirāf in the Persian Gulf indicate its beginnings in the Sassanian period when a fort was located at the site. David Whitehouse contends that in addition to military functions, Sassanian Sirāf was also a commercial port, as evident from imported objects at the site.²⁵ After a break in settlement, Sirāf reemerged as a major center around A.D. 700. Sohar, situated close to the mouth of the Persian Gulf on the coast of Oman, reached its greatest size in the tenth century A.D., occupying seventy-three hectares with a defense wall protecting it on the seaward side. These two sites in the Persian Gulf participated in a regional trade network in the ninth to eleventh centuries. This network included settlements in the Indus delta, such as Banbhore on the Makrān coast, as well as several centers along the west coast of India and Mantai on the north coast of Sri Lanka.

Archaeological excavations at Banbhore have revealed a fortified city enclosing 167 hectares in the early Islamic period, with an inner residential and commercial area and an industrial sector outside the defenses. The nucleus of the port was a mosque—one of the earliest in the region—with two Kufic inscriptions dated to A.D. 727 and 907.

Chinese records refer to Persian, or “Possu,” merchants from the fourth to twelfth centuries, but it is only from the ninth century onward that the Persians initiated regular sailing to Southeast Asia and China. *Sīrāf* formed a major port for this purpose. The earliest references to Muslim merchants engaged in long-distance trade occur in an Omani text by Al-Rāḥil dated to the ninth century. These refer to Al-Qāsim, a learned Ibādī shaikh involved in the aloes wood trade with China. The second merchant, Maymūn, lived in Basra and was related to two Ibādī *imāms*. Though in the literary sources the focus is on luxury goods, the archaeological data indicate trade in subsistence items and bulk commodities. In addition there are references to a large number of artisans at *Sīrāf*, including shipwrights, weavers, metalworkers, jewelers, and potters.

There are several references to small merchants who traveled vast distances and traded in a variety of goods. Thirteenth-century accounts of a merchant at Qais describe him as wishing “to carry Persian saffron to China where I understand that it has a high price, and then take the dishes from China to Greece, Greek brocade to India, Indian steel to Aleppo, glass of Aleppo to Yemen, and the striped material of Yemen to Persia.”²⁶

The somewhat later Geniza documents indicate interlinkages between merchant groups from different regions and distinctions in the scope of operations and organization of trading activity. For example, the distinction between retailers and wholesalers was well delineated. Many of the retailers were trading artisans who marketed their own products. The term *tājir* was used for big merchants who traded in a wide variety of goods. They were divided into three categories: one who stored large quantities to sell when the price was high; another who transported goods from one country to another; and a third who sent shipments abroad. One such merchant was Nahray bin-Nissim, a wholesale merchant mentioned in 250 of the Geniza documents.²⁷

One of the characteristic features of maritime trade from the ninth–tenth centuries onward was the location of markets in fortified settlements along the Indian Ocean littoral and farther inland. Rules governing the payment of taxes and regulating the functioning of the markets were often inscribed on copper plates and provide useful insights into the organization of the trade network. The Quilon copper plates of Sthanu Ravi from the Mālābār coast are significant in connection with trading rights granted to the Christian church. A market was located within the precincts of the fortified settlement at the port of Quilon, while the church was situated outside the fortification wall.²⁸

Along the Konkan coast, there are references to the fortified market center of Balipattana. The Kharepatan plates of Raṭṭarāja dated to A.D. 1008 list gifts to the temple of Avveśvara built by Raṭṭarāja’s father and situated inside the fortifications.

These included a measure (*gadyana*) of gold from every vessel coming from foreign lands and a coin (*dharaṇa*) of gold from those coming from the coast, except those from Chaul and Candrapura. Also located within the fortifications were settlements of female attendants, oilmen, gardeners, potters, and washer men.²⁹

Pilgrim traffic across the Bay of Bengal was indeed multidirectional, though the movement of worshipers from the Indian subcontinent to the Indonesian archipelago is often underplayed. The most significant for this study are the Kelurak and Plaosan inscriptions, as the former mentions a guru from Gaudīdvīpa and the setting up of an image of Mañjuśrī. The latter is a fragmentary stone inscription in Sanskrit of the ninth century. It is now in the Jakarta Museum (no. D 82), though it is known to have come from Candi Plaosan in Central Java. It refers to the worship of the Buddha temple (*jinamandira*) by groups of people bowed by the burden of devotion who continuously arrived from Gurujaradeśa, i.e., northwestern India (*satata—gurujaradeśa—samāgatais ... sugatabhakti—bhāra—praṇatai*).³⁰ As the portion of the inscription between the two adjectives is damaged, the identity of the persons from Gurujaradeśa is difficult to establish.

The Emergence of Territorial Identity

The earliest reference to territorial delimitation in northwestern India occurs in the *Arthaśāstra*, a treatise for governance, that has often been used as a base for writing economic history, supplemented by the inscriptions of the Kṣatrapas dated to the early centuries of the Common Era.³¹ The archaeological data would, however, indicate that in the fourth–third centuries B.C., a much smaller unit within Saurāṣṭra—specifically, the area around Junāgaṛh—formed the core area of economic and political activity in the region. At least five coin hoards containing more than 4,800 silver coins have been recovered from Junāgaṛh district. These are essentially small coins of about one gram, each produced from a single die and some restamped coins of the Magadha *janapada*.³²

This distinctive territorial identity by no means translated into isolation from other parts of the subcontinent, as is evident from the epigraphic data preserved on the hill at Gīrnār, about 1.5 kilometers to the east of Junāgaṛh. Inscribed on the hill are records of two of the major dynasties of the north—the Mauryas (317 to 186 B.C.) and the Guptas (dated in the reign of king Skandagupta A.D. 455–67)—while the third, engraved on the western side, belongs to the Ksatrapa ruler Rudradāmana (second century A.D.). These three records also present informative contrasts.

Rudradāmana's dynasty was one of six families termed the western Kṣatrapas, or satraps, who ruled in Saurāṣṭra and Mālavā in the early centuries of the Common Era. These were allied to other rulers who used the title *kṣatrapa* (literally, viceroy) on their coins and in inscriptions.³³ In contrast to many of their

contemporaries in Central and peninsular India, the Kṣatrapas used Greek legends on their coinage. Prominent among the various issues are the silver coins of Nahāpāna, with the bust of the ruler and a legend in Greek script on the obverse and symbols such as the thunderbolt and arrow and inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmi on the reverse. The Greek legend on the obverse is a transliteration of the inscriptions in Brāhmi or Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse.³⁴ The distribution of Kṣatrapa coins is an indicator of trade networks that extended well beyond the political boundaries of the rulers. In addition to centers in northwestern India, these have been found at several locations in Central India, and two coin molds occur as far east as the Andhra coast.³⁵

Rudradāmana's record is of crucial importance in establishing a time frame for the perception of the region as distinctive. This inscription for the first time provides territorial identity to northwestern India. Unlike Aśoka's Girnār inscription, copies of which occur widely in the subcontinent, Rudradāmana's record is regionally specific both in the nature of its message and in the territorial demarcation of his kingdom.³⁶ The primary objective of the epigraph was to record the restoration of Lake Sudarśana by Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāmana, in whose reign it had been destroyed by a storm.³⁷

Nearly thirty stone inscriptions of the western Kṣatrapas have come to light, of which nine have been found at the village of Andhau and one each from Khavada, Mevasa, and Vandha villages in Kachh.³⁸ These inscriptions have been used primarily for working out a chronology of the western Kṣatrapas and their genealogical connections, but they are significant in many other ways as well. While some of the epigraphs from the western Deccan, Sārnāth (near Vārāṇasī), and Taxilā (now in Pakistan) record donations made to Buddhist monastic establishments, those from Kachh tend to be memorial stones (*yaṣṭi* or *laṣṭi*) or refer to the digging of wells.³⁹ The Kṣatrapa records found at Junnār, Karle, and Nāsik provide insights into the conflict between the Kṣatrapas and the Sātavahānas of the Deccan. These political and military conflicts seem to be underscored by the overstriking of the Kṣatrapa Nahāpāna's silver coins by the Sātavahāna ruler Gautamiputra Śatakārṇi, e.g., those found in the Jogalthembi hoard at Nāsik.⁴⁰

Another vexed question relates to the ethnic identity of these Kṣatrapa rulers. Perhaps the only indicator is the Nāsik record of Usavadāta, Nahāpāna's son-in-law who refers to himself as a *śaka*.⁴¹ The term *śaka* is generally translated as a "Scythian," referring to movements of communities from Central Asia. Nor is Usavadāta the only *śaka* donor at the Buddhist establishment of Nāsik. The *śaka* Damachika Vudhika, a writer from Daśapura, also donated a cave and two cisterns.⁴² Despite these donations to Buddhist religious centers, the Kṣatrapas retained the use of the Greek language, as evident in the legends on their coins discussed above.

Nahāpāṇa is perhaps the only ruler of the subcontinent who finds mention as Manbanos in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Periplus of the Erythraean Sea) (chapter 41), a first-century A.D. Greek text. The *Periplus* (chapter 47) further states, that “beyond Barygaza there are many inland peoples ... and above these [to the north] are the very warlike Bactrians, who have their own kingdom.”⁴³ The *Periplus* refers to the continued circulation of coins known as drachms and engraved with inscriptions in Greek in the market town of Barygaza or Bharuch. These coins were issues of kings such as Apollodotus and Menander who ruled in northwestern India after Alexander’s campaign in India.

These references led W. W. Tarn to suggest that trade between India and the West had gone on since the Greek conquest of the subcontinent⁴⁴ and that the maritime connection between Saurāṣṭra and the West expanded under the reign of Menander (150–135 B.C.). Menander’s empire is thought to have extended from Mathurā in the east to Bharuch in the west, and the region from Kābul to Mathurā has also produced a large number of Greek coins from the reign of Menander.⁴⁵

Mortimer Wheeler, on the other hand, argued for trade initiated by the Roman empire after his excavations at Arikamedu in 1946,⁴⁶ and since then this view has been the prevailing orthodoxy. As mentioned earlier, several objects found in Gujarat have been cited as evidence for Roman trade. While analysis of the bronze handle from Akoṭā shows analogies with specimens from Pompeii, there is little doubt that red polished ware (RPW) is locally produced pottery. Made from fine well-levigated clay, RPW occurs in strata dated from the first century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. and has been recorded at more than four hundred sites in Gujarat, with up to 160 stylistic variations.⁴⁷ Some of the excavated RPW sites are Dwārākā, Somanātha, Amreli, Devnimori, Śāmlāji, Nagara, and Timbarva, among others, many of which are also known for their early temples. Thus the distribution of RPW is both along the coast as well as in centers farther inland. It is significant, however, that RPW sherds dated to the first five centuries A.D. have been found at archaeological sites around the Persian Gulf.

Foreigners and Trade

The mobility of merchants enabled them to migrate and shift their areas of operation to new regions and ports. For example, the merchants of Sīrāf and Sohar shifted to the ports of Qais and other regions after the decline of trade in the upper Persian Gulf. This mobility also meant that merchants were often stationed on foreign shores, and there are several references in literature and inscriptions to groups categorized as outsiders. On account of the complexity of economic transactions in the ancient period, determining ethnic identities is a task fraught with difficulties.

From the first century B.C. to the second century A.D., while many of the Arabs of the eastern Mediterranean regions were Roman subjects or Roman citizens, others, such as Nabataeans, Palmyrenes, and Sabaeans lived beyond the frontiers of the empire. In the Indian context, references to *yāvaṇas* are ubiquitous in Sanskrit and Tamil sources and refer to a range of nonlocal groups from West Asia.⁴⁸

At the same time there are references to foreigners in charge of provinces in the subcontinent, especially in Gujarat and the Konkan coast, such as in the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāmana, recounting the history of Lake Sudarśana. Many of the early references to the *yāvaṇas* indicate that Greeks settled in the northwest,⁴⁹ though this is not the pattern elsewhere in the subcontinent. Another problem is the inability of the literary sources themselves to distinguish among different ethnic identities, as in the case of allusions to Romans, Arabs, Indians, and Ethiopians in Greek accounts.

This debate notwithstanding, there are several instances of foreign settlers being taxed by local polities in the early medieval period. The evidence from the subcontinent indicates the presence of non-Indian merchants such as the Tājikas and the Turuṣkas in different areas. *Turuṣkakaṇḍa* is a term that occurs commonly in the Gahadavāla inscriptions of the Ganga basin and has been taken by several writers as a tax on Turkish settlers.⁵⁰

A yona (*yāvaṇa*)-rāja of Sanjayata or Sanjan located on the north Konkan coast is mentioned in an inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā dated to the fourth century A.D.⁵¹ The Chinchani copper plates mention that the entire district (*maṇḍala*) of Samyana (Sanjan) was made over by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers Kṛṣṇa II (reigned 878–915) and Indra III (reigned 915–927) to Sugatipa Madhumati (Muhammad) of the Tājika community. The latter conquered the chiefs of all the harbors (*velākūla*) of the neighborhood on behalf of his master and placed his own officials in them.⁵² He established free ferry service at two streams and also a feeding house at Samyana. In addition, he created an endowment for repairs and also for offering worship (*naivedya*) to the goddess Dasami. A later grant of the eleventh century refers to the region as being under the rule of Cāmuṇḍarājā, many of whose officials bear names of Arabic origin. A little later, terms between the ruling elite and the *yāvaṇas* seem to have soured. The Kharepatan plates of Anantadeva I dated to A.D. 1095 refer to the ruler driving out the vile *yāvaṇas* who had devastated the Konkan region.⁵³

The Emergence of Valabhi: Capital, Port Town, and Religious Center

The history of hostilities and invasions in northwestern India goes back to an earlier period, as discussed above. In the fifth century A.D., the Junāgarh inscription refers to hostile invasions during the early years of Skandagupta's reign, but

these were finally repulsed.⁵⁴ At the same time, Valabhi, located on the Bhāvnagar creek at the head of the Gulf of Khambhāt, emerged not merely as an outlet for maritime trade but also as the capital of the ruling dynasty of the Maitr̥kas (A.D. 493–776) and the core area for religious consolidation.⁵⁵ Contemporaneous Sanskrit literature such as the *Daśakumāracaritam* (Story of Ten Princes) by Daṇḍin describes Valabhi as a prosperous trading center.⁵⁶ References to its wealthy resident and traveling communities of traders (*vaṇiggrāma*), are found in the copper plate donations from Toramāṇa's reign dating to the late fifth–early sixth centuries A.D.⁵⁷ The self-assurance of its trading community is evident from the charter of Viṣṇusena of A.D. 592, which reiterates the customary practices followed by the group and the acceptance of them by the ruler. This consolidation of economic activity along with expansion of political authority and increasing involvement of *brāhmaṇas* and Buddhist *vihāras* (monasteries) in agrarian intensification marks a departure from the trading patterns of earlier periods.

Under the early Maitr̥ka rulers, the capital was shifted from Junāgaṛh or Girinagara to Valabhi, and the records of the early Maitr̥ka rulers such as Droṇasimha and Dhruvasena I were issued from Valabhi, e.g., the Bhamodra Mohota plate of Droṇasimha (year 183 or A.D. 502).⁵⁸ The list of administrative personnel of the Maitr̥kas is fairly large,⁵⁹ and an important source of state revenue was *śulka* (tolls) and the person in charge of collection is referred to as *śulkika*.⁶⁰

Three copper plates dated in the reign of the Hūṇa Toramaṇa (fifth–sixth centuries A.D.) record gifts made by the trading community of Vadrappalli to the temple of Jayaswāmī or Nārāyaṇa belonging to the queen mother. Mahārāja Bhūta and Mahārāja Mātṛdas also made donations of certain villages to the temple. The main commodities referred to in the plates are molasses, salt, cotton, and grain, and a detailed list of revenues transferred is also enumerated. These revenues were calculated on the basis of vessel load, donkey load, and cart load of the produce. Vadrappalli was probably located eight kilometers west of Sanjeli, and signatories to the donation included traders from Ujjain, Kannauj, Mathurā, and perhaps Maṇḍasor. A goldsmith constructed a lake near the temple.⁶¹

Of interest to this discussion is the charter of Viṣṇusena dated to A.D. 592, issued from Lohaṭa in the Kāṭhiāwār region. This charter is addressed to a list of officials, as is usual in Maitr̥ka records. The charter assures protection to the community of merchants (*vaṇiggrāma*) established in the region and endorses their continued functioning.⁶² It provides a detailed list of seventy-two trade regulations or customary laws to be followed. Some of the regulations are of great interest to this discussion. For example, it is specified that merchants staying away for a year were not required to pay an entrance fee on their return. Other clauses specify duties that were to be paid. A boat full of containers (*bhāṇḍa-bhr̥ta-vāhitrasya*) was charged

twelve silver coins, but if the containers were for religious purposes, they were charged only one and a quarter silver coin. In the case of a boat carrying paddy, the charge was half this amount. Other items frequently transported by boat included dried ginger sticks, bamboo, wine, leather, buffaloes, camels, and bulls.⁶³

Indigo or *nīla* is mentioned as one of the items exported from areas such as Gujarat, and the charter of Viṣṇusena mentions a tax on the pressing of the indigo dye. As mentioned earlier, indigo figures as one of the items of trade from India westward to Egypt handled by the business house of Ibn 'Awkal in the period from A.D. 980 to 1030.⁶⁴ One of the three varieties mentioned includes Sindani indigo, Sindan/Sandan being identified with the Konkan coast of the subcontinent.

The variety of taxable objects mentioned in the inscription is an indication of the diverse nature of trade in the region. These included oil mills, sugarcane fields, wine, cumin seed, black mustard, and coriander. The inscription also refers to a tax on dyers of cloth, weavers, shoemakers, and retailers hawking goods on foot. Others such as blacksmiths, carpenters, barbers, potters, etc., could be recruited for forced labor under the supervision of officers.⁶⁵ Clearly, the Maitrīkas were attempting to widen their resource base. A parallel process that is evident at this time relates to changes in the religious topography of the region—a religious topography that continued to be varied and diverse, with little evidence of assimilation or acculturation within the ideological framework of a state system. On the contrary, the rulers provided patronage for several local cults.

Religious Transformation and Ritual Space

The setting up of the Sudarśana Lake at Junāgaṛh is often quoted as an example of centralized Mauryan control, but what is seldom discussed is the religious landscape around the site. Though no structures contemporaneous with the Aśokan edicts at Girnār have so far been identified, the earliest remains are of a spacious monastic complex at Intwa on a hill three kilometers north of Girnār. An inscribed sealing found in a cell dates the monastery to the reign of Rudrasena I (A.D. 199–222).⁶⁶ The religious monuments at Junāgaṛh include three sets of rock-cut caves: the Khapra Kodia caves, the Bābā Pyārā caves, and the caves at Uperkot. In addition to these, a Viṣṇu temple was established at the site in the Gupta period.

Another extensive site was located three kilometers south of the foot of Girnār at Boria amid thick jungle, while a somewhat later fourth- to sixth-century A.D. site was excavated farther inland at Devnimori in the Meshvo valley, 120 kilometers east of Aḥmadābād. At a distance of about six hundred meters to the east of the site was a small mound containing bricks and a small Śivalinga suggesting that it was a Śaiva temple.⁶⁷



1

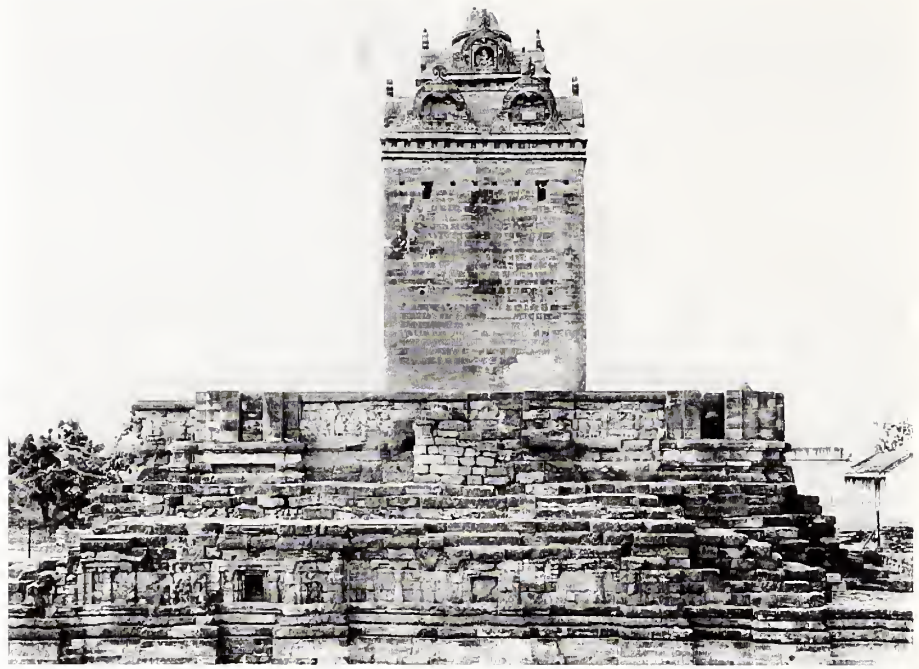
1
4th-century A.D. image of *lajjā-gaurī*
from Dhank in Junāgarh district.
210.44 courtesy American Institute of
Indian Studies, Gurgaon.

Perhaps one of the earliest shrines in Gujarat was excavated at the site of Pādri in the Talaja taḥsīl of Bhāvnagar district of Gujarat, hardly two kilometers from the Gulf of Khambhāt, and was dedicated to a fertility deity termed *lajjā-gaurī*.⁶⁸ Two terracotta plaques of the goddess were found on the floor of the structure, while a square slate plaque with the image of *lajjā-gaurī* was found on the surface. Other images included sandstone figures of Gaṇeśa and Viṣṇu.⁶⁹ Sixth–seventh century *lajjā-gaurī* figurines have been reported from a number of sites in Gujarat, and the worship of the goddess continued into a later period (fig. 1).⁷⁰

Evidence for the worship of another non-Sanskritic local goddess comes from the record of one of the early Maitrka rulers, Droṇasimha. He donated a village for providing sandalwood, incense, lamps, oil, and garlands to the shrine of the goddess Pāṇḍurājā, otherwise not known from textual sources. Droṇasimha also built a temple to Koṭṭammahika devī within the boundary of Trisangamaka identified with Tarsamia, about five kilometers from Bhāvnagar, and the grant to the goddess was resumed by Dhruvasena II (reigned A.D. 639–40).⁷¹

The sectarian affiliation of the Maitrkas is evident in the sixth century, when Dhruvasena I (reigned 519–49) refers to his predecessors as worshipers of Śiva (*parama-maheśvara*) and himself as worshiper of Viṣṇu (*parama-bhāgavata*). These epithets appeared in a grant of land to Buddhist *vihāras*.⁷² Thus even here there is no evidence of unambiguous sectarian affiliation of the rulers or of grants made to temples with the objective of legitimizing their rule. In most cases donations are made for repair and worship of existing temples, e.g., the copper plate of Śīlāditya I (reigned 599–614). The ruler made a grant of two pieces of land along with a tank (*Yamala vāpī*) for repair of a temple of Śiva as well as for worship of the deity. Worship of the deity involved bathing (*snapana*) of the image, application of pounded sandalwood (*gandha*), incense (*dhūpa*), flowers (*puṣpa*), garland (*mālya*), lighting of lamps (*dīpa*), and performance of music (*gīta*) and dance (*nr̥tya*).⁷³

The earliest temple contemporaneous with the Maitrkas in Saurāṣṭra is the temple of Gop located around sixty-five kilometers from the coast and dated to the late sixth–early seventh centuries A.D. (fig. 2). In the next hundred years a large number of temples were constructed, mainly along the coastline, but none of these bear any inscriptions and cannot be associated with royalty. A distribution map



2

2

6th-century A.D. temple at Gop, Jamnagar district. A 34.5 courtesy American Institute of Indian Studies, Gurgaon.

of the temple sites indicates a clustering of temples at Khimeśvara located between the Vartu and Bhadar rivers. There is thus physical disjunction between the religious centers located along the coast and the political center at Valabhi at the head of the Gulf of Khambhāt.

A distinctive aspect of the temples of western and Central India at this time was their dedication to Surya worship. The Bhadreniyaka grant of Śilāditya I (ca. 610–11) records the donation of two hundred *pādāvarttas* of land in the village of Bhadreniyaka for worship (*pūjā*) of the sun god (*Ādityadeva*) established in that village. Worship involved bathing of the image, application of sandal paste, flowers, lighting of oil lamps, and performance of vocal and instrumental music and dances, cost of sacrifices and offerings (*bali-caru-satra*), and maintenance of servants of the gods.⁷⁴

The Maṇḍasor stone inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I and the Indore copper plate grant of Skandagupta show that sun worship in Central India was patronized by guilds, but similar epigraphic information is not available for temples in Gujarat. The copper plates of Toramāṇa refer to rest houses attached to temples where medicinal diet and therapy was provided to mendicants, men and women in the service of the deity, and devotees and disciples. These are in addition to the lake referred to above and other grants made to the temple. Archaeological exploration around Sanjeli led to the discovery of a large number of bricks, but no specific structures could be identified.⁷⁵ Thus, in addition to being a religious center, the temple was linked to services provided to the community at large.

Though there is no mention of Jainism in the nearly one hundred copper plate grants of the Maitrka period, Jaina literature describes Valabhi as a great pilgrimage center (*tirtha*), and archaeological data provide evidence of earlier shrines (fig. 3). Jaina metal and stone images stylistically dated to ca. 500–600 A.D. were found at Akoṭā near Vaḍodarā and from Khedbrahma in northern Gujarat. Around the same time Jaina rock-cut caves were excavated at Ḍhānk



3



4

3
Bronze image of Jina from Vala. 132.73
courtesy American Institute of Indian
Studies, Gurgaon.

4
4th-century A.D. seated Buddha image
from Dhank, Junāgarh. 210.39 American
Institute of Indian Studies, Gurgaon.

in Saurāṣṭra. Somewhat later in the eighth century, a Jain monastic settlement of Digambara affiliation is known to have existed at Nagasarikā or Navasari in southern Gujarat.⁷⁶

As compared to that of the Jainas, there is abundant Buddhist presence both archaeologically and in inscriptions, though no structures contemporary to the Aśokan edicts have so far been identified. But perhaps the most prolific references to Buddhist monastic establishments occur in the Maitrka inscriptions, which locate these around Valabhi, though there are no surface indications of any structures at the site.⁷⁷ Clay seals with the Buddhist formula *Ye Dharma Hetu Prabhava* were, however, found in archaeological excavations at Valabhi.⁷⁸ The inscriptions record, among others, the names of two merchants, Kakka and Ajjita, who were responsible for the building of two *vihāras*, which were named after them.⁷⁹ Reference to fields belonging to Buddhist monks occurs in Dhruvasena II's grant.⁸⁰

The Vala plates of Dhruvasena I record the grant of the village of Pippalarunkhari and the right to collect its produce to a Buddhist *vihāra* at Valabhi built by his niece Dudda.⁸¹ Dudda's *vihāra* also received the donation of a village by Guhasena.⁸² Dhruvasena I also donated the village Vataprajaka to a *vihāra* at Valabhi founded by Ācārya Bhadanta Buddhādāsa.⁸³ Three copper plates of Dantivarman of the Gujarat branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family dated śaka samvat 789 (latter half of ninth century) refer to the donation of forty-two villages, after the king had bathed in the river Puravi identified with Purna in Surat district. These villages were granted to the Buddhist *vihāra* at the sacred pilgrimage center of Kāmpilya in Farrukhābād district in the northwest and were to be enjoyed by a succession of pupils of the Āryasangha. The money was to be used for defraying the worship expenses of perfumes, flowers, frankincense, lamps, and ointments and for the repair of the temple.⁸⁴ Thus the wealth, ritual, and festivities involved in Buddhist worship at this time is abundantly clear (fig. 4).

In contrast to the earlier phase in northwestern India, when merchants functioned either in an individual capacity or as a collective, the articulation of lineage identity became important for trading groups from the eighth century onward. The inscriptions recording their benefactions contain long eulogies, or *praśastis*, but very little information on their operations or activities. Another change occurs in the nature of religious affiliation. While the earlier grants invariably record gifts made to Hindu temples, during the eleventh–twelfth centuries patronage to Jaina shrines predominates in northwestern India. There is a concomitant recording of detailed family histories of the merchant donors in inscriptions as well as the writing of biographies.⁸⁵ The objective of the *dharmakathās* or religious narratives was the propagation of Jaina religious precepts, but the main characters invariably were the merchants, e.g., the *Samaraicchakāhā* of Haribhadra Suri and the *Kuvalayamālakāhā* of Uddyotana Suri, the latter written in the eighth century A.D. Another genre of literature that expands at this time is legal literature, a good example being the *Lekhapaddhati*, an anonymous work containing model forms of legal and other documents with dates ranging from 755 to 1476. This shift in narrative writing is matched by increased lineage stratification among the Jaina preceptors or teachers who exhorted them to a path of righteousness. Several instances of a lineage merging into another and the mobility of the communities further amplify this increasing social complexity.⁸⁶

Conclusion

In the final analysis, rather than ruptures and discontinuities, occasionally revived by external stimulus, a complex trading network involving a variety of groups including artisans, craftspeople, and transporters marks this period of the history of Gujarat. The history of these communities is evident from the donations that they made to religious establishments. Thus trade and trading activity cannot be studied in isolation from the diverse religious landscape that developed in the region. The attempt in this article has been to highlight the location and archaeology of religious structures, thereby placing the temple in its wider social base. It also needs to be appreciated that the temple was by no means unique; instead it was part of a diverse sacred geography. For a comprehensive appraisal of crafts and communities in northwestern India, the intertwined strands of religious architecture, economic activity, and political intervention need to be examined and understood. An overview of this activity as presented in this article amply demonstrates the participation of communities of northwestern India in a variety of trading networks, local, regional, and transoceanic in the period between the sixth and the eleventh centuries, many of these networks dating from an earlier period.

NOTES

1. M. N. Pearson, *The Indian Ocean* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 95, 75.
2. John E. Cort, "Communities, Temples, Identities: Art Histories and Social Histories in Western India," in *Ethnography and Personhood: Notes from the Field*, ed. Michael W. Meister (Jaipur and New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 2000), 101–28.
3. This theory credits the introduction of iron around 1000 B.C. with expansion of agriculture and production of a "surplus" in the middle Ganga valley. This surplus was then invested in trading ventures, which emerged around the middle of the first millennium B.C. Trade with the Roman empire led to the development of urban centers in the early centuries of the Common Era, but with the decline of the Roman empire and consequently its trade with India, these towns and cities were abandoned. A period of agrarian expansion and self-sufficient village economy followed, lasting until A.D. 1000, when foreign trade revived under the Arabs. R. S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism, c. A.D. 300–1200* (New Delhi: Macmillan, 1965).
4. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), 167. The period between the sixth-seventh and twelfth-thirteenth centuries showed developments vastly different from the society of the earlier period. "State formation was a crucial agent of change in this respect, in the sense that it brought a measure of cohesion among local elements of culture by providing them a focus" (35). While urban centers were characterized as centers of political power, surrounded by large agricultural hinterlands and located along trade routes in the early historic period, the character of these urban centers changed in the early medieval period into "nodal points in local exchange networks" (181).
5. André Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of an Indo-Islamic World* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990), 45–64.
6. Wink, *Al-Hind*, 72.
7. The site of Hathāb was the largest, located close to the sea with an area of more than forty hectares, while the largest number of sites—i.e., eleven—fall in the category of three to twelve hectares. It is significant that while thirteen sites were located in the black cotton soil zone, six were situated close to the coast. The site of Padri, situated three–four kilometers inland, was known for extraction of salt. Ashit Boran Paul, "The Early Historic Settlement and Subsistence Pattern in the Shetrunji River Basin, Bhavnagar District, Gujarat," *Puratattva* 30 (1999–2000): 99–105.
8. S. R. Rao, *Excavations at Amreli* (Baroda: Museum and Picture Gallery, 1966).
9. R. N. Mehta, "Valabhi of the Maitrakas," *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (Baroda) 13 (1963–64): 240–51.
10. The office of the *drangika* was peculiar to the Maitrakas and included a number of villages in its jurisdiction; e.g., three grants refer to villages belonging to the Mandali-dranga. The term *peṭha* has been found in one grant, which refers to Vaṭagrāma in Dīpanaka peṭṭah in Bilvakhata *sthāli*. The conclusion is that a *peṭha* was larger than a *grāma* or village but smaller than a *sthāli*. The occurrence of the term *peṭha* in two copper plate grants from Central India and dated to A.D. 529 and 533 indicates the Central Indian connections of Gujarat at this time. K. J. Virji, *Ancient History of Saurashtra* (Bombay: Konkan Institute of Arts and Sciences, 1952), 234–35.
11. Both literary and inscriptional sources of the tenth and post-tenth centuries indicate a range of commodities traded such as grains, pulses, salt, oil, ghee,

- textiles, betel leaves, areca nuts, coco-nuts, spices, incense, ivory, coral, gold, etc. V. K. Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1990), 56.
12. George Buhler, "The Cintra Prasasti of the Reign of Sarangadeva," *Epigraphia Indica* 1 (1892): 271–87, verses 49–57:
He [Tripurāntaka] ... presented ... eight *drummas* [for the purchase] of sandalwood. ... The guild of the gardeners shall furnish daily 200 white roses and 2000 fragrant oleander blossoms. He assigned ... six *drummas* for the monthly expenditure in order to procure ... a pure *vedikā*. Two *māṇakas* of husked rice, one *māṇaka* of *Phaseolus mungo*, four *kāṣas* of clarified butter and as much oil for the lamps. Five betel nuts of good quality ... two *manas* of fragrant gum [*guggulu*] for the time of offering incense ... 50 leaves of betel pepper for the preparation of *biṭaka*.
 13. Jain, *Trade and Traders*, 73.
 14. The Anavada inscription (1291) refers to gifts to a temple by the *nau-viṭṭakas* or ship owners. *Indian Antiquary*, 41:21.
 15. These include sites such as Valabhi, Nagara, Dwārka, Somanātha, etc.
 16. Dilip Rajgor refers to finds of hoards of Roman coins from Ahmadābād and Kera, but none of these are available for study. D. Rajgor, "Roman Currency in Gujarat," in *New Dimensions of Indology*, ed. R. N. Mehta (New Delhi: Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 1997), 197–203.
 17. R. D. De Puma, "The Roman Bronzes from Kolhapur," in *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade*, ed. V. Begley and R. D. De Puma (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992), 101–2.
 18. The inscription describes designs woven by them on silks as *varnāntara-vibhāga-cittena*, translated as "with varied stripes of different colours" A. L. Basham, "The Mandasor Inscription of the Silk Weavers," in *Essays on Gupta Culture*, ed. Bardwell L. Smith (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983), 99. In their new place of residence, the silk weavers adopted several new occupations. "Some became pastmasters in archery ... others became knowers [tellers] of varied tales ... while others, unassumingly virtuous, fully devoted to discoursing on righteousness [*dharma*] ... some remained excellent in their (ancestral) craft, and others, knowers of the self (*ātmā*) mastered astrology" (97–98).
 19. Cynthia Talbot, *Precolonial India in Practice: Society, Region and Identity in Medieval Andhra* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 87: "Moreover, temples offered arenas for the formation of new sociopolitical identities, and the patronage of specific temples was often motivated by such factors. The patronage of temples can hence be viewed as both a symptom and a cause of the dynamism of medieval Andhra society: it both reflected ongoing processes and helped shape further evolution."
 20. P. N. Vasa, "Find of a Late Byzantine Solidus and Arab Umayyad Dinara from Kutch," *Numismatic Digest* 14 (1990): 14, 30–33.
 21. Z. D. Ansari and M. S. Mate, *Excavation at Dwarka* (Poona: Deccan College Research Institute, 1966).
 22. V. D. Gogte, "Discovery of the Ancient Port of Chaul," *Man and Environment* 28.1 (2003): 67–74.
 23. Jain, *Trade and Traders*, 109–16.
 24. David Whitehouse, "Sasanian Maritime Activity," in *The Indian Ocean in Antiquity*, ed. J. Reade (London: British Museum, 1996), 344.
 25. Whitehouse, "Sasanian Maritime Activity," 342.
 26. Quoted in Whitehouse, "Sasanian Maritime Activity," 342.
 27. S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, vol. 1, *Economic Foundations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 149–50, 155.
 28. Meera Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1988), 110.
 29. V. V. Mirashi, "The Inscriptions of the Silaharas," *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. 6 (New Delhi: 1977), 185.
 30. J. G. De Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions from the seventh to the ninth century A.D.* (Bandung: Masa Baru, 1956), 188–89.
 31. While defining two types of *sangha*, or oligarchy organization, the *Arthaśāstra* (11.1.4) places Saurāṣṭra in the first category together with Kamboja as living by trade and vocation of arms (*vārtāśāstropajivināh*). The author of the text *Kauṭīliya* identifies members of this type of *sangha* as engaged in cattle rearing or trades in peacetime, but taking to arms when necessary. Trans. R. P. Kangle, *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988), pt. 3, 124.
 32. Dilip Rajgor, *Punch-Marked Coins of Early Historic India* (California: Reesha Books International, 2001), 63–70.
 33. The Kṣatrapas are known to have ruled in regions as far apart as the northwest frontiers along Afghanistan as well as in the northern plains at Mathurā. The rule of the Western Kṣatrapas is generally dated between the second half of the first century A.D. and the beginning of the fifth century A.D. During this time they issued coins in silver, copper, and lead as well as copper alloyed with lead and arsenic.
 34. Thus while the legend on the coins of Apollodotus reads: "Basileus Suterōs Appolodotoy," the coins of Nahāpāṇa carries "Rannio Saharatac Nahapanac."

- Amiteshwar Jha and Dilip Rajgor, *Studies in the Coinage of the Western Ksatrapas* (Nashik: Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, 1994), 25.
35. Jha and Rajgor, *Studies in the Coinage of the Western Ksatrapas*, 73.
36. The epigraph is in Sanskrit prose, which also characterized subsequent Maitrka epigraphs. The inscription refers to Rudradāmana's selection as ruler by all groups (*varṇas*), his close alliance with Sātakarṇi who ruled over the Deccan, and his personal achievements as a regional ruler. After defeating the Yaudheyas, he extended his reign over eastern and western Ākarāvanti, Anupa, Ānarta, Saurāṣṭra, Svabhra, Maru, Kachh, Sindhu-Sauvira, Kukura, Aparānta, and Niṣāda. *Epigraphia Indica* 8 (1905–6): 36–49, no. 6.
37. Suviṣākha, the son of Kulaipa, a Pahlava who was appointed in charge of the province, carried out the actual repairs of Lake Sudarṣana. Candragupta Maurya had originally built the lake in the fourth century B.C. and Tuṣaspha added conduits to it in the reign of the Mauryan ruler Aśoka in the third century B.C.
38. Four of the Andhau inscriptions are on long, narrow slabs of stone and in several cases are inscribed lengthwise. The purpose of all four is to record the erection of funerary monuments by relatives of the deceased. R. D. Banerji, "The Andhau Inscriptions of the Time of Rudradaman," *Epigraphia Indica* 16 (1921–22): 19–25. Eight others are known from the Buddhist monastic sites of Nāsik, Karle, and Junnār in Maharashtra. R. Jamindar, "Some Observations from the Ksatrapa Epigraphs from Kaccha," in *Art, Culture and Natural History of Kutch*, ed. S. K. Bhowmik (Vadodara: Department of Museums, 1976–77), 92. See also *Epigraphia Indica* 16 (1921–22): 238–41, no. 17.
39. Three of their inscriptions from Andhau near Khavda mention the erection of a yaṣṭi or funeral monument in memory of Satrunsasa, a monk (*śrāmaṇera*). *Epigraphia Indica* 35 (1963–64): 190–92. Another record from Wandh refers to the erection of funeral monument in memory of the servant of the mother, mentioning *Atimuta gotra* and the name of Kachh as Kasadeśa. *Epigraphia Indica* 37 (1961): 109. See also H. D. Sankalia, *Prehistoric and Historic Archaeology of Gujarat* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1987), 84.
40. H. P. Ray, *Monastery and Guild: Commerce under the Satavahanas* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986), 53.
41. Emile Senart, "The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik," *Epigraphia Indica* 8 (1905–6): 85–86.
42. Senart, "Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik," 95, no. 26.
43. Lionel Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 81.
44. W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (1938; reprint Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1984), 361–62.
45. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, 227.
46. R. E. M. Wheeler, A. Ghosh and Krishna Deva, "Arikamedu: An Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India," *Ancient India* 2 (1946): 17–124.
47. Nancy Pinto Orton, "Red Polished Ware in Gujarat: A Catalogue of Twelve Sites," in *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade*, ed. Vimala Begley and R. D. De Puma (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992), 46.
48. H. P. Ray, "The Yavana Presence in Ancient India," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 31 (1988): 311–25.
49. The grammarian, Pāṇini, a resident of Salatura in the vicinity of Taxilā states, in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (grammatical treatise) that the feminine form of *yāvana* is *yavnāni* (4.1.49). This form, according to Kātyāyana, denoted Greek writing (Varṭtika 3 on Pāṇini 4.1.49) and is further paraphrased by Patañjali in the middle of the second century B.C. Pāṇini also associated the *yāvanas* with the *kambojas* and described them as having shaven heads (Pāṇini Ganapatha 178 on 2.1.72: *yāvaṇamua* and *kambojamuṇḍa*). *Yāvanas* were regarded in the law books as degenerate *kṣātriyas* (Manu 10.43–44; *Mahābhārata śāntiparva* 12.200). *Milindapañha* (1) *aṭṭhi Yonakānām nānāpuṭabhedanām Sagalannāmā nagaram*. . . In the *Gārgī Samhitā*, a work on astrology, a section named the Yuga Purāna, contains some historical information, including the story of the attack on Sāketa and Pātaliputra in which the *yāvaṇas* took part. The association with the northwest continues in the *Visnu Purāna* dated to the latter half of the first millennium A.D., which refers to the *yāvanas* as living in the west of the country. The *Visnu Purāna: A System of Hindu Mythology and Tradition*, trans. H. H. Wilson (reprint, Calcutta, 1972) 11, 3, 141–44.
50. R. S. Avasthy and A. K. Ghosh, "References to Muhammadans in Sanskrit Inscriptions in Northern India, A.D. 730 to 1320," *Journal of Indian History* 15 (1938): 161–84; 16: 24–26, 171.
51. *Epigraphia Indica* 34 (1960–61): 197–203.
52. *Epigraphia Indica* 32 (1957–58): 45–60.
53. Mirashi, "Inscriptions of the Silaharas," 115–20.
54. J. F. Fleet, "Junagadh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta," *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* 3 (1886): no. 14.
55. Bhaṭṭāraka is mentioned as the founder of the Maitrka dynasty in inscriptions, though none of his own records are known. He is credited with the acquisition of royal power (*rājyaśrī*) through the

- strength of his hereditary servants, friends, and guilds (*maula-bhṛta-mitra-śreṇi*). The phrase used in the inscriptions is borrowed from the *Arthaśāstra* (*maula-bhṛta-śreṇi-mitrāmītra-ātavibala* 9.2.1) and is an indication of armed soldiers maintained by trading groups. E. Hultzsch, "Ganeshgad Plates of Druvasena I," *Epigraphia Indica* 3 (1894–95): 318–23; Sten Konow, "Palitana Plates of Dhruvasena I," *Epigraphia Indica* 11 (1911–12): 105–15; N. G. Majumdar, "A Passage in the Inscription of the Maitrakas of Valabhi," *Indian Antiquary* 48 (1919): 207–11.
56. Dandin, *Dasakumaracarita of Dandin*, ed. M. R. Kale (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986), 164, 332. One of the stories in the text is set in the city (*nagara*) of Valabhi in Saurāṣṭra, where the chief of sea traders (*nāvika-pati*) lived. He possessed immense wealth, like Kubera.
 57. R. N. Mehta and A. M. Thakkar, eds., *M. S. University Copper Plates of the Time of Toramana* (Vadodara: MS University, 1978).
 58. L. D. Barnett, "Bhamodra Mohota Plate of Dronasimha," *Epigraphia Indica* 16 (1921–22): 17–19. The Navalakhi plates of Śilāditya I (year 286 or A.D. 605) found in a village about eight–ten miles from *Junāgarh* records the gift of a village to forty-four *brāhmaṇas* who had moved from Sangapuri (identified with the present Shahapur near Junāgarh). H. M. Bhadkamkar, "Navalakhi Plates of Silāditya I," *Epigraphia Indica*, 11 (1911–12): 174–80. The names of the *brāhmaṇas* are curious. Some look like family names, while others are names of individuals. The name Boppasvāmī may show that he was very likely a Tailang *brāhmaṇa* (175).
 59. The Palitana plates of Sinhāditya (year 255 or A.D. 574) refer to several people who were addressed regarding the transfer of land to a *brāhmaṇa*. These included princes (*rāja-putra*), palace officers (*rāja-śhāniya*), ministers, city officers (*drangika*), headmen (*mahaṭṭara*), irregular soldiers, spies, regular soldiers, riders on elephants and horses, etc. "E. Hultzsch, Palitana Plates of Simhaditya: The Year 255," *Epigraphia Indica* 11 (1911–12): 16–20. The same list is repeated in Hultzsch, "Palitana Plates of Dharasena II: Gupta Samvat 252," *Epigraphia Indica* 11 (1911–12): 80–85. Palitana plates of Dharasena II (year 252 or A.D. 571) record grants of land in the village of Ekalika.
 60. Virji, *Ancient History of Saurashtra*, 245.
 61. Mehta and Thakkar, *M.S. University Copper Plates*.
 62. D. C. Sircar, "Charter of Visnusena Samvat 649," *Epigraphia Indica* 30 (1953–54): 163–81, no. 30.
 63. Sircar, "Charter of Visnusena."
 64. Norman A. Stillman, "The Eleventh Century Merchant House of Ibn 'Awkal (A Geniza Study)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 16 (1973): 15–88.
 65. Sircar, "Charter of Visnusena," 178.
 66. The legend reads: *mahārāja-rudrasena-vihāre-bhikṣusanghasya*. D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments* (Calcutta: Sahitya Sansad, 1980), 141. B. Ch. Chhabra, *Findings in Indian Archaeology* (Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan), 181–83; J. Ph. Vogel, "Seals of Buddhist Monasteries in Ancient India," *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, centenary volume, n.s., 1 (1945): 27–32.
 67. R. N. Mehta and S. N. Chowdhary, *Excavation at Devnimori* (Baroda: MS University of Baroda, 1966).
 68. The 7.14 hectare site with a 3.2 meter thick habitational deposit has provided data for three cultural periods. Period I is early Harappan (3000–2600 B.C.), Period II is mature Harappan (2500–1900 B.C.) and the third period is early historic (first century B.C. to first century A.D.). The third period has yielded a range of ceramics such as red ware, red slipped ware and gray ware together with bangles, beads, and terracotta objects. Ashit Boran Paul, "A Study of the Material Remains of the Early Historic Period Discovered at Padri of Bhavnagar District, Gujarat in India," *Pratnatattva* (Journal of the Department of Archaeology, Jahangirnagar University) 6 (June 2000): 53–66.
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 71. "Two New Valabhi Copper Plates," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 20 (1897): 1–10. These copper plates also refer to a temple at the site.
 72. Virji, *Ancient History of Saurashtra*, 33.
 73. G. Bühler, "A Valabhi Grant of Silāditya I, Dated 290," *Indian Antiquary* 9 (1880): 237–39.
 74. R. D. Banerji, "The Bhadreniyaka Grant of Silāditya I, GE 292," *Epigraphia Indica* 21 (1931–32): 116–19, no. 18.
 75. Mehta and Thakkar, *M.S. University Copper Plates*, 23.
 76. M. A. Dhaky and U. S. Moorti, *The Temples in Kumbhariya* (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 2001).
 77. Buddhist *vihāras* in Gujarat as recorded in Maitraka inscriptions:
 1. Dudda *vihāra* or *vihāra maṇḍala*

- near Valabhi (copper plate grant of Dhruvasena I (A.D. 535). It included Bhaṭāraka *vihāra*, Gohaka *vihāra*, Abhayantrika *vihāra*, Kakka *vihāra*, Buddhadāsa *vihāra*, Vimalagupta *vihāra*, and Sthiramati *vihāra*.
2. Yakṣa Sūra *vihāra* built by Yakṣa Sūra, which formed the head of the monasteries for nuns. It included Pūrṇa-Bhaṭṭa *vihāra* and Ajjita *vihāra*.
 3. Bappapadiya *vihāra* near Valabhi built by Ācārya Bhikṣu Sthiramati for monks from foreign countries: *nānādeśapraṇatvāgatārthyabhikṣus-anghasya*.
 4. Vamsakata *vihāra* built by Śīlāditya I.
 5. Yodhavaka *vihāra* with water reservoir.
78. Diskalker, "Ten Fragments of Stone Inscriptions and a Clay Seal from Vala," *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 20.1 (1938–39): 1–8.
 79. A. S. Gadre, "Five Vala Copper Plate Grants," *Journal of the University of Bombay* 3 (1934): 79.
 80. *Sangha kṣētra, sthavira brahmadeya khetra*, lines 36–39, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n.s. 1 (1841): 50–53; *Bavya sthaviraka ksetra* (line 49 in "Grant of Dharasena IV," *Indian Antiquary* 1 (1872), 14–18; and *satka ... Koutumba ksetra* (line 59 in "Grant of Silāditya III," *Epigraphia Indica* 4 (1896–97): 74–81.
 81. "A Grant of King Dhruvasena I of Valabhi," *Indian Antiquary* 4 (1875): 104–7.
 82. "A Grant of King Guhasena of Valabhi," *Indian Antiquary* 7 (1878): 66–68; *Indian Antiquary* 4, (1875): 174–76; *Epigraphia Indica* 13 (1915–16): 239.
 83. "An Unpublished Grant of King Dhruvasena I," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n.s., 1 (1895): 379–84.
 84. D. R. Bhandarkar, "Plates of Dantivarman of Gujarat," *Epigraphia Indica* 6 (1900–1901): no. 28.
 85. Jain, *Trade and Traders*, chap. 1. Another noncanonical Jaina text significant for this paper is the *Vasudevahimdi* in two parts; the first part dated to the sixth century A.D. and the second a few centuries later. A. P. Jamkhedkar, *Vasudevahimdi: A Cultural Study* (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1984), 8.
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ARTISANS, COMMUNITIES, AND COMMODITIES

Medieval Exchanges between Northwestern India and East Africa

Abstract

Studies of the medieval Indian Ocean have long been directed toward narratives of its regions, with an implicit notion that they may be connected through trade. But there is little real understanding of the complex and changing inter-relationships across the ocean. This article explores the links between two areas, East Africa and northwestern India, and brings together the archaeological, oral, and documentary evidence to suggest a complex interaction between the two areas from the eleventh until the fourteenth centuries. In particular, this article argues through archaeological data that merchants and middlemen were not the only groups traveling the seaways and overland routes. Communities of artisans also traveled long distances, and in fact sometimes settled at their points of disembarkation.

STUDENTS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGY of the East African coast recognize that long-distance trading connections with western Asia were a central feature behind the development of the Swahili culture.¹ The towns of the African coast were essentially “ports of trade” into which were collected the raw materials and commodities of the African mainland (ivory, slaves, skins, aromatic woods, timber, resins, minerals, and gems), which were exchanged for manufactured items carried by ships following the monsoon winds from the ports of the Persian Gulf region. This relatively simple model of long-distance trade is supported by historical accounts in the Arabic geographies² and by finds of imported pottery, beads, and glass from excavated structures and rubbish pits; indeed the proportion and range of imports found in these African sites suggest that imported material culture was a ubiquitous feature of the lifeways of these communities. The bulk of these finds came from the Persian Gulf ports or their hinterlands. This “bilateral trade” with the gulf and its peripheries originated in pre-Islamic trading systems, and has continued into the contemporary period, with a dhow trade in timber mangrove poles that finally ceased in the 1980s.

However, this model of bilateral trade between East Africa and the ports of western Asia may be misleading for a number of reasons. A reassessment of the mercantile organization of the western Indian Ocean is under way incorporating recent archaeological discoveries from various East African ports.³ These archaeological discoveries have prompted a realization that the documentary sources introduce a significant bias as they originate largely in the Persian Gulf region and naturally dwell on trade from there. Other areas of the western Indian Ocean are less well covered, including western India as well as the southern route that may have linked South and Southeast Asia with the African coast.

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Decorated plaster niches in a house
in Lamu, eighteenth or nineteenth
century, that were used to display
imported pottery and glass.
Photograph by the author.

It is very difficult to reconstruct complex networks from the archaeological evidence alone, as the presence or absence of artifacts does not provide definitive indication of trade routes. For example, African commodities may have reached western India via two legs, one along a sea route between the Persian Gulf and East Africa, and then picked up by ships sailing between the Red Sea and western India passing via Aden, Hormūz, or Kish;⁴ it is known that there were considerable quantities of African raw materials in these towns. So a commodity such as ivory could reach India from East Africa, but the items that reached East Africa in exchange may not be specifically Indian. Indeed, they could have come from anywhere within the trading region. Thus Indian diagnostic artifacts in the East African assemblages might not be expected even though trade with India was extensive.

It is also difficult to gauge the scale of the trade. When the quantities of viable imports to East Africa (mostly glass and pottery, from around the Indian Ocean) are computed from archaeological excavations, the actual number of vessels involved is comparatively small. The proportion of imported glazed pottery found at East African sites between the eighth and fourteenth centuries is around 5 percent of the total ceramic assemblage, with some variation over time, place, and context.⁵ However, when this proportion was calculated at the excavated site of Shanga in terms of actual number of vessels lost in an entire town, only 140 vessels were lost per year during the fourteenth century, fewer than one vessel per household per year. In the eleventh century, only twenty vessels were being lost per year, and in the ninth century only five vessels.⁶ As very little imported pottery is found outside these town sites, these dates give a realistic indication of the import rate—hardly enough to pay for the huge quantities of ivory and other commodities that were apparently leaving the African ports.

The notion of an exchange in the formalist sense,⁷ as envisaged by some economic anthropologists, may be misleading. The imported pottery and glass that is found may have been a gift exchange to cement relations between traders; these were socially embedded commodities that have symbolic meanings about the prestige and status of the trading class. The actual exchange may have used less visible items, such as cloth (which normally does not survive in wet tropical regions), foodstuffs, or even coinage, which tends to be conserved and recycled. Support for the idea that the imported pottery and glass were gifts with social meaning comes from the coastal architecture, which incorporates niches specifically designed to display these imported items in merchants' houses (fig. 1).⁸ Glazed pottery was also built into walls to decorate tombs and the vaults of mosques and mihrabs. Imported pottery and glass were seen as prestigious gifts (and Islamic glazed pottery was later replaced by Chinese porcelains and by the nineteenth century by

Western Indian Ocean between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries.



Dutch and Scottish underglaze painted wares), not trade items per se. The donors of these gifts could have come from anywhere with access to this material, rather than where the goods were actually made. Pottery and glass are not direct indicators of trade but denote membership in a common Indian Ocean culture.⁹

Perhaps the most fundamental problem for both historians and archaeologists is distinguishing between commodity exchange and the movement of artisans. If the Indian Ocean is viewed as a “Braudelian sea,” then its cultures were interlinked through both trade and settlement; communities of artisans were likely to be as



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Bronze lion figurine discovered in an eleventh-century pit at Shanga, 59mm high. Photograph by the author.

mobile as the commodities they were making.¹⁰ By concentrating simply on commodities, the existence of artisan communities working at great distances from their homeland, is rarely considered. Yet when, with European contact, detailed historical descriptions of the ports around the Indian Ocean rim became available, the port towns were already complex multicultural entities.

The origin of particular artifacts may be ambiguous, and possibly was intended to be so. An example is an eleventh-century bronze lion figurine, found at Shanga, and apparently modeled on the African rather than Asiatic lion but stylistically very close to a range of brass lion figurines from Hindu contexts in western India (fig. 2). It is likely that Indian artisans, resident in East Africa, made the lion figurine; they may also have introduced lost-wax casting.¹¹ The Shanga lion may be part of a wider pattern of artisans from around the Indian Ocean working in African communities and presumably over time, becoming fully assimilated into the local culture. Such artisans might have included stonemasons carving the twelfth-century Kufic inscriptions found at Kizimkazi and Tumbatu or the bead makers producing carnelian and rock crystal beads.

East Africa and Northwestern India: Documentary Evidence

Documentary evidence for contacts between northwestern India and East Africa is very slight indeed. Al-Mas'ūdi, whose account is reliable as he visited East Africa in 916, noted that ivory was one of the main exports; the tusks went first to Oman and "from there are sent to China and India."¹² In India ivory was much sought after. Al-Mas'ūdi gave no indication, however, as to the Indian ports at which the ivory arrived. A little later, al-Bīrūnī (ca. 1030) gave the first specific indication of an East Africa—western India connection by commenting that the port of Somanātha became famous "because it lay between Zanj and China."¹³ This comment may again have referred to an ivory trade, which was the major African export of this time and one of the main items that the Persian Gulf merchants used to acquire Chinese goods in their famous "China trade."

Al-Idrīsī (1100–1166), who never visited East Africa and whose descriptions can be confusing, suggested there was a trade in African iron to India, "where it carries a good price, for it is the object of great commerce and consumption in the

Indies, and although it exists in the isles and mines of this country [India], it is not as good as the iron of Sufāla, either on account of its abundance, goodness, malleability.”¹⁴ Al-Idrīsī was not specific regarding the area of India to which the iron was being transported, but he does refer to iron mines in Sufāla (which represents the southern part of the East African coast) as well as farther north near Malindi and Mombasa. Recent work on East African iron suggests that indigenous furnaces were capable of producing steel of a high quality, in a tradition that extends back to the early Iron Age. From excavated sites, there is much evidence for smithing and smelting between the tenth and twelfth centuries, although smelting may have also taken place in the interior.¹⁵

From the twelfth century, there is evidence of Indian communities living in the port cities of the Indian Ocean. Indian merchants were recorded at Kish (at the entrance to the Persian Gulf) in 1170, a port that had a particularly close relationship with East Africa at this time, and seems to have been the transshipment point for African slaves, ivory, crystal, and ambergris.¹⁶ Twelfth-century Kish was a very diverse port, with Arabs, Jews, Indians, and Persians all prospering from this African trade. Indeed, so important was this African trade to the merchants of Kish that the ruler of the town led a naval attack on its rival, Aden, to retain control of it.¹⁷

It is only at the beginning of the sixteenth century that we have specific documentary evidence for resident Indian communities in East Africa, specifically at the ports of Malindi, Mombasa, Kilwa, and Pate.¹⁸ Vasco da Gama’s expedition of 1498 located Indians resident in Malindi and Mombasa, but wrongly identified them as Christians rather than Hindus. He had no difficulty in finding a pilot who could guide his small fleet to western India from Malindi to Calicut.¹⁹ A little later Tomé Pires (ca. 1512–15) described the main exports carried in ships from Khambhāt and Aden to Kilwa, Malindi, and Mogadishu as rice, wheat, soap, indigo, butter (and lard), oils, carnelians, and coarse pottery (“like that from Seville”), and all kinds of cloth.²⁰ Duarte Barbosa (ca. 1517–18) noted the great profits made in East Africa by merchants from Khambhāt,²¹ dealing in ivory, gold, and ambergris. By the sixteenth century, East Africa relied on cloth from Khambhāt; as one Portuguese writer put it, “All this coast dresses in these cloths and has no others.”²² The scale of the cloth trade was clearly substantial on the eve of the Portuguese arrival in the Indian Ocean. The documentary sources are silent as to whether this was a trade that grew up in the fifteenth century or was part of an ancient pattern.

There are difficulties in filling the period spanning the twelfth through early sixteenth centuries. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited East Africa in 1331, left a long and detailed description of the region but did not make a single reference to trade or

contact with India. The elaborate clothes that the ruler and courtiers of Mogadishu wore were made from silk, Jerusalem stuff, and Egyptian linen; there was also a flourishing local cloth industry.²³ The Arab geographer Abū al-Fīdā' (1273–1331) referred again to the iron mines of Malindi but did not mention the trade in iron to India.²⁴ Taking all this material together, most scholars have concluded that there was little contact between East Africa and India, except perhaps a short-lived trade in iron, until the development of the cloth trade in the fifteenth century.

Oral Traditions and Chronicles

Perhaps more revealing about the connections between East Africa and India are the oral traditions and chronicles of the Swahili towns. Most prominent are the stories about the Debuli or sometimes the Diba people. The Swahili have little idea who these people were, when they arrived, or where they came from, but these people play an important part in the origins of a number of coastal settlements, ranging from Zanzibar, Pemba, Kilwa, to the Lamu archipelago, remembered as their first landfall.²⁵ A case can be made on phonetic grounds that Swahili names of Debuli/Diba in the oral traditions represent the port city of Daybul/Dibal in northwestern India.

Stories about the Debuli refer to early times in Swahili history but are then confused by the arrival of later groups. In one version, for example, the Debuli were wrecked off Kiwayu Island, just to the north of the Lamu archipelago and intermarried with the local population.²⁶ They sailed down the coast in *mitepe* (a local type of sewn boat, often associated with the early settlement of the coast) and built stone houses on Pemba, Zanzibar, Mafia, and Kilwa. On Pemba they are remembered as a violent people, who forced the population to labor carrying heavy stones for their new buildings. On Zanzibar they were “cruelly using men as beasts of burden.”²⁷ At Kilwa, traditions place the Debuli as “ruling” before the Shīrāzī dynasty, which may date to the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.²⁸

While it is very likely that Debuli/Diba represents the port city of Daybul/Dibal, located at the mouth of the Indus, other suggestions have been made for alternative locations.²⁹ Controversy also surrounds the precise location of Daybul, although one candidate is Banbhore, where excavations have unearthed the remains of a substantial mosque.³⁰ Banbhore was probably deserted by the twelfth century, although the place name Daybul seems to have been transferred to Ṭhatta, which is also in Sindh and is sometimes known as Debal-Thaṭṭa. Given that the main prosperity of Daybul lies before the twelfth century, these African traditions may well be accurate and do indeed refer to a pre-Shīrāzī period of Swahili history. It is unlikely, however, that large groups of Daybuli citizens actually

“settled” in East Africa. It is more probable that Daybul was a place well known on the coast, presumably through trade, and may have been employed as a place of mythic origin. African origin traditions are complex and generally not literal in character.³¹ Similar traditions about the “origin” of another African group coming from Shīrāz can also be explained in this way.³²

Archaeological Evidence

While these oral traditions lack precision and have the potential for several conflicting interpretations, there remain some interesting archaeologically attested links among East Africa, Banbhore, and other sites in the Indus delta.

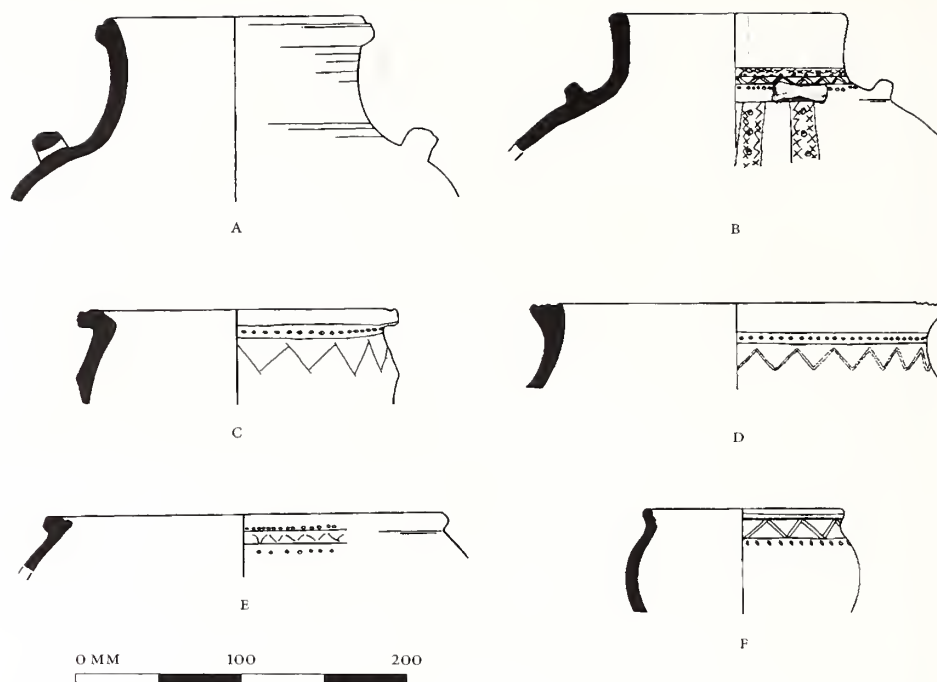
Ceramics

For a number of years, finds from excavations have suggested that contact between East Africa and northwestern India was more extensive than historical sources suggest; pottery, beads, cloth and coins provide specific indications of these connections. The most ubiquitous evidence is ceramic. Indian pottery is found at numerous sites in East Africa, dating from the seventh through fifteenth centuries. Even earlier Indian ceramics have been found at the exceptional site of Rās Hafun in northern Somalia, which has Indian pottery dating to the second–third centuries A.D.³³ The main published accounts of Indian pottery are from Manda, Kilwa, and Shanga.³⁴

Because the sherds are stratified, they can provide a reliable chronology for contact between India and Africa. Scientifically excavated and dated parallels from India are extremely illusive, however, and some of the material may come from the Deccan or even farther south. Attribution to India is largely through fabric and form, which is very distinctive to both East African pottery, as well as unglazed wares from Arabia and the Persian Gulf. Four groups of Indian pottery have so far been identified:

Grass-tempered gray ware

Grass-tempered gray wares are essentially water jars, known as chatties, with narrow-necked mouths and elbow rims often with exaggerated profiles. The paste is gray-straw buff, very soft, with many airholes, caused by the burning out of chaff and vegetation. Some of the water vessels can be massive in size. The jars were probably made on the slow wheel. The pottery is found in stratified contexts from the eighth century onward, with examples from Manda and Unguja Ukuu, but is common between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries on numerous other sites. The shape and forms of these wares are extremely long lived, and similar water jars are still made in Gujarat today.



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Decorated Indian red ware pottery found at Shanga, dating from mid-eleventh to fourteenth centuries.

Grog-tempered marron ware

Grog-tempered marron wares have a distinct purple paste with a gray core and some airholes along with grog inclusions. They are found not only in East Africa but also along the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, where they are termed “purple wares.”³⁵ The forms include large jars and carinated bowls all dating from the twelfth–fourteenth centuries. The rims have a simpler form than the gray wares, and the vessels are better made.

Red-slipped orange ware

Red-slipped orange wares have a very distinctive orange-red to buff pink fabric, with flaky fracture and striated airholes and very thin vessel walls. They are coated in a red haematite slip, which is often worn away. They are fine jars, with narrow necks and often exaggerated rims. These wares may have their origin in the Indian red-polished wares but occur in east Africa only from the tenth to fourteenth centuries. They were found in particularly large quantities in excavations on the Zanzibari island of Tumbatu, where they represented 20 percent of the imported assemblage in the thirteenth century.

Decorated red ware

Decorated red wares are the only decorated Indian ceramics and have been found exclusively at Shanga, where in certain phases they constitute up to 30 percent of the imported assemblage. The fabric is a red to orange-red paste, with white flecks as a temper, and the surface is often burnished smooth to a red or reddish brown color. Decoration includes incised lines and punctuates in bands and panels. The forms are largely bowls and jars, and the rims often have complex forms. These can be quite large vessels, with rim diameters of between 15 and 20 millimeters. They date from the mid-eleventh through the fourteenth centuries (fig. 3).

The presence of these classes of Indian pottery at both East African as well as Persian Gulf sites is unexplained. At certain sites, in certain phases, it is relatively common, but at others it runs at only about 3 percent of the total import assemblage and about 0.1 percent of the total pottery found.³⁶ While there is an early presence of Indian ceramics between the seventh and tenth centuries, the bulk of importation spans the eleventh–fourteenth centuries. Surprisingly, it becomes rare by the end of the fifteenth century, when the Indian cloth trade with East Africa was at its height.

The Indian wares found in East Africa are all very utilitarian and contrast with the fine glazed wares that have been found and are discussed above as possible gift exchanges between merchants. Most are water jars, and it is possible they arrived by boat, carrying water for the voyage across the ocean. Some came ashore and may have been replaced by other, possibly locally made jars for the homeward journey. This explanation would indicate a direct maritime connection between northwestern India and East Africa for which there is otherwise little evidence.

However, as the range of Indian pottery types also includes bowls and cooking vessels, it is possible that the pottery was owned by Indian communities living and working in East Africa. These communities may have brought pottery with them or sought to have it carried from India; Tomé Pires noted a trade in coarse pottery in the early sixteenth century,³⁷ and cultural reasons may be the best explanation as to why this very inferior pottery moved several thousands of miles across the Indian Ocean. It may provide a signature for an Indian presence in East Africa, which becomes more likely where the proportions rise to above 10 percent of the imported assemblage, as occurs in certain levels at Shanga and Tumbatu.

Beads

An Indian connection with East Africa is best demonstrated in the manufacture and trade in beads. Beads are a relatively common find at East African sites and seem to have been one of the significant trading items with the African interior. Before the tenth century, coastal sites made their own beads from shell and semi-precious stones; glass and stone beads were a relatively rare import. The local shell-bead industry used the marine gastropod *Anadara*, and large numbers of bead grinders have been found in levels up to around 900. These bead grinders comprise discarded sherds of pottery (both locally made and imported) and sometimes beach pebbles with numerous grooves worn into their surface. The shell beads themselves are fairly rare, suggesting that the indigenous inhabitants of the coast made them mostly for trade purposes with the interior.³⁸

Glass beads do occur in very small numbers in the same levels as the shell beads and bead grinders and were probably imports from western India. They are gen-

erally wound oblate beads, using yellow or, more rarely, a cobalt blue glass.³⁹ Less common are folded beads, with two colors of glass, and drawn beads. These beads tend to be larger and much better made than glass beads from after the eleventh century.

Around 1050 there was a transformation of the bead industry, and glass beads become very common. From stratified and sieved excavations at Shanga,⁴⁰ 46 beads were found in phase 12 (ca. 1050), 71 in phase 13 (ca. 1075), peaking at 146 in phase 15 (ca. 1200), and declining to only 13 beads in phase 20 (ca. 1375). These beads are the mass-produced “trade-wind” beads, which are either wound or drawn (at Shanga these were in roughly equal proportions). The wound beads are lenticular, spheroid, bicone, and oblate in shape, and the colors are yellow, green, blue, black, turquoise, red, and white; the proportions of shape and color changed over time.

The site of Mkokotoni on Zanzibar seems to have been a center for either the import or manufacture of glass beads during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁴¹ Large numbers of cane beads, along with some glass waste, are still found in the sand along some five hundred meters of beach, where they seem to have eroded from beachside occupation deposits.⁴² Two test pits, dug in 1989 through these deposits, suggest that there are several million glass beads still present on this site—a concentration far larger than would be expected on a settlement site. The molten glass found with the beads may indicate that they were “finished” on the African coast, having been imported as rods or even glass raw material.⁴³ Mkokotoni lies close to Tumbatu, which had a high proportion of Indian pottery in its thirteenth–fourteenth century levels; from Mkokotoni itself, coins from South India have also been discovered along with two hoards of Chinese copper coins. It seems that the site was a huge depot for the finishing off, sorting, and distribution of Indian trade-wind beads.

The stone beads found in East Africa may be imports or locally made, using Indian technologies or even by resident Indian artisans. The carnelian bead industry of Khambhāt is well known; Pires noted them as trade items to East Africa in the early sixteenth century.⁴⁴ Carnelian beads occurred through the sequence at Shanga in small quantities, with little statistical variation in import rate.⁴⁵ One group, however, were wasters, discarded after the holes through the bead had been incorrectly bored. While these could have been dud beads imported from India, it is possible that they were wasters from carnelian bead-making activity in East Africa, as they are crude rough-outs that were never finished and polished but discarded after the hole boring had failed. If this is the case, these beads suggest the presence of artisans on the coast who had access to the complex diamond drilling and polishing technology needed to make the stone beads (fig. 4). The raw material, a quartz chalcedony, is readily available in East Africa. Work in other



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The remains of small workshops or kiosks at Shanga, found in front of a large stone building dating to around 1000. Photograph by the author.

quartz stone is also evidenced along the coast. In particular, rock crystal seems to have been an important export, supplying the famous Fāṭimid workshops. Waste lumps of crystal have been found, along with waster beads, where the quartz had shattered or the holes had been incorrectly bored, as with the carnelians. These crystal beads, which were more common than carnelian, date mostly to the period between 950 and 1250.

Stone beads represent the problem of recognizing commodities or artisans in the archaeological record. While it was certainly cheaper to mass-produce beads in India for export, the presence of raw materials may have provided a context for a local bead-making industry. This work may have been undertaken by local Africans, but, at least initially, they would have had to acquire a complex technology involving diamond drill bits. The easiest way for this technology transfer to take place was the physical settlement of Indian artisans, who may have been encouraged to live in East Africa to help in the complex working of rock crystal for export to Fāṭimid Egypt in the tenth–eleventh centuries.

Cloth

The only piece of medieval cloth, dating to the eleventh century, to have survived from East Africa is a small square that was found sandwiched between two gold coins in a hoard found from Mtambwe Mkuu. The cloth is made from z-spun cotton and was dyed blue with indigo.⁴⁶ It is probably of Indian origin.

The manufacture of cloth is more visible in the archaeological record. The main evidence comes in the form of spindle whorls. These were made from a vari-



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A stone tank at Shanga that may have been used in cloth making, divided into two parts, dating to the early fourteenth century. Photograph by the author.

ety of sources—discarded ceramic, chlorite schist, ivory, and terracotta. The most common were rubbed sherds with a hole bored through the center. They can be dated, both through the ware that they used and from their stratified position in the archaeological sequence. The best evidence for the chronology of cloth-making comes from Shanga,⁴⁷ although it is a pattern found elsewhere. Here, it was discovered that cloth-making dates from 1000, and the number of whorls peaked in 1075. They then fall off gradually, their deposition ending around 1300. Whorls were made from imported sgraffiato pottery and very rarely from later types of imported pottery. The purpose-made decorated terracotta whorls date to the twelfth century and were common at Shanga and Kilwa.⁴⁸ It is also possible to suggest the location of the actual cloth-makers. At Shanga, where a high concentration of spindle whorls as well as Indian pottery have been found, there are detached timber workshops that are later incorporated into the houses, with adjacent stone-lined tanks that may have been used for the fulling and dyeing of cloth (fig. 5).

This evidence would seem to suggest that, before 1000, cloth was being imported to East Africa ready-made, but then, rapidly, a local cloth industry developed. It is possible that this industry may have been developed by Indian textile workers settled there. The industry could have used flax, but cotton is more likely. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noted a local industry of cloth weaving in Mogadishu, the product of which took its name from the town and provided much wealth for the merchants; it was exported as far as Egypt.⁴⁹ Chinese sources dating to the thirteenth century suggest that raw “red” cotton was imported into Zengba (Zanzibar), presumably to turn into cloth.⁵⁰ Cotton can be successfully grown in East Africa, and it may have been introduced to some of the mainland plantations.

By the later fourteenth century, however, the local textile industry seems to have collapsed in the face of stiff competition, as finished textiles were imported from western India. The demand for cloth was substantial in East Africa, not just in the coastal towns but also as a trade item for the African interior. Cloth was replacing alternatives such as skins and bark cloth among the Iron Age communities and seems to have been the main trade item for exchanging of ivory and gold.



6

6
Part of the Mtambwe hoard of over 2,000 silver coins, found in 1984, on Pemba island. Photograph by the author.

The prestige of the Indian cloth to the African communities was related to its colorful use of dye that was not locally available. Duarte Barbosa noted in 1517 that the merchants of Sufāla, located on the southeast coast, still grew their own cotton to make white cloth but unraveled imported dyed cloth from Khambhāt, thread by thread, and incorporated it in their own textiles: “With this thread and their own white they make much coloured cloth, and from it gain much gold.”⁵¹

The rapid growth of the East African cloth industry from 1000 is another example of “technology transfer,” as there is no evidence for local cloth-making before this date. While only the whorls survive, the manufacture of cloth required supplies of raw materials, fibers as well as dyestuff and fuller’s earth, and the technology to both spin and weave. By 1300, the products of this industry could compete with Egyptian cloth, an advance that may have been achieved by the settlement of clothiers from overseas who were able to introduce the entire “package” at once. Given the long history and technological sophistication of the North Indian textile industry, this is the likely origin, although it is difficult to prove. By the fifteenth century, however, the local textile industry collapsed in the face of Indian competition, which was now able to export cloth that was both cheap and superior in decoration and quality.

Coinage

The East African towns used locally minted coins from the late eighth century.⁵² The earliest coins come from stratified deposits from Shanga and comprise minuscule silver coins, weighing between 0.1 and 0.3 grams, with a name and a short statement such as “Muḥammad / billah yāthīq.” The coins were made in coin flans, a method described by Hamdānī in the Yemen, examples of which have actually been found in excavations at Banbhore, the possible site for Daybul in Sindh.⁵³ These eighth–ninth century coins from the Lamu archipelago develop into the silver and copper coinage of the Swahili towns. This series is best known from the Mtambwe hoard, excavated in 1984 on Pemba island; it had been buried after 1066, the date of the latest Fāṭimid dīnār found with the hoard.⁵⁴ The locally made coins

were of silver and contain the names of local rulers with rhyming couplets on their reverse, a practice found on both Fātimid coins and coins of the Amīrs of Sindh (fig. 6). Copper coins were also made in East Africa. They are more commonly found with similar couplets and continued to be made until the fifteenth century. The evidence suggests that while the East African coinage was made for local rulers, it was influenced by coining practices around the Indian Ocean, including those of Sindh. It may not be coincidental that the traditional “first” landfall of the “Debuli” in the Lamu archipelago is also where the first evidence can be found for numismatic connections with the Indus delta.

Conclusions

If we were to rely solely upon documentary evidence, then much of the trade of the Indian Ocean maritime world would be invisible. Rather than a small number of “superhighways” linking the key regions with high-profile commodities, there was a complex crisscrossing of traders, linking together different areas. Some commodities were not recorded at all, and most are not visible in the archaeological record, either. They can be inferred through secondary evidence—trade in liquids, for example, may leave pottery vessels behind, a cloth trade may leave spindle whorls, a bead trade may leave glass waste. The trade in particular items may be surprising: raw cotton may be traded rather than the finished textiles, or wrought iron ingots rather than completed objects. The relationship between East Africa and northwestern India is an excellent example of this hidden trade in a variety of commodities, such as cloth and beads, that were vital to the prosperity of the whole system, but which are seldom recorded in the texts.

There are tantalizing glimpses of multiple connections between regions to suggest that some voyages may have connected more than two regions, a situation suggested by Pires in the early sixteenth century, citing India, East Africa, and Aden.⁵⁵ It makes considerable navigational sense to sail from northwestern India to East Africa and to return via Arabia, as this can be done in two monsoons, or to travel to East Africa via Arabia, and return directly to India. Such multiple voyages could result in much higher profits, as each leg contributes to the overall gain of the voyage, in very much the same way a triangular trade developed in the eighteenth-century Atlantic. Thus a possible scenario is that Indian cloth and beads were exchanged in East Africa for ivory, timber, and slaves. The ships then traveled to the Persian Gulf, where they unloaded their East African cargos and obtained manufactured goods to take back to northwestern India. In some of these legs, the boats would need ballast, and this explains why bricks that originated in the gulf, or more likely from the Indus delta, are found in East Africa.⁵⁶ In some cases, it seems stone architecture was being carried across the oceans.⁵⁷



7

7
Twelfth-century Kufic inscription from Tumbatu island, forming part of a highly ornate mihrāb. The inscription uses local Porites coral, although the style of the lettering is similar to inscriptions from Sindh, as well as Sīrāf in the Persian Gulf. Photograph by the author.

Communities of Artisans

While the idea that foreign merchants played important roles in the foundation of port towns in East Africa has now been rejected, the possibility of substantial foreign artisan communities is rarely considered. It is difficult to explain, for example, the transfer of technologies (such as bead- and cloth-making and ironworking) unless these technologies arrived with a community of artisans. Such communities are very difficult to locate in the archaeological record, as within a few generations they may have been assimilated. In some cases it is possible to demonstrate their presence, as in the case of the Shanga lion, which was made in East Africa but modeled on a small Hindu figurine, possibly from the Deccan.⁵⁸ The ceramic and craft-working evidence does suggest that the period from about 1000 was important in the exchange of technologies and the movement of artisans.

While Indian artisans may have moved to East Africa, Africans may have moved, as well, around the Indian Ocean, not as slaves but as genuine artisanal communities. The exciting discovery of an African community living at Shārma on the southern Arabian coast around 1000, evidenced by substantial proportions of African pottery, is very similar to the situation in which Indian pottery is found in East Africa at the same date.⁵⁹ At Shārma, around 30 percent of the pottery is of African origin, quantities that cannot be explained through a trade in ceramic containers (most of the pottery is cooking pots) but must be an ethnic indicator of a resident African community. If Africans were resident in southern Arabia, then other communities may well be located in other areas with strong trade links, which could well include northwestern India. There are communities in Gujarat who claim African descent and are known as the Sidis.⁶⁰ They may not have arrived as slaves, as is generally held, but could have been artisans and part of a diaspora that goes back to the tenth century. The similarity in Kufic styles among Zanzibar, Sīrāf, and the Indus delta during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries points to such a craft connection among the three areas (fig. 7).⁶¹

While there is currently insufficient evidence to reconstruct in detail the relationship between northwestern India and East Africa from the eleventh until the fourteenth centuries, it is clear that a complex interaction existed between the two regions involving the movement of commodities and artisans in both directions. Hopefully archaeological discoveries will shed light on these contacts in the future. This volume has opened up a new approach to the study of the Indian Ocean, and while little at present can be proven, questions can now be asked that can produce new methodologies in the future.

NOTES

1. H. N. Chittick, "The East Coast, Madagascar and the Indian Ocean," in *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 3, ed. Roland Oliver (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 183–231, esp. 218; Mark Horton and John Middleton, *The Swahili: The Social Landscape of a Mercantile Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 80–82, 204–5.
2. Thomas M. Ricks, "Persian Gulf Seafaring and East Africa," *African Historical Studies* 3.2 (1970): 339–57.
3. Mark Horton, *Shanga: The Archaeology of a Muslim Trading Community on the Coast of East Africa* (London: British Institute in East Africa, 1996); Neville Chittick, *Manda: Excavations at an Island Port on the Kenya Coast* (London: British Institute in East Africa, 1984); Neville Chittick, *Kilwa: An Islamic Trading City on the East African Coast*, 2 vols. (Nairobi: British Institute in East Africa, 1974); Felix Chami, *The Tanzanian Coast in the First Millennium AD* (Uppsala: Societas Archaeologica Upsaliensis, 1994).
4. Ivory, crystal, and ambergris, all African products, are listed as being traded by Jewish merchants in Aden and Kish in the thirteenth century. S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden: Brill, 1966), 339.
5. Horton, *Shanga*, 244, where the mean proportion is 5.6 percent, with variations per phase ranging from 2.3 percent to 7.4 percent. Chittick, *Manda*, 65, claims proportions up to 28 percent, but this was from beach deposits where broken pottery had been unloaded from the ocean voyages. His figures for occupation deposits are suspect, as pottery was not systematically recovered through sieving. T. H. Wilson and A. L. Omar, "Archaeological investigations at Pate," *Azania* 32 (1997): 31–76, give only 1 percent as imports during the comparable period.
6. Mark Horton, "The Early Settlement of the Swahili Coast" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1984), 310. These calculations are based on the density of pottery in each phase, the length of each phase, and the total area of the site occupied at this time.
7. George Dalton, "Economic Theory and Primitive Society," *American Anthropologist* 63 (1961): 1–25.
8. Horton and Middleton, *Swahili*, 112; Mark Horton, "Port Cities and Their Merchants on the East African Coast," in *Cities in the World 1500–2000*, ed. Adrian Green and Roger Leech (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2006), 15–30. Very similar niches have been found in fourteenth-century houses in East Africa, which may have been used to display foreign luxury goods, obtained through gift exchanges.
9. Derek Kennet, "An Archaeological Study of the Sasanian and Islamic Periods in Northern Ras-al-Khaimah (U.A.E.)," (PhD diss., University of London, 2001), 120–39, shows a remarkable synchronization in the proportions of both glass and glazed pottery between Shanga and Kush, suggesting that both sites were part of a common culture of the western Indian Ocean rather than direct trade partners.
10. K. N. Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), is a most ambitious study of the pre-Portuguese Indian Ocean, yet the idea of an almost invisible world of artisans crossing cultures is barely considered. See Horton and Middleton, *Swahili*, 209, for criticism of the world systems approach, as it has been applied to East Africa.
11. M. C. Horton and T. R. Blurton, "'Indian' Metalwork in East Africa: The Bronze Lion Statuette from Shanga," *Antiquity* 62.234 (1998): 11–23; Horton, *Shanga*, 358. The bronze lion figurine in figure 3 is

- based upon contemporary Indian figurines, possibly from the Deccan region, but may have been made in East Africa, as the metal composition is quite different from the Indian examples, while the lion itself seems to have been modeled on the African species. It provides circumstantial evidence for Indian metalworkers resident in East Africa at this date.
12. Al-Mas'ūdi, "Mujūjal-Dhahab," in *The East African Coast: Select Documents from the First to the Earlier Nineteenth Century*, G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, comp. (London: Clarendon Press, 1962), 15–16.
 13. Quoted in Edward Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, 2 vols. (London: Trübner and Sons, 1910), 2:104.
 14. Quoted in Gabriel Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatif à l'Extrême-Orient de 8e au 18e siècles* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1913), 177 (my translation from the French).
 15. Horton, *Shanga*, 363. C.-M. Kusimba, *The Archaeology and Ethnography of Iron Metallurgy on the Kenya Coast* (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1993). C. M. Kusimba, D. J. Killich and R. G. Cresswell, "Indigenous and Imported Metals at Swahili Sites on the Coast of Kenya," *Musea Research Papers in Science and Archaeology* 11 (1994), supplement, 63–77, identified low carbon bloomery steel among artifacts from the Swahili sites of Ungwana and Galu that are likely to have been locally made. They also recorded crucible steel from the same sites that may have been imported from India.
 16. Ricks, "Persian Gulf Seafaring," 353–54; David Whitehouse, "Kish," *Iran* 14 (1976): 146–50; Andrew Williamson, "Hurmuz and the Trade of the Gulf in the 14th and 15th Centuries," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 4 (1973): 52–68.
 17. S. D. Goitein, "Two Eye-Witness Reports on an Expedition of the King of Kish (Qais) against Aden," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16 (1954): 247–48.
 18. E. A. Alpers, "Gujarat and the Trade of East Africa, c. 1500–1800," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9.1 (1976): 23. N. Chittick, "Indian Relations with East Africa Before the Arrival of the Portuguese," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2 (1980): 117–127.
 19. Vasco da Gama, *Vasco da Gama: The Diary of His Travels through African Waters, 1497–1499*, ed. and trans. Eric Axelson (Somerset West: Stephan Phillips, 1998), 47: "Here we found four ships of Christians from India.... These Indians are swarthy men. They wear few clothes. They wear great beards and the hairs of the head are very long and plaited. They do not eat bovine meat according to what they say. And their language is different from that of the Moors; some of them know a little Arabic from continuous communication they have with them." See also Mark Horton, "The Portuguese Encounter with the Swahili Towns of the East African Coast," in *Cultures of the Indian Ocean*, ed. Jessica Hallett and Conceição Amaral (Lisbon: National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries, 1998), 382.
 20. Tomé Pires, "Suma Oriental," in *East African Coast*, Freeman-Grenville, 125–26.
 21. Duarte Barbosa, "The Book of Duarte Barbosa," in *East African Coast*, Freeman-Grenville, 132.
 22. Michael N. Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast—India and Portugal in the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 48, quoting an account of Almeida's voyage in 1506.
 23. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, 1325–1354, trans. H. A. R. Gibb (London: Hakluyt Society, 1962) 2:377–79.
 24. Abual-Fida, "Géographie d'Aboulféda," in *East African Coast*, Freeman-Grenville, 23.
 25. Sir John Gray, "The Wadebuli and the Wadiba," *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 36 (1954): 22–42; Gray, *History of Zanzibar from the Middle Ages to 1856* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 25–26.
 26. A. H. J. Prins, "The Mtepe of Lamu, Mombasa and the Zanzibar Sea," *Paideuma* 28 (1982): 85–100.
 27. Gray, *History of Zanzibar*, 24.
 28. Neville Chittick, "The 'Shirazi' Colonization of East Africa," *Journal of African History* 6.3 (1965): 289–90.
 29. Gray, *History of Zanzibar*, 26, considered that they came from Dabhol, a port a hundred miles south of Bombay, and that they lived during the fifteenth century. The Diba are sometimes linked with the Maldives ("Dib Dib" islands), but both these interpretations are almost certainly wrong. The alternative place name of Daybul as Dibal indicates that the African traditions are referring to the same location in the Indus delta.
 30. Monique Kervan, "Multiple Ports at the Mouth of the River Indus: Barbarike, Deb, Daybul, Lahori Bandar, Diul Sinda," in *Archaeology of Seafaring*, ed. H. P. Ray (Delhi: Pragati Publications, 1999), 70–154. The limited excavations at Banbhore are poorly reported, but see "Excavations at Banbhore," *Pakistan* 3 (1966): 49–50; "Banbhore," *Pakistan Archaeology* 5 (1968): 176–85; S. M. Macaque, "The Grand Mosque at Banbhore," *Pakistan Archaeology* 6 (1969): 182–209; F. A. Khan, *Banbhore: A Preliminary Report on the Recent Archaeological Excavations* (Karachi: Department of Archaeology and Museums, 1969).
 31. In the fifteenth century, however, there

- was a merchant living at Kilwa with the *nisba* or surname of “al-Daybuli.”
- Chittick, “‘Shirazi’ Colonization,” 290.
32. Horton and Middleton, *Swahili*, 52–61.
33. Matthew Smith and Henry Wright, “The Ceramics from Ras Hafun in Somalia,” *Azania* 23 (1988): 115–41. The Hafun pottery may, however, point to the well-attested classical trade between the Red Sea and India, which lies beyond the scope of this article.
34. Chittick, *Kilwa*, ii, 329–30; Chittick, *Manda*, 101; Horton, *Shanga*, 300–303. A study of the Indian pottery from Zanzibar and Pemba will appear in Mark Horton, *Zanzibar and Pemba: Archaeological Investigations of an Indian Ocean Archipelago* (London: British Institute in East Africa, forthcoming).
35. Donald S. Whitcomb and Janet H. Johnson, *Quseir al-Qadim 1980: Preliminary Report*, American Research Center in Egypt Report 7 (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1982), pl. 45. Kennet, “Archaeological Study,” 115–117, 292, describes “pink” wares which are probably the same type.
36. Horton, *Shanga*, 272–73.
37. Pires, “Suma Oriental,” in Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, 125.
38. Horton, *Shanga*, 323.
39. Horton, *Shanga*, 329; Chittick, *Manda*, 181–83.
40. Horton, *Shanga*, 329–32.
41. Horton, *Zanzibar and Pemba*.
42. So common are the glass beads, the local inhabitants are able to pick them out from the sand and string them into necklaces to sell to tourists.
43. It is normally held that all the glass beads were imported into East Africa ready made. At Mogadishu glass-bead-making equipment was found in the nineteenth century, including crucibles, colored pastes, sticks of glass, and colored beads. Justus Strandes, *The Portuguese Period in East Africa*, English ed. (Nairobi: East Africa Literature Bureau, 1961), 78.
44. Pires, “Suma Oriental,” in Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, 126.
45. Horton, *Shanga*, 332.
46. Horton, *Zanzibar and Pemba*.
47. Horton *Shanga*, 337–41.
48. Chittick, *Kilwa*, 428–29.
49. Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, 374.
50. Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Entitled Chu-yan-chi* (Saint Petersburg: Printing Office of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1911), 126.
51. Duarte Barbosa, “Book,” in Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, 128.
52. Helen W. Brown, “Coins of East Africa: An Introductory Survey,” *Yarmouk Numismatics* 5 (1993): 9–16; Brown, “Early Muslim Coinage in East Africa: The Evidence from Shanga,” *Numismatic Chronicle* 152 (1992): 83–87; Horton, *Shanga*, 368–77.
53. Khan, “Banbhore,” 45; Christopher Toll, *‘Kitāb al-jauharatāin al-‘aṭīqatāin al-ma’i’ atayn min al-safrā’ wa’ l-baiḍā’ by al-Hamdānī*, *Studia semitica Upsaliensia* 1 (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968), chap. 46; J. C. Jetzer, “Terracotta Coin Moulds,” *Numismatic International Bulletin* 15 (1981): 348–49.
54. M. C. Horton, H. W. Brown and W. A. Oddy, “The Mtambwe Hoard” *Azania* 21 (1986): 115–23; Horton, *Zanzibar and Pemba*.
55. Pires, “Suma Oriental,” in Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, 125–26.
56. Chittick, *Manda*, 15–16.
57. Elizabeth Lambourn, “Carving and Communities: Marble Carving for the Muslim Patrons at Khambhāt and around the Indian Ocean Rim, Late Thirteenth–Mid-Fifteenth Centuries,” in this volume.
58. Horton and Blurton, “Indian Metal-work.”
59. From the site of Shārma. I am very grateful to Axelle Rougeulle for showing me the material from her excavations there, where African pottery constitutes in some areas up to 30 percent of the total assemblage, and virtually all the cooking vessels are of African origin. Axelle Rougeulle, “Coastal Settlements in Southern Yemen: The 1996–1997 Survey Expeditions on the Hadramawt and Mahra Coasts,” *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 29 (1999): 134.
60. S. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, “The Sidi and the Swahili,” *Bulletin of the British Association of Orientalists* 6.1 (1971): 3–18; J. de V. Allen, “Habash, Habashi, Sidi, Seyyid,” in *Africa and the Sea*, ed. J. C. Stone (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984). Timothy Insoll, *The Archaeology of Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 151, suggests that the Sidis at Baba Shor may have been involved in the mining and production of carnelian, but at present direct evidence is lacking.
61. David Whitehouse, “Siraf: An Islamic City and Its Role in Islamic Art,” *Storia Della Città* 7 (1978): 54–58; Kervan, “Multiple Ports,” 137, includes a floriate Kufic inscription from a site in the Indus delta that is stylistically identical to an inscription from Tumbatu in East Africa.



QUṢEIR AL-QADĪM IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

A Community and Its Textiles

Abstract

During the 1982 excavations at Quṣeir al-Qadīm on the Egyptian coast of the Red Sea, a corpus of well-preserved textiles was discovered in an area called “the Sheikh’s House.” The archaeological nature of this corpus presents two assets over a museum collection: the possibility of close dating and contextual association with other artifacts. This article discusses the collection of textiles in the Sheikh’s House from these perspectives. The archaeological contexts allow an association with other artifacts within architectural settings. A more important feature of these contexts is the presence of hundreds of fragments of letters written in Arabic on paper; this textual documentation allows a reconstruction of the individuals who used the textiles and, more broadly, an extremely detailed examination of their trading community. On a larger scale, the archaeological narrative may present this community in relationship to the people of the Cairo Geniza, to the archaeology of Fustāt (Cairo), and its mercantile role in the larger picture of Indian Ocean history.

SHEIKH ABŪ MUFARRIJ returned from the mosque where his son was a reader, walking southward down the slope (fig. 1). He entered the passageway that divided his business from the new walls of his son’s house. Sheikh Ibrāhīm ibn Mufarrij had recently taken over many of the daily affairs of the business, and the old house had been divided into two households, one for the old sheikh and a second for his son’s family, the latter making a suite of rooms above the harbor. Each house had a large family room and two smaller rooms for sleeping and storage. Two winding staircases led to rooftop enclosures made of reeds for sleeping in the hot months.

On the seaside of the passageway were a series of doors to the *shuna*, or storehouse. The sheikh still kept wooden keys to the doors under a loose stone of the threshold; he had written “miftāḥ al-Hajj Baraka” on the one belonging to his trusted client to distinguish it from his own key. The larger rooms of the *shuna* were really open yards filled with sacks of grain and containers of flour; there were many containers, each labeled and corresponding to an inventory. This operation had become so complex that his friend, Sheikh Najīb, was becoming a trusted clerk for storage and dispatch of individual consignments. Here and there was a sack of dates or a bundle of flax. The smaller rooms were filled with a variety of foodstuffs, perfumes and spices, metalwork and garments, individual trading speculations, and special orders for good clients.

Sheikh Abū Mufarrij removed his robe with its fancy embroidery and dressed in an everyday linen *thaub*, perhaps one with a tasteful check pattern. His son Ibrāhīm had recently furnished his house with pillows in the new style of Indian



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Quseir al-Qadim, the Sheikh's
House looking east toward the sea.

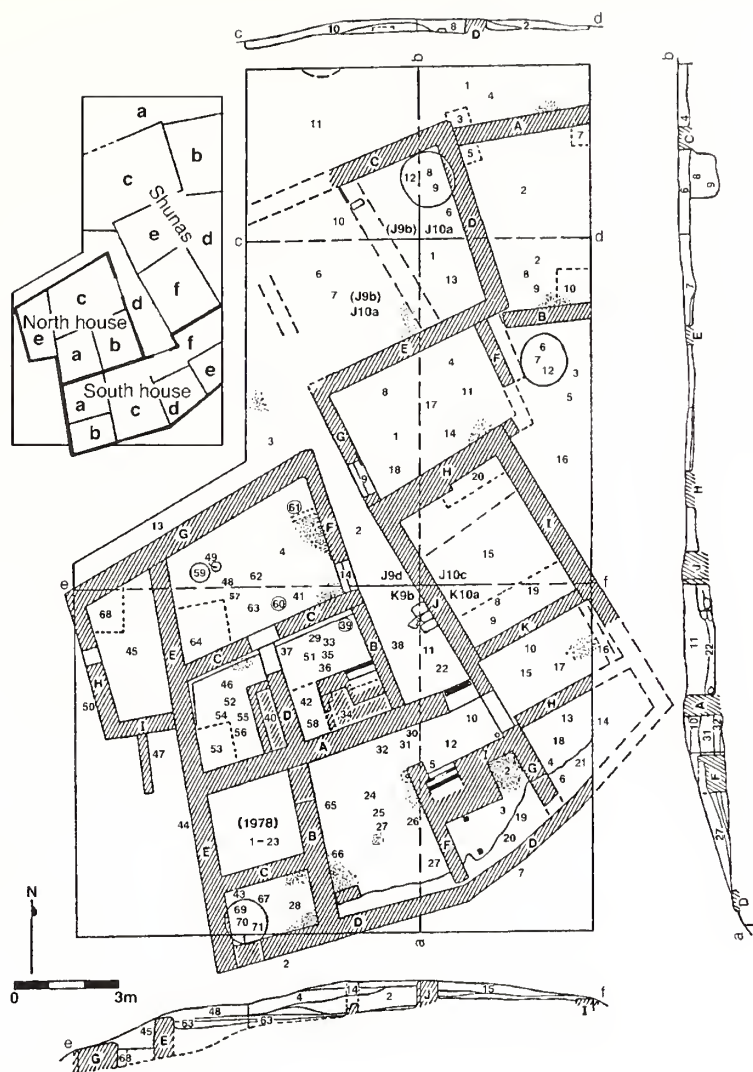
prints, those with a red ground. For himself, the old sheikh preferred the classic Indian blue patterns, his favorite being the “tree of life” alternating with a saddled *fil*, or elephant. These coverings were resewn by his wife as tears appeared and would soon have to be replaced with the simple block patterns being brought with today’s shipments. Prosperity and more competition among the merchants meant the quality goods of earlier days were in decline and replaced by mass production.

Gone were the days when the head of the Karimī merchants, the Ra’is al-Tujjār, would call upon the sheikh for assistance, making him almost a government agent. Indeed the largest and most important exports, the grain and flour to feed the Haramain, the holy cities of Makka and Madina, seemed to be past. The sheikh’s frustrations and mood were not improved by a message from his younger sons (Muḥammad, ‘Umar, and Ḥasan). They had gotten themselves stranded by winter winds in the Yemen fort and were pleading for heavy coats and some of their mother’s cakes (which were rather good).

Lives from Texts and Artifacts

The above narrative is constructed from the excavations at Quseir al-Qadim on the Egyptian coast of the Red Sea (fig. 2). The setting is the area called “the Sheikh’s House,” revealed during the 1982 season. This area was a knoll on the southern edge of the site, located above the *sabkha* or mudflats of the silted-in bay of the Roman period (fig. 3). Upon this knoll was a single structural complex of stone and mudbrick walls, within which was a stratified deposition of remarkable preservation; this archaeological deposition featured numerous letters discarded with other trash and refuse, pottery, glass, seeds, and especially textiles.

This corpus of textiles is closely similar to the collection of block-printed textiles in the Kelsey Museum at the University of Michigan, extensively researched by Ruth Barnes. The textiles from Quseir al-Qadim have already been published by Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood.¹ The archaeological nature of this corpus has two assets over a museum collection: the possibility of close dating and contextual



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Plan of the Sheikh's House
excavation.

association with other artifacts. This article will discuss a group of textiles from these perspectives. As Barnes perceptively notes in her study: "The excavations' published reports offer important new material concerning the circumstances of the settlement in the past. Yet it takes much imagination to sense the reality of life behind these fragments."²

Fortunately, a set of these textiles was discovered in contexts that allow a reconstruction of their association with other artifacts, in architectural settings, and textual documentation of the individuals who used them. This combination of artifacts and documentation will allow an extremely detailed examination of this trading community, its relationship with the Geniza and archaeology of Fustāt, and its role in the larger picture of Indian Ocean history.³ The textiles were found with hundreds of fragments of letters written on paper. These Arabic letters do not belong to an archive; they are part of the rubbish accumulated in the Sheikh's House.⁴ They do record precise details of the mercantile enterprise of Sheikh Abū Mufarrij, his family and associates. These letters bear dates that cluster within the first four decades of the thirteenth century (1200–1240); likewise, the coins found in this area were also minted during the late Ayyūbid



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Three Ayyūbid coins, RN 82-695 (locus K9b-67), RN 696 (locus K9d-1), RN 698 (locus J10c-17).

5

Two wooden keys, RN 82-524, RN 82-560 (locus J9d-9).

6

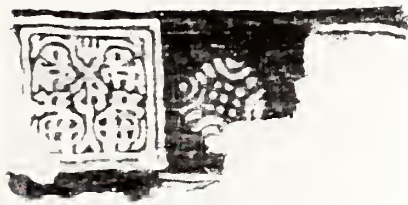
Arabic letters, RN 82-1059, RN 82-1061 (locus K10a-11).

period, to 1249 (fig. 4),⁵ with only a few residual Fātimid issues and no Mamlūk coins. The occupation of this house seems to have lasted half a century and presents an unusual contextualization for the abundant range of artifacts and their architectural setting.

The Sheikh's House as Context

Eight of the resist-dyed textiles from Quṣeir al-Qadīm published by Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood were found in the Sheikh's House. This complex of mud-brick-walled structures is interpreted as two adjoining houses, associated storerooms,⁶ and a passageway between the houses and storerooms. The two houses are on the west and south sides of the knoll, and the storerooms line up northwest to southeast along the east side. Each house consists primarily of one large room (approximately 5.5 x 4 meters each) and two smaller rooms alongside the large room, usually 3 x 2.5 meters. Each preserved a stairway to the second floor or roof, with some extant wooden treads. The storerooms were larger (ca. 4 x 2–5 meters) and undifferentiated, each entered off the corridor.⁷ Two wooden keys, secreted beneath the threshold of one entry, seem to confirm this interpretation. Both keys are large, and one is inscribed (fig. 5).⁸

Due to the arid environment, a wide range of artifact types was preserved at the site, including leather, fiber, cloth, and paper. Thousands of fragments of letters and documents written in Arabic on paper were preserved, including over 1,500 from the Sheikh's House alone (fig. 6). Li Guo has begun the publication of these letters with a selection of almost one hundred well-preserved examples.⁹ These documents, consisting mostly of business letters, shipping notes, and account records,



7



8



9

7
Resist-dyed textile, RN 82-922
(locus K9b-63).

8
Resist-dyed textile, RN 82-945
(locus K9b-63).

9
Resist-dyed textile from locus
E18d-4.

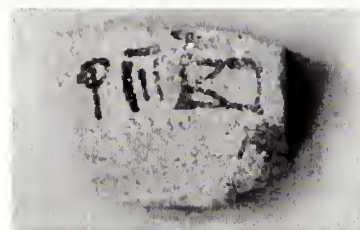
detail the business transactions that were undertaken by Sheikh Abū Mufarrij and his son Sheikh Abū Iṣḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Abū Mufarrij as they participated in the Indian Ocean–Red Sea–Nile valley trade during the late Ayyūbid period (ca. 1200–50).¹⁰ The stratification of the letters within the rooms indicates that Ibrāhīm was running his own part of the business from the earliest occupation of the house; that most of the letters are addressed to his father is probably indicative that Abū Mufarrij owned the storerooms out of which his son also operated.¹¹

Most of the extant letters are missing the names of the sender and recipient, but of those that retain this information around thirty are addressed to Ibrāhīm, thirty to Abū Mufarrij, and another thirty to the Shuna of Abū Mufarrij.¹² Concentrations of letters addressed to Ibrāhīm are found in both main living rooms, the largest rooms of each house, although a few more are scattered about almost all areas of both houses and storerooms.¹³ Almost all of the letters addressed to Abū Mufarrij are in the large living room of the North House (Room c in fig. 3), with only one in a storeroom and two in the South House. This distribution may be due to the superior preservation of the North House, which was built after the South House. Nevertheless, the predominance of letters addressed to Ibrahim in Room C also seems to indicate that this was his room, although his father may also have used the space as an office.

The imagined reconstruction of the house and its occupants that began this article relies on the information in the Arabic letters, organized in terms of the resist-dyed textiles and other artifacts. Half of the eight resist-dyed textiles published by Vogelsang-Eastwood from the Sheikh's House were found in the storerooms, and half in the houses or the main corridor. Two fragments were found in Abū Mufarrij's living room (Room c of the North House).¹⁴ Both are cotton tabby weaves with a block-printed tree of life motif set in a square frame of natural color on a dark blue ground. Number 52 has a stylized rosette alternating with the tree of life (fig. 7), while number 53 alternates this motif with a saddled elephant (fig. 8).¹⁵ The tree of life motif on both pieces has rather detailed flanking birds and quadrupeds; Vogelsang-Eastwood estimates this style to be early in the life of this motif, while later textiles bear a much simplified vertical line flanked by crescents (fig. 9).¹⁶



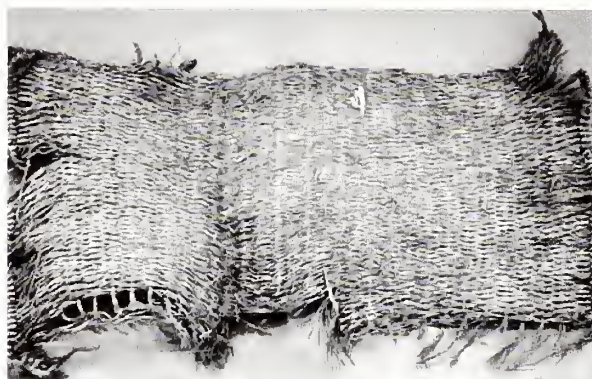
10



11



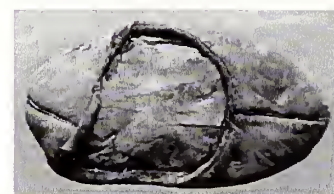
12



13



14



15

10
Drawing on paper, RN 82-1096
(locus K9b-48).

11
Small ostrakon, RN 82-135
(locus K9b-48).

12
Basket, RN 82-659 (locus J10c-17).

13
Matting, RN 82-661 (locus J9d-4).

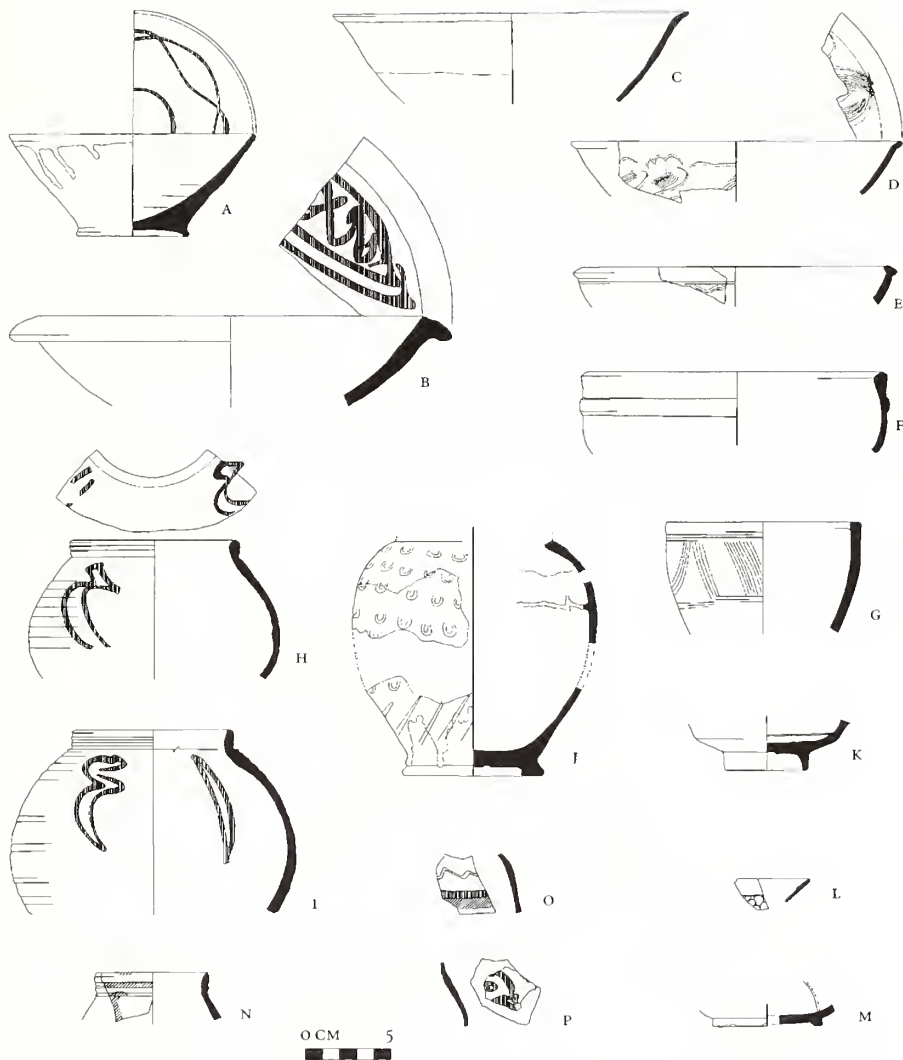
14
Rope coils, RN 82-635 (locus J9d-4).

15
Leather shoe, RN 82-574
(locus L8c-2).

These two above-mentioned textiles occur in a well-stratified context, beneath the lower of two floors excavated in Room c, in one of the earliest strata from the use of the room (K9b-63). They occur within a rich artifact assemblage of 380 paper fragments (fig. 10), two of which are identified by Guo as letters to Ibrāhīm,¹⁷ one silver coin, an ostrakon (fig. 11), over twenty textile fragments (more than half dyed blue or red), several glass fragments, fragments of iron nails and bronze implements, many pieces of basketry (fig. 12), matting (fig. 13), and rope (fig. 14), two fragments of leather shoes (fig. 15), bones, shells, seeds (including about 130 date pits) and about 400 sherds of pottery, 5 percent of which is glazed (fig. 16c, j, and l). Five of the glazed sherds are “mustard ware,” likely imported from the Yemen (fig. 16a, b),¹⁸ and one is a celadon imported from China (fig. 16d). There are also sherds from at least two unglazed orange jars bearing a standing cobra motif alternating with an elongated crescent, in brown or red paint (fig. 16h, i). The jars bear some resemblance to Nubian painted pottery.

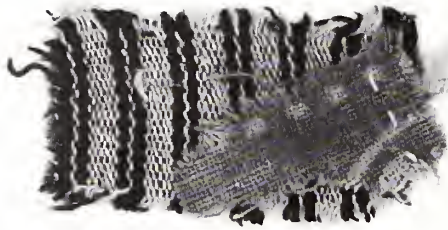
In Room d, a small room behind the stairway in the southeast corner of the South House, a small (approximately 3 x 5 centimeters) fragment of cotton with woven blue and natural stripes was found, with a red resist-dyed scrap of cotton sewn to it. “The pattern consists of a single row of dots (five in total), traces of a curved line and possibly part of a large dot in natural on a red ground. The pattern is clear on both sides of the cloth” (fig. 17).¹⁹ As in Room c of the North House, this fragment was found in the lowest stratum of this room (K10a-20), indicating its use during the early occupation of the house. In the same context 151 sherds of pot-

- A J9d-4, RN 82-339
red ware, greenish yellow glaze on interior and exterior rim, brown paint, moderate medium sand
- B J9d-4, RN 82-330
red ware, greenish yellow glaze on interior and exterior rim, brown paint, moderate medium sand
- C K9b-48, RN 82-340
cream ware, bluish white glaze on interior and exterior, clear glaze, on lower exterior, moderate medium sand
- D J9d-4, RN 82-330
gray ware, dark olive gray (celadon), comb incised, stoneware
- E J9d-4, RN 82-44
red ware, cream surfaces, comb incised, moderate medium sand
- F J9d-4, RN 82-44
tan ware, red surfaces on interior and exterior, blackened exterior, common medium sand and pebble
- G J9d-4, RN 82-44
dark red ware, traces of cream surface (slip?), incised, common medium sand and chaff
- H J9d-4/K9b-36, RN 82-95
red-brown ware, yellow-orange slip on exterior and interior neck, dark brown paint, common medium and moderate coarse sand
- I J9d-2/4, RN 82-97
red-brown ware, yellow-orange slip on exterior and interior neck, dark brown paint, common medium and moderate coarse sand
- J J9d-4, RN 82-337
cream ware, turquoise glaze on exterior and interior shoulder, impressed decoration on exterior; joint seam on interior, moderate medium sand
- K J9d-4, RN 82-233
white ware, white glaze with black crackle on interior, greenish clear glaze on exterior, not base, frit

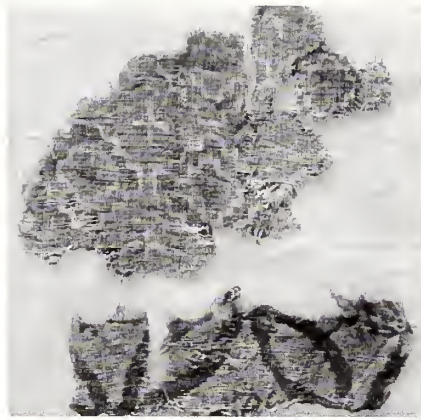


16

- L K9b-59, RN 82-307
white ware, dark blue glaze on interior and exterior, incised, frit
- M K9b-59, RN 82-307
white ware, clear glaze on interior and exterior, not base, porcelain
- N K9b-63, RN 82-48
light gray-orange ware, buff-cream surfaces, red-brown paint on exterior, moderate medium sand
- O K9b-59, RN 82-307
red ware, buff slip on exterior, brown paint, incised lines, common medium sand
- P K9b-49, RN 82-49
orange-tan ware, cream surface on exterior, red-brown paint, moderate medium sand



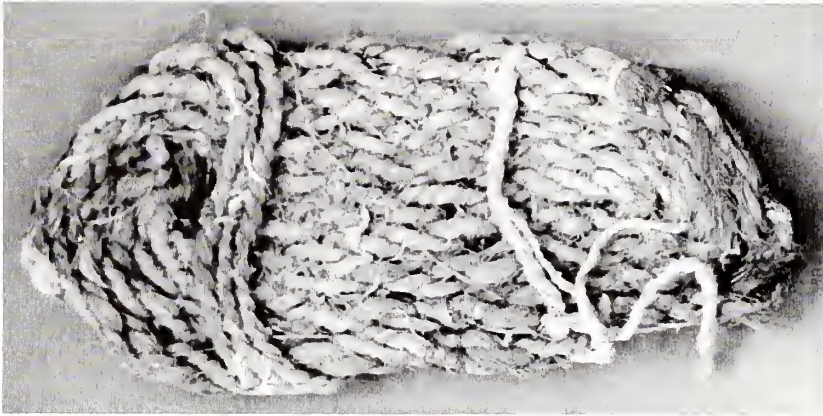
17



18



19



20



21

17
Resist-dyed and striped textiles,
RN 82-939 (locus K10a-20).

18
Resist-dyed textiles, RN 82-937, 938
(locus K10a-15).

19
Resist-dyed textile, RN 82-927
(locus K10a-11)

20
Rope sandal, RN 82-621
(locus K10a-11).

21
Resist-dyed textile, RN 82-931
(locus K10a-8).

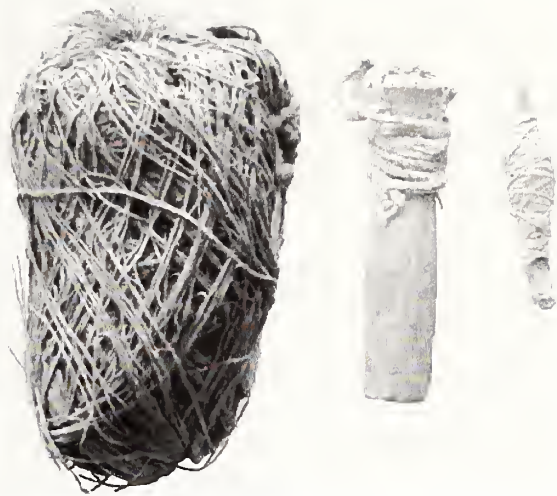
tery were found, 3 percent of which were glazed. These included fourteen sherds of green- or yellow-painted mustard wares and one imported Chinese celadon. Other finds were nine fragments of Arabic letters, seeds (including seventy-five date pits), fragments of bone, glass, metal, matting, rope, wood, a scrap of sewn cotton, and a dozen other textile fragments, both dyed and undyed.

In the South House, in Area f, a room or part of a corridor near Room d, two fragments of resist-dyed textile were found, both dyed red. One, Eastwood catalogue number 56, exhibits a faded diamond-pattern, with four-lobed rosettes between them on a light red ground. Eastwood catalogue number 57 is coarsely woven with traces of a geometric and possibly foliate design in red on a natural ground.²⁰ These fragments (fig. 18) were found in one of the medial strata (K10a-15), not the earliest, together with 291 sherds of pottery (1.5 percent of it glazed), some glass, the usual collection of metal, bone, shell, seeds (including 1,025 date pits), matting, rope and wood fragments, a dozen textile fragments, of which half were dyed red or blue, and eighteen letter fragments.

Passageway d, the corridor outside and to the east of the North House, runs between it and the row of storerooms along the east side of the compound, ending at the South House. This passageway was full of artifacts from the final use and abandonment of the house. One of the resist-dyed fabrics was found in the uppermost stratum (K10a-11). It is coarse cotton with a "crude" blue design consisting of mainly interconnecting circles, on a natural ground (fig. 19).²¹ The stratum in which it was found contained 157 sherds (.05 percent of which was glazed), both



22



23

22

Glass beads from locus K9b-41 (RN 82-392) and locus K9b-49 (RN 404) in Room c of the North House.

23

String, RN 82-455 (locus J10a-2), RN 82-565 (locus J9d-11), RN 82-576 (locus J10a-11).

local ceramics and Far Eastern imports such as celadons and porcelains. Also in the same context were a woven fiber fan, fragments of rope sandals (fig. 20), fragments of leather shoes, a ceramic net weight or bobbin, fragments of glass, wooden and metal artifacts, matting and rope fragments, various types of organic debris such as bone, shell, and seeds (including 1,206 date pits), sixty-eight fragments of letters written in Arabic on paper,²² an “ostrichicon” (a fragment of ostrich egg shell with Arabic writing, see below) and sixty-one textile fragments including two pieces of silk with Arabic or pseudocalligraphic inscriptions.

In the storeroom immediately adjacent to Area f (referred to as Shuna f) of the South House three tiny scraps of resist-dyed cloth were found. All are faded red on a natural ground, and two of them have geometrical designs. The third appears to be decorated in a band of calligraphy or pseudocalligraphy (fig. 21).²³ They are in the uppermost stratum (K10a-8) and thus from the last use of the storeroom. In the same stratum were found a glass bangle, several glass fragments, some 149 sherds of local pottery (again only .05 percent of which was glazed), metal scraps, a bronze coin, bone, shell, seeds (including only thirty-one date pits), matting, rope, wooden implements, seventy-six fragments of Arabic letters, including one with Greek and Coptic writing on the back, and a few textile fragments including a fragment of a face veil.²⁴

The final piece of resist-dyed cloth comes from the uppermost stratum (J10a-2) in the far northeastern storeroom, known as Shuna b. Shuna b appears to have been an unroofed courtyard, bounded by walls on all but the eastern, unexcavated side. The textile from this last use of the courtyard is about 20 x 12 centimeters of fine cotton dyed dark blue. At one end of the cloth a large brown square encloses a dark blue rosette-in-square pattern, next to which is an unidentifiable form in natural color.²⁵ This fragment was found in context with 297 sherds of pottery, including two sherds of imported celadon, six sherds of Yemeni mustard ware, glass, a glass bead (for examples of glass beads, see fig. 22), a few scraps of bronze, fragments of bone, seeds (including 234 date pits), wood, many fragments of matting and rope, a bobbin or ball of string wound around a piece of wood (fig. 23), 151 textile fragments, thirty-eight letter fragments, and one whole letter complete with string binding.



24

24

Drawing of *saqiyya* (waterwheel)
incised on a ceramic vessel,

RN 82-346 (locus K9b-69, 70, 71).

In all of the above-mentioned loci the pottery corpus, consisting mostly of Nile valley ceramics with a few Nubian and even Chinese imports, is not unusual for a ceramic corpus of this period (fig. 24).²⁶ Celadons (green-glazed stoneware) and white-glazed porcelains were widely traded in Egypt and the Near East, and ceramics of Nubian provenance, or even Nubian influence, are common in Egypt. Excavations at Fustāt, for example, have yielded very large quantities of Chinese ceramics, dating from the ninth through the fifteenth centuries, with the largest quantities dating from the tenth through fourteenth centuries.²⁷ Analysis of these ceramics shows that in the late Ayyūbid period, correlating with the Southern Song dynasty in China (1127–1279), Egypt was importing celadons produced at Yue, Longquan, and Fujian Province white wares and *yingqing* (a white “sugary” ware usually glazed light blue) wares from Jingdezhen city and Fujian Province, and brown wares from Fujian and Guangdong Provinces.²⁸ The celadons from the Sheikh’s House have parallels in the Fustāt materials. For example, the style and execution of the incised and combed peony petal motif on sherd RN 330 (see fig. 16d), as well as its olive glaze and dark gray body, are seen in a small group of sherds identified as Yaozhou ware, dating to the Northern Song period (960–1127).²⁹ Similar sherds were identified as Northern Celadon (Yaozhou ware) at Athār, another Islamic port on the Yemeni coast of the Red Sea in use from the early Islamic period until the late eleventh century.³⁰ That this and other similar celadon sherds are traditionally dated earlier than the main occupation of the Sheikh’s House perhaps indicates the value of fine Chinese imports as “heritage wares,” kept in a family for generations, or possibly that Yaozhou-type wares at Quṣeir were imitations made in southern kilns, especially in Guangdong Province, during the Southern Song period.

This contextualization of the block-printed Indian textiles presumes that



25
Drawing of ship, black ink on paper,
RN 82-1097 (locus K9b-27).

they were somewhat rare and valued. Their deposition in the Sheikh's House is a kaleidoscopic vision of the physical elements of daily use in the early thirteenth century. The port of Quṣeir produced little on its own; foodstuffs and objects were imports of variable rarity and valuation, wherein profit and livelihood were derived. The sheikh and his community were bound to take a broad view of the commerce of the Indian Ocean, as well as participation in the life of the Nile valley, of Egypt under the Ayyūbid rule (fig. 25). As more of his letters are read, these dual aspects may be elicited to reflect what may be less precisely determined from artifacts already studied.

After the Sheikh

Some time after 1250, Ibrāhīm, his now widowed mother, and the rest of the family abandoned the house and business and moved away. The port in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries changed its character. Settlement shifted to the seashore, and dwellings became less permanent, being made of reeds and thatch (*barastī*) construction. Quṣeir came to resemble many coastal places in Sudan, Arabia, and elsewhere in the region of the Indian Ocean. This later port presents the paradox of “rich” artifactual contents in a “poor” architectural setting. This very different depositional history repeats the contextualization of architecture with potsherds, textiles, seeds, coins, and letters. When the letters from this Eastern Area have been studied, other personalities and their community may allow for the construction of other narratives.

This later community testifies to the great prosperity of Egypt and the Indian Ocean during the Baḥrī Mamlūk period, with traded artifacts from India, China, Syria, and even Tekrur (West Africa). Numismatics and another large corpus of letters found in the excavations confirm this conclusion; indeed, almost all the coins of the Eastern Area were Mamlūk, with almost half issued in the late fourteenth century. Trade items continued, including Chinese porcelains and more resist-dyed textiles. In addition, preliminary analysis of the plant remains suggests a dramatic shift from Mediterranean products toward an Indian Ocean “spice trade.”³¹ This picture would conform to a major reorientation of external political and commercial relationships, of what Jean-Claude Garcin has called the “living space” of medieval Egypt.³²

Last Fragments and Another Community

Perhaps the most difficult task for an archaeologist is to determine finality, the end of settlement occupation, even when there may be evidence of violent destruction and abandonment. At Quṣeir, a high ridge above the beach revealed signs of a previous excavation, debris thrown out of the cemetery including human bones

and ostrichicons. The example of the latter already mentioned from Passageway d (K10a-11, 82-197) is quite unusual. All remaining fragments of these ostrich egg shells with Arabic writing come from this cemetery. Two of these have been published and bear dates, 1465–75 and 1485–95, and texts that reinforce a funerary utilization.³³ This excavation also produced a bronze coin (A22d-2, 78-459) issued under Qā'it Bay (reigned 1468–96), falling in the same date range (1468–96). It is not surprising, then, that fragments of resist-dyed textiles from this same locus find comparisons dated to the fifteenth century.³⁴ Finally, one may note that associated ceramics include blue-and-white decorated porcelains and paddle-stamped handmade pottery not found elsewhere on the site.³⁵

The consistency of evidence in this cemetery is in marked contrast to the excavations in the Eastern Area, where coins of Barqūq (reigned 1382–99) and associated ceramics date from the fourteenth century. This latest manifestation at Quṣeir al-Qadīm is recently contextualized in research at Quṣeir fort in the modern town.³⁶ The evidence suggests growth in the fifteenth century, as noted by Garcin;³⁷ this is the settlement, under the modern town, that attracted the random bombardment by the Portuguese in 1540.³⁸ Soon after the latter event, Joao de Castro clearly distinguishes the “most miserable town” from the ruins he associated with the classical Leukos Limen (Albus Portus).³⁹ Quṣeir al-Qadīm became an occasional cemetery, as ruins often do, and an attraction for curious visitors from a Napoleonic soldier (who lost a uniform button)⁴⁰ to Gustave Flaubert,⁴¹ little realizing its history with the sheikh, his community, and their textiles.

NOTES

1. Gillian M. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Resist Dyed Textiles from Quseir al-Qadim*, Egypt (Paris: AEDTA, 1990).
2. Ruth Barnes, *Indian Block-Printed Cotton Fragments in the Kelsey Museum*, the University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum Studies 8 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 7.
3. The Geniza refers to the documents found stored in the Ben Ezra synagogue in Fuṣṭāṭ/Cairo. Many of these letters describe the community and its commercial relationships, as described most thoroughly in S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, vol. 1, *Economic Foundations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).
4. That this is a nonarchival random collection cannot be overemphasized. In this aspect, chronology, and paleographic details, there is a strong similarity to the Cairo Geniza documents. Li Guo, "Arabic Documents from the Red Sea Port of Quṣeir in the Seventh/Thirteenth Century," pt. 1, "Business Letters," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 58 (1999): 163.
5. This period comprises the reigns of the Ayyūbid sultans al-Malik al-ʿĀdil and his son al-Malik al-Kāmil. Precise dates on the letters read range from 1215 to 1235, though this is only a small fraction of the total inventory. Guo, "Business Letters," 162.
6. Sheikh Abū Mufarrij's *shuna* itself is mentioned in the Quṣeir documents as the destination for deliveries. See, for example, text 1 (RN 1026a; Guo, "Business Letters") and text 5 (RN 988; Li Guo, "Arabic Documents from the Red Sea Port of Quṣeir in the Seventh/Thirteenth Century," pt. 2, "Shipping Notes and Account Records," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 60 (2001): 99–101.
7. This description of a *shuna* accords well with that offered by M. Amin, Layla 'Ali Ibrahim, and M. Muhammad, *Architectural Terms in Mamluk Documents*: 648–923 H/1250–1517 (Cairo: AUC Press, 1990), 71–72.
8. The keys are described in Fredrik T. Hiebert, "Commercial Organization of the Egyptian Port of Quṣeir al-Qadim: Evidence from the Analysis of the Wooden Objects," *Archéologie Islamique* 2 (1991), 157, fig. 10 (82–524).
9. Guo, "Business Letters," 161–90; Guo, "Shipping Notes," 81–116; Li Guo, *Commerce, Culture, and Community in a Red Sea Port in the Thirteenth Century: The Arabic Documents from Quseir*, Islamic History and Civilization Studies and Texts (Leiden: Brill, 2004).
10. Guo discusses this semiofficial role that the sheikh apparently played in the grain trade ("Business Letters," 176, 178, 179, n. 7). The primary interaction was with the cities of the Hijāz as discussed in Guo, "Shipping Notes," 89, 93; and Guo, *Commerce, Culture, and Community*, 45. A letter from another house (P8b-18; 78–592) describes this commerce in grain. See Gladys Frantz-Murphy, "The Red Sea Port of Qusayr: Arabic Documents and Narrative Sources," in Donald S. Whitcomb and Janet H. Johnson, *Quseir al-Qadim 1980: Preliminary Report*, American Center in Egypt Report 7 (Malibu: Udena Publications, 1982), 273–77.
11. For an explanation of the workings of the sheikh's brokerage business according to the Quṣeir documents and letters, see Guo, "Shipping Notes," 81–85; and *Commerce, Culture, and Community*, 9–69.
12. Guo, *Commerce, Culture, and Community*, 2–3. One learns the names of the sheikh's other sons in various letters (Guo, "Business Letters," 165); in the above narrative, their identity with those stranded in Qaṣr Yamanī (Guo, "Business

- Letters," 181–85) is the present authors' conjecture.
13. Li Guo, personal communication to Donald Whitcomb, March 20, 2003.
 14. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Resist Dyed Textiles*, cat. nos. 52, 53.
 15. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Resist Dyed Textiles*, 52, 112, from K9b–63 (82–922, 945).
 16. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Resist Dyed Textiles*, 19, 113, cat. no. 55, with a discussion of the derivation of motifs, from K10a–11 (82–927).
 17. See text 4 in Guo, "Shipping Notes," 98; and text 55 in Guo, *Commerce, Culture, and Community*, 251–52.
 18. Whitcomb and Johnson, *Quseir al-Qadim 1980*, 149; Edward J. Keall, "The Dynamics of Zabid and Its Hinterland: The Survey of a Town on the Tihamah Plain of North Yemen," *World Archaeology* 14 (1983): 379–91; Christopher Ciuk and Edward J. Keall, *Zabid Project Pottery Manual*, 1995; *Pre-Islamic and Islamic Ceramics from the Zabid Area, North Yemen*, BAR International Series 655 (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1996), 108; Rebecca Bridgman, Report 2001, *The Islamic Pottery: Some Preliminary Findings* (Southampton: University of Southampton, 2002).
 19. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Resist Dyed Textiles*, 55, 113, cat. no. 58.
 20. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Resist Dyed Textiles*, 54, 114, from K10a–15 (82–937).
 21. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Resist Dyed Textiles*, 53, 113, cat. no. 55. The sheikh's embroidered fragments were found in K9b–38 (82–905); check patterns on linen were much more common; a particularly interesting pattern was from K9b–36 (82–913).
 22. Including one addressed to Ibrāhīm b. Abū Mufarrij. Li Guo, personal communication to Donald Whitcomb, November 25, 2002.
 23. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Resist Dyed Textiles*, 53, 113, cat. no. 54.
 24. Vogelsang-Eastwood published a well-preserved veil from this site: Gillian M. Vogelsang-Eastwood, "A Medieval Face-Veil from Egypt," *Costume* 17 (1983): 33–38.
 25. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Resist Dyed Textiles*, 52, 111, cat. no. 51.
 26. Some ceramic corpora with similar materials are: Claire Hardy-Guilbert, "Julfar, cité portuaire du Golfe arabo-persique à la période islamique," *Archéologie Islamique* 2 (1991): 161–203. Axelle Rougeulle, "Les importations de céramiques chinoises dans le Golfe arabo-persique (VIII–XIe siècles)," *Archéologie Islamique* 2 (1991): 5–46. George T. Scanlon, "Fustat Expedition: Preliminary Report, 1978," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 21 (1984): 1–38. Christina Tonghini, *Qal'at Ja'bar Pottery: A Study of a Syrian Fortified Site of the Late 11th–14th Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1998). A fuller discussion of the ceramics at the Sheikh's House and at Quseir al-Qadim can be found in a 2007 University of Chicago Ph.D. dissertation by Katherine Strange Burke: "Archaeological Texts and Contexts on the Red Sea: The Sheikh's House at Quseir Al-Qadim."
 27. Bo Gyllensvärd, "Recent Finds of Chinese Ceramics at Fostat," pt. 1, *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm* 45 (1973): 92. Also see Gyllensvärd, "Recent Finds of Chinese Ceramics at Fostat," pt. 2, *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm* 47 (1975): 93–117; Robert Lockhart Hobson, "Chinese Porcelain from Fostat," *Burlington Magazine* (September 1932): 109–13; Oscar Raphael, "Fragment from Fustaṭ," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* (1923–24): 17–25; Tatsuo Sasaki, "Chinese Ceramics Excavated at Fustaṭ, 1985," *Trade Ceramics Studies* 6 (1986): 99–103; George T. Scanlon, "Egypt and China: Trade and Imitation," in *Islam and the Trade of Asia: A Colloquium*, ed. Donald S. Richards (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1971), 81–95, 271–91.
 28. Tsugio Mikami, "China and Egypt: Fustaṭ," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 45 (1980–81): 69.
 29. Gyllensvärd, "Recent Finds" pt. 2, 97, pl. 3: 1, 2, 4.
 30. Juris Zarins, "Arab Southern Red Sea Ports and the Early Chinese Porcelain Trade as Reflected Principally from Aththar, 217–108, Saudi Arabia," *Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli* 49 (1989): 246, 259.
 31. An earlier discussion of this locational distinction in seeds and other finds appeared in Donald Whitcomb, "Quseir al-Qadim, Egypt: Text and Context in the Indian Ocean Spice Trade," *al-'Usur al-Wusta: The Bulletin of Middle East Medievalists* 7.2 (1995): 25–27.
 32. Jean-Claude Garcin, "Pour un recours à l'histoire de l'espace vécu dans l'étude de l'Égypte arabe," *Annales: Economie, Sociétés, Civilisations* 35 (1980): 436–51.
 33. Frantz-Murphy, "Arabic documents," 267–83; the "ostrichicons" are figs. 18, 19. A similar funerary "ostrichicon" from Quseir is published by Ashraf Salama for the Misr International University (website: archnet.org). Another report is from the University of Southampton excavations: D. A. Agius, "'Leave Your Homeland in Search of Prosperity': The Ostrich Egg in a Burial Site at Quseir al-Qadim in the Mamluk Period," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras IV*, ed. U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenbergen, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 140 (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 355–80. The term "ostrichicon" was suggested by the late Prof. Robert Braidwood and is retained here in his memory. Another reference to ostrich egg

shells may be noted in the observation of Ibn Baṭṭuṭa, when he arrived on the African coast south of Quṣeir: “We landed there and found on the shore a hut of reeds, shaped like a mosque, inside were ostrich egg-shells filled with water...”. H. A. R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, 1325–1354* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1962), vol. 2, 107.

34. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Resist Dyed Textiles*, 34, cat. no. 1.
35. Donald S. Whitcomb, “Islamic Pottery,” in Whitcomb and Janet H. Johnson, *Quseir al-Qadim 1978: Preliminary Report* (Cairo: American Research Center in Egypt, 1979), 108.
36. Charles Le Quesne, “Quṣeir Fort Visitor Centre: Archaeological Report,” American Research Center in Egypt, Cairo, 1999.
37. Jean-Claude Garcin, “Kuṣayr,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1982), 519.
38. Albert Kammerer, *La Mer Rouge: l’Abyssinie et l’Arabie depuis l’antiquité* (Cairo: Société royale de géographie d’Égypte, 1929), 1:81.
39. This seems to be the earliest citation of this erroneous identification. See Donald Whitcomb, “Quṣeir al-Qadim and the Location of Myos Hormos,” *Topoi* 6 (1996): 747–72.
40. Excavated as a coin, B4a-5, 78-446.
41. Gustave Flaubert, *Voyage en Orient (1849–1851)* (Paris: Librairie de France, 1925), 121.

CARVING AND COMMUNITIES

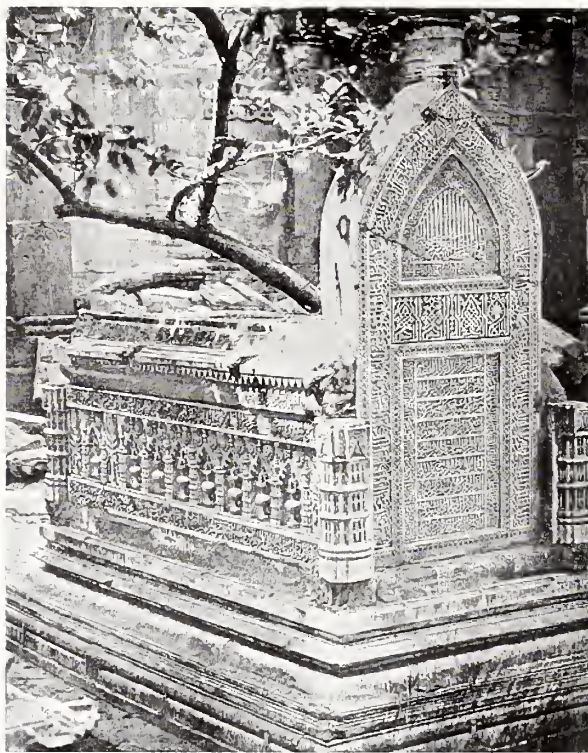
Marble Carving for Muslim Patrons at Khambhāt and around the Indian Ocean Rim, Late Thirteenth–Mid-Fifteenth Centuries

Abstract

For a period of some six centuries—from the late tenth to the sixteenth century A.D.—Khambhāt was the premier port of western India. Positioned at the interface between northern India and the Indian Ocean trading network, Khambhāt was not only a transit point for commodities from both areas but also a production site in its own right and a major center of Muslim patronage of architecture and fine marble carving. This article examines the production of marble carvings for Muslim patrons at the port of Khambhāt and its seaborne export to patrons around the Indian Ocean littoral, from East Africa to eastern Java. Taking the approach that every stone carving is a document that can tell the story of its own manufacture, and coupling this approach with stylistic, iconographic and epigraphic analyses, the article examines the processes of the commodity's production at Khambhāt, and patterns of consumption by patrons in Gujarat and abroad.

TODAY, STONE AND EVEN STONE CARVERS travel internationally. In the pre-industrial period, however, the high density of stone, translated as a high weight, and the difficulties of transport associated with this guaranteed that stone, and the stone carvers who worked it, generally stayed close to the area in which it was quarried. Stone carving in the premodern period has been characterized principally as a local craft, based around local sources of stone and using local terminology and techniques.¹ It is not surprising, then, that stone is never mentioned as a commodity in the literature on Indian Ocean trade during the premodern period.

Nevertheless, there were exceptions to this general “rule.” The transport of marble around the Mediterranean during the Roman period, both as a raw material and in the form of finished or partly carved pieces, is perhaps the best documented and most widely studied example of nonlocal, sea-based circulation.² But the Mediterranean may not be the only geographical area where stone and indeed stone carvers circulated in this manner. While little attempt has been made to translate these models to Asia, there is growing evidence both in the field and across existing publications that carved stone was sometimes commissioned and shipped across vast distances. While still in its early stages, this research suggests the existence of a number of discrete networks of stone distribution around the Indian Ocean and South China Sea during the pre-industrial period, particularly, but not exclusively, involving Islamic tombstones. Networks can be traced out of Fujian Province in eastern China to Brunei, the Philippines, and even as far as north Sumatra from the thirteenth century onward.³ There is strong evidence for an intense trade in Islamic tombstones around the Indonesian archipelago from the early fifteenth century onward.⁴ A number of Vaisnava and Buddhist statues



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1
Marble grave memorial of 'Umar al-Kāzerūnī (d. 734 A.H./A.D.1333), Kāzerūnī tomb complex, Khambhāt. From James Burgess, *On the Mohammadan Architecture of Bharoch, Cambay, Dholka, Champanir, and Mahmudabad in Gujarat*, Archaeological Survey of Western India 6 (London: W. M. Griggs and Sons, 1896), pl. 23.

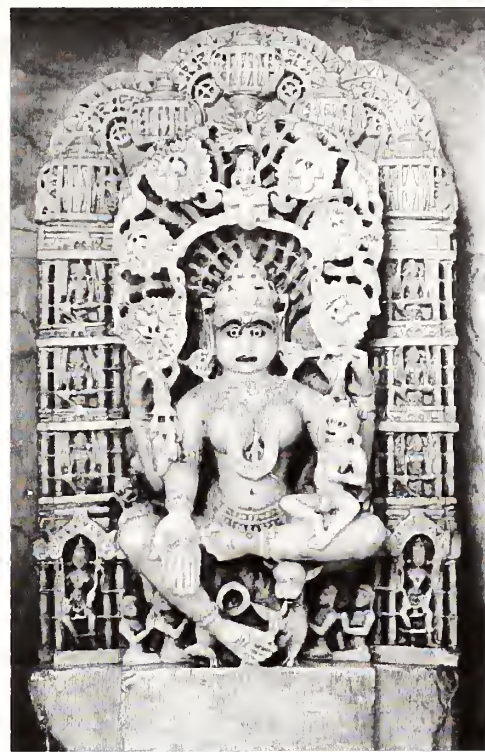
found on the coasts of northeastern and western Sumatra may have been imported from southern India sometime between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries.⁵ My own research on the marble carving produced for Muslim patrons at the port of Khambhāt in Gujarat, India, quite unexpectedly led to the discovery of a significant number of pieces bought or commissioned by Muslim patrons around the Indian Ocean rim, from sites in East Africa to Java, between the late thirteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries.⁶

Other networks may well remain to be identified since the possibility of a sea-based spread of stone and carved objects has hardly been looked for in these regions. It is still far too early to be able to define and analyze the larger patterns of this phenomenon in Asia. For the moment, a great deal of empirical research remains to be carried out to establish the extent of these networks and to document and analyze individual groups of stone carvings. As the following article will show, however, this empirical starting point by no means precludes the development of analytical or interpretive approaches to individual groups.

I will discuss the westernmost example of this phenomenon identified so far: the production and export of marble carvings from the Gujarati port of Khambhāt during the period spanning the late thirteenth to mid-fifteenth centuries. While I have had occasion to publish several groups of exported Khambhāt material in detail,⁷ this article is an opportunity to look at the full spread of export production and, most important, to set it in the context of production for the home market. The article focuses particularly on the communities involved in the production of marble carving for Muslim patrons at Khambhāt and on the various Muslim communities that purchased or commissioned this work. What was the background of those involved in this carving, and how were workshops organized, particularly around work for overseas patrons? Who purchased Khambhāt marble carving



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2
Marble carving of the Jaina *tīrthankara* Vāsūpujya, dated v.s. 1271/A.D. 1215. Private collection, Khambhāt. Photograph courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Centre for Art and Archaeology, Gurgaon.

3
Marble carving of the *yakṣī* Ambikā, thirteenth century. Private collection, Khambhāt. Photograph courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Centre for Art and Archaeology, Gurgaon.

and why, and did the profile of these consumers differ substantially between local and export markets? Though we have no carvers' "signatures" and no contemporaneous accounts of this production, this article is grounded on the idea that "any object worked in stone is a document that, correctly understood, describes its own manufacture."⁸ The material provides a rich body of technical, stylistic, epigraphic, and even iconographic data illuminating aspects of stonemasonry and its trade.

The Corpus of Khambhāt Marble Carving

The marble carving produced for Muslim patrons at Khambhāt has come to be embodied in the minds of most scholars by the grave memorial of the merchant 'Umar al-Kāzerūnī (d. 734 A.H./A.D. 1333), situated at the center of his magnificent tomb complex attached to the congregational mosque at Khambhāt (fig. 1). His memorial was the first Khambhāt grave to be published with illustrations, and the volume it appeared in, James Burgess's *On the Muhammadan Architecture of Bharoch, Cambay, Dholka, Champanir, and Mahmudabad in Gujarat* (1896), remains a classic to this day.⁹ However, al-Kāzerūnī's grave is only the most cited and reproduced example of a large corpus of carved marble, including foundation inscriptions and architectural carvings, produced for Muslim patrons at Khambhāt from the early thirteenth century right up to the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁰ As we will see, this production grew out of the strong preexisting marble-carving activity at the port for Jaina and Hindu patrons. A few surviving fragments, such as a relief of the *tīrthankara* Vāsūpujya, dated v.s. 1271/A.D. 1215 (fig. 2) and a thirteenth-century figure of the *yakṣī* Ambikā (fig. 3), testify to the quality of this production.¹¹ Although evidence can be found for the production of fine marble carving for Muslim patrons at Khambhāt through the



4
Inked rubbing of the marble
headstone of Ḥasan al-ʿIrāqī (d. 699
A.H./A.D. 1299), Somanātha-paṭṭana
From *Annual Reports on Indian
Epigraphy* (1954–55).

late nineteenth century, there is only one period for which we have evidence of a stable and sustained production, and that is the period between the late thirteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries. The large numbers of carvings that survive for this period and the uniformity of their style suggest that one or several marble workshops were established at the port and working specifically for Muslim patrons. Significantly, it is also from these centuries that there is evidence of the export of Khambhāt marble carving.

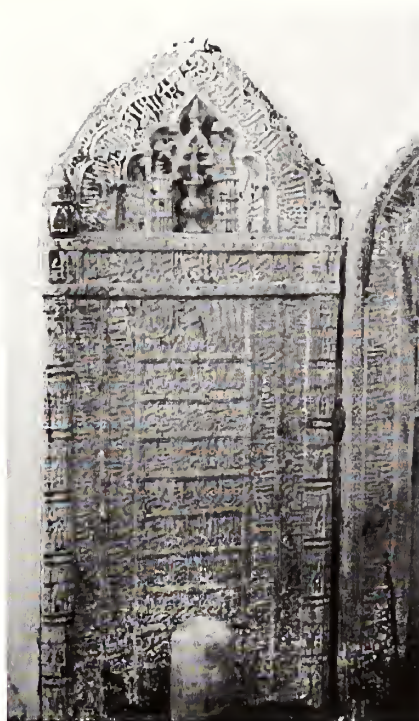
Marble Carving for Muslim Patrons at Khambhāt

The corpus of Khambhāt carving for the period between the late thirteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries (excluding, for the moment, the export production) includes some forty-three cenotaphs and/or headstones,¹² nineteen foundation inscriptions,¹³ one land grant,¹⁴ and eight architectural fragments, including *miḥrāb* elements.¹⁵ These numbers suggest that grave memorials constituted the mainstay of production, followed by foundation inscriptions and architectural elements. This breakdown of types fits with what we know of building traditions and materials at Khambhāt. In the alluvial plain of central Gujarat, where Khambhāt and the other major cities of Gujarat were located, the only locally available building material was brick, and the majority of construction is likely to have been in brick supplemented by timber for roofs, internal supports, and timber frames.¹⁶ All stone would have had to be brought in from other areas—northern Gujarat for marble, Saurāstra for lower qualities of stone such as sandstone—or else extracted from existing structures.¹⁷ Either way, stone constituted an expensive material and in the context of Muslim religious architecture was in all likelihood reserved for focal areas such as foundation inscriptions, *miḥrābs*, and doorways. This corpus probably represents only a fraction of the marble actually produced for Muslim patrons during this period, since the later decline of the port and difficulties in obtaining marble seem to have led to an increase in the recutting of earlier grave memorials.

Before further discussing Khambhāt marble carving, it is useful to give a short overview of the style of material produced and the development of the corpus over this period. While there is a considerable variety of headstone design during the 1280s and 1290s, some key features emerge quite clearly. Inscriptions constitute the main type of decoration, but most examples also carry a lamp motif, something of a fashion on grave memorials throughout the Islamic world at the time.¹⁸ Though there were variations in design, the majority render the lamp motif in a rich, rounded relief, placing it at the center of an arched niche and flanking it with split plantains. The headstone of Ḥasan al-ʿIrāqī (d. 699 A.H./A.D. 1299) (fig. 4) from Somanātha-paṭṭana on the coast of Saurāstra is a good example of this type and also provides the earliest dated rendering of the Kufic *bismillāh* design that was to



5
Marble headstone of Muhammad al-Āstarābādī (d. 683 A.H./A.D. 1284). Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyya, Kuwait. Photograph by the author.



6
Marble headstone of Ikhtiyār al-Dawla wa al-Dīn (d. 716 A.H./A.D. 1316). Khambhāt. Photograph by the author.



7
Lār *mihrāb*, marble, first half of the fourteenth century. Museum of Historical Stone Carving, Shirāz, Iran. Photograph courtesy of Sima Arshadi, Curator, Museum of Historical Stone Carving, Shirāz.

mark Khambhāt carving for the following century and a half. The headstone of Muḥammad al-Āstarābādī (d. 683 A.H./A.D. 1284) provides an example of an undecorated, purely epigraphic headstone produced around the same period (fig. 5). By the second decade of the fourteenth century the basic design had been refined to include an ornate *parikara* (a frame of miniature niches containing lamps) and a cusped arch head as, for example, in the headstone of Ikhtiyār al-Dawla wa al-Dīn (d. 716 A.H./A.D. 1316) (fig. 6). By the early fourteenth century there is far less variation in design than during the later thirteenth century, suggestive of a large-scale production relying, in part, on precarved stock. However, as al-Kāzerūnī's headstone demonstrates (see fig. 1), this was not the only model available. Tombstones also varied in size, presumably to accommodate different budgets. Headstones of both types—lamp with split plantains and *bismillāh* design—continued into the 1340s. The high-relief lamp with or without split plantains also provided the main decorative motif for cenotaph sides (see fig. 1) and *mihrābs*, as exemplified by the so-called Lār *mihrāb* (fig. 7).

There appears to have been a lull in fine grave memorial production during the second half of the fourteenth century.¹⁹ However, fine marble memorials, this time without substantial architectural carvings, reappear at the end of the century and continue until the mid- or even late fifteenth century. The fifteenth-century headstone type was heavily influenced by earlier models such as al-Kāzerūnī's headstone, and the focus of decorative elaboration was on the Kufic *bismillāh* across the shoulder of the stone. The headstone of Abū Bakr al-Quraishī (d. 818 A.H./A.D. 1415) at Khambhāt exemplifies this type (fig. 8). Some of the most stunning examples of carving from the fifteenth century are the large arched footstones, carved in flat-cut relief with tree and plant motifs, that have survived on many Khambhāt graves in northern Sumatra, for example, the footstone of grave 6 in the Teungku Sareh burial group, possibly recording a death in 834 A.H./A.D. 1430–31 (fig. 9). Produc-



8

8
Marble headstone of Abū Bakr
al-Quraishī (d. 818 A.H./A.D. 1415).
Khambhāt. Photograph by the
author.

tion for both the home and export markets appears to tail off toward the middle of the fifteenth century, possibly as a result of increased demand for marble carvers for projects at the new capital of Aḥmadābād.

Epitaphs and other inscriptions confirm the high status of worked marble at Khambhāt. While it is usually impossible to build detailed biographies of the individuals mentioned in inscriptions, their titles and *nisbas* appear to point to three major groups: merchants, religious dignitaries, and nobles and officials posted in Gujarat.²⁰ Epitaphs include several *khwājas*, the great merchants of Iran and neighboring countries, and a number of merchants holding the title *malik al-tujjār*, including ‘Umar al-Kāzerūnī.²¹ A number of *nisbas* and ‘*urfs* (aliases) point to specific trades, for example, two ‘*alamgārs* (lance or banner makers), a *lakariyā* (associated with or related to wood), and two *faṭūliyas* (*fatol* is an adjective meaning “soft” and is applied to betel nuts).²² Other headstones record the demise of a *qāḍī*, two *imāms* (one of which was also a *muftī*), and three *ṣadrs*. Among the nobles or officials mentioned one can single out Ikhtiyār al-Dawla wa al-Dīn, the *baḥr bek* (commander of the sea) at Khambhāt (see fig. 6),²³ Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d. 732 A.H./A.D. 1331), *al-dabir* (secretary),²⁴ and Fakhr al-Dawla wa al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Būtiḥārī, a Tughluq official and army commander, the patron of the *jāmi’ mas-*



9

9
Marble footstone, grave 6, Teungku Sareh, Samudera-Pasai (Sumatra), possibly 834 A. H./A.D. 1430–31. Leiden University Library, Legatum Warnerianum, The Netherlands, Or.23.481, photograph 386.

jid.²⁵ Many of the names recorded on Khambhāt inscriptions have geographical *nisbas* referring to places outside India, for example, in Iran, the Arabian peninsula, and the Near East. However, these *nisbas* do not necessarily indicate that they were recent arrivals, and many families may have been resident in western India for generations.²⁶

Khambhāt Carving around the Indian Ocean Rim²⁷

Undoubtedly the most surprising aspect of Khambhāt marble carving is the fact that this production found an international appeal well beyond its origins. To date twenty-eight grave memorials, complete and fragmentary, and four groups of architectural elements have been found at fifteen sites around the Indian Ocean rim (fig. 10). These include a cenotaph side panel in two parts from Kilwa in present-day Tanzania;²⁸ a *mihrāb*, a portal facing, and other carved elements produced for the Fakhr al-Dīn mosque in Mogadishu;²⁹ one tombstone from Aden;³⁰ three tombstones from Dhofar in southern Oman;³¹ a *mihrāb* found at Lār in southern Iran (see fig. 7);³² tombstones at Somanātha-ṭaṭṭana on the Saurāṣṭra coast (see fig. 4);³³ Rander in southern Gujarat;³⁴ Goa;³⁵ and Madayi in northern Kerala;³⁶ a funerary inscription from Rājpurī on the coast of Maharashtra;³⁷ two tombstones from Trincomalee in eastern Sri Lanka;³⁸ a group of twelve cenotaphs and/or tombstones from Pasai in northern Sumatra (of which see fig. 9)³⁹ and finally three cenotaphs and/or tombstones and a carved column from Gresik in eastern Java.⁴⁰ All these pieces are carved in the creamy white marble characteristic of western India. Moreover, many pieces carry traces of temple *spolia* in a style typical of medieval western India, irrefutable proof that the marble itself came from this region.⁴¹ The design and decoration of the pieces, their carving technique, and the style of their calligraphy all correspond to known Khambhāt prototypes. Surprisingly, although many of these carvings have been published, only the three stones

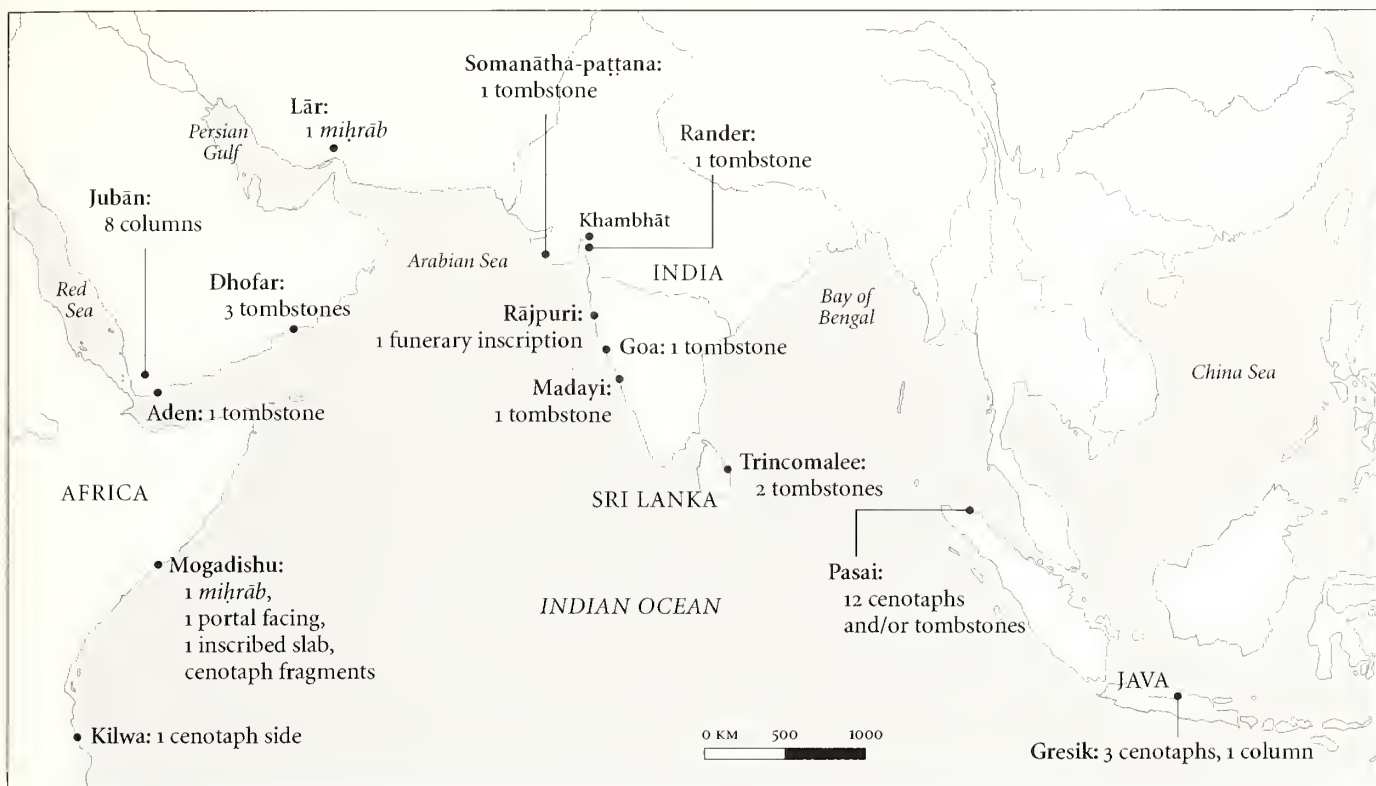
from Dhofar in Oman and one grave from Pasai were ever paralleled directly with Khambhāt material and sourced to the port.⁴² Gathered together, they paint a wholly unexpected picture of export activity; and there may still be room for growth in the numbers.

Eight white marble columns in the 887 A.H./A.D. 1482 Maṣūriyya *madrasa* at Jubān in the Yemen should probably also be added to the Khambhāt corpus.⁴³ The columns are carved with typically Indian motifs such as a suspended chain and floral bands. A recent stylistic analysis comparing them against various regional traditions of Islamic architecture in India found the strongest parallels to be with Gujarati Islamic architecture.⁴⁴ While this analysis did not point to Khambhāt as a possible site of production, it seems reasonable to suggest that these eight columns may have been manufactured at Khambhāt since it is currently the only site in western India with a proven overseas export production.⁴⁵ Reports of further Khambhāt tombstones in the Maldives and Aden, if substantiated, may increase the scale and spread of this export production further.⁴⁶ For the moment, however, these new additions yield a total corpus of Khambhāt carving for Muslim patrons of 110 pieces,⁴⁷ broken down in the following manner:

TABLE 1 Corpus of Khambhāt Carving for Muslim Patrons, Late Thirteenth–Late Fifteenth Century

	Khambhāt and Environs	Indian Ocean Rim (excluding Khambhāt)	TOTAL (by type)
Headstones and/or Cenotaphs and Funerary Inscriptions	43	28	71
Foundation Inscriptions (including land grants)	20	0	20
Architectural Carvings	8	11	19
TOTAL (by location)	71	39	110

The quality of Khambhāt marble carving obviously raises the possibility that these pieces left Khambhāt, not between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries at the time of their manufacture, but during later centuries, through spoliation after the decline of the port. In this regard, it is important to be able to establish clear connections between the individual mentioned in the epitaph and the site where the grave is or was located. While this connection cannot be made in all cases, enough



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Diffusion of Khambhāt marble carving around the Indian Ocean rim, late thirteenth to mid-fifteenth centuries.

links can be established to support the view that this pattern of dissemination was generated by contemporaneous export production rather than later spoliaion. One of the best known examples is that of Shaikh Abū Bakr al-Damīrī (d. 714 A.H./A.D. 1315), whose headstone was found at Dhofar in southern Oman. In this instance, we are fortunate in having the near contemporaneous account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who speaks of al-Damīrī as one of the religious dignitaries at the court of the Rasūlid governor of Dhofar.⁴⁸ Similarly, certain of the grave memorials found at Pasai in northern Sumatra record the epitaphs of members of the family of the sultans of Samudera-Pasai, for example, the grave memorial of a daughter of Sulṭān Zain al-‘Ābidīn of Pasai (d. 831 A.H./A.D. 1428), whose names and titles can be corroborated by local histories and other locally carved gravestones. In the case of the headstone of Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-‘Irāqī (d. 699 A.H./A.D. 1299) at Somanātha-paṭṭana on the Saurāṣṭra coast, an older inscription from the same town informs us that his family originally came to Somanātha from Hormūz and had been there since at least the mid-thirteenth century.⁴⁹

Overseas Patrons and the Taste for Khambhāt Marble

For the moment, there is no evidence to suggest that Khambhāt marble was exported for the graves of Khambhāt natives who had died abroad or were settled outside the port.⁵⁰ The only individual who can be clearly linked to Khambhāt is ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī, the son of Malik Mufarraḥ Sulṭānī (d. 768 A.H./A.D. 1366), whose funerary inscription was found at Rājpurī on the Maharashtra coast.⁵¹ His father was a well-known noble and patron of the Tughluq period who was initially appointed to the post of *nā’ib* (delegate) of the ‘*iqṭā’* (administrative grant of land from the central state) of Khambhāt.⁵² On the whole, then, the data carried in the

epitaphs of Khambhāt headstones found outside the port underline the idea of a luxury production that appealed to local elites across ethnic or regional identities. The *nisba* of Shaikh Abū Bakr al-Damīrī (d. 714 A.H./A.D. 1315) suggests that he was of Egyptian origin, coming from one of the two small towns named Damira in the Nile delta. The Rasūlids had close contacts with Mamlūk Egypt during the fourteenth century, and they may have played a part in the arrival of an Egyptian shaikh at the Rasūlid court. Other headstones mark the graves of merchants and nobles. As we have seen, Ḥasan al-ʿIrāqī, who died in 699 A.H./A.D. 1299 at Somanātha-ṭaṭṭana, belonged to a merchant family originally from Hormūz in the Persian Gulf; however, his titles *sadr al-sudūr wa al-akābīr*, or Great Leader and Noble, suggest that he also played a religious and administrative role at the port (see fig. 4). One of the inscriptions from Trincomalee records the demise in 729 A.H./A.D. 1329 of the daughter of a Syrian noble, Amīr Badr al-Dīn Ḥusain ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥalabī. The group of epitaphs from Samudera-Pasai in northern Sumatra is especially rich in information about the purchasers of Khambhāt marble carving, and the graves seem to belong to the family and courtiers of the sultans of Samudera-Pasai. Two of the earliest imported Khambhāt graves in northern Sumatra commemorate the graves of a descendant of the penultimate ʿAbbāsīd caliph and his wife, or perhaps a female relative. ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn al-Mansūr Abū Jaʿfar al-ʿAbbāsī al-Muntaṣir billah Amīr al-Muʾminīn Khalīfa Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn died in 809 A.H./A.D. 1406, and his wife, or female relation, Sittī Jahān bint al-Malik al-Muʿazzam wa al-Amīr al-Mukarram ... Khān died in 816 A.H./A.D. 1414. Another pair of Khambhāt tombstones commemorates the grave of a certain Nāʾinā Ḥuṣām al-Dīn ibn Nāʾinā Amīn who died in 823 A.H./1420 C.E. The title *nāʾinā* seems to be the Arabic rendering of a Tamil caste or community name and suggests that Ḥuṣām al-Dīn was a Tamil Muslim, probably one of the many Tamil merchants known to have been based at Samudera-Pasai.⁵³

It is not difficult to understand the success of Khambhāt marble carving beyond its local market, since it ranks among the finest marble carving in India of the period and holds its own with the highest quality stone carving from across the Islamic world. The color, texture, and translucency of the primary material, coupled with the refinement of its carving and design, must have elicited the admiration of all who saw it. Khambhāt's status as the premier port of western India certainly guaranteed a maximum audience among the many foreign travelers and merchants who visited the port, praying in its mosques and perhaps visiting its shrines and cemeteries. It is even possible that news of this production reached Syria by the early 1320s, since a passage in the *Taqwīm al-buldān* (Table of Countries), a geographical treatise by Abū al-Fīḍāʾ, the Ayyūbid prince of Hama in Syria, finished in 721 A.H./A.D. 1321, describes Khambhāt as "a beautiful

city, bigger than Ma'arra in Syria. Its buildings are built in brick and there is also white marble."⁵⁴ Abū al-Fīdā's text was later incorporated into Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qalqashandī's great Mamlūk encyclopedia, the *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī šinā 'at al-inshā'*, finished in 814 A.H./A.D. 1412,⁵⁵ and the success of this text in the Islamic world may have contributed to awareness of Khambhāt's marble carving workshops.

One may also wonder whether the attraction of Khambhāt marble carving beyond its production site was motivated in part by the close parallels between certain decorative motifs on the grave memorials and contemporaneous export textiles produced in Gujarat. There are striking parallels between certain Khambhāt footstones, with rows of mango and banana trees or with a single, large tree (see fig. 9), and resist-dyed cottons manufactured in western India for export throughout the Near East, the Arabian peninsula, and Southeast Asia during the same period.⁵⁶ Although these cottons were relatively common commodities, their motifs might reflect similar motifs used on now lost high-status textiles such as velvets and silks.⁵⁷ It also seems likely that overseas clients' interest in Khambhāt carving rose in proportion to the rarity of fine stones in their own region and the level of sophistication of local stone-carving techniques. Even in western India, no other coastal site has so far shown evidence for a similarly developed and well-established marble-carving tradition, although centers did exist inland. Beyond western India, the workshops at Khambhāt had a quasi monopoly on white marble and its carving. Geological data on East Africa, Oman, South India, northern Sumatra, and eastern Java indicate that none of the stone sources or stone-carving traditions in these regions could compete with Khambhāt.⁵⁸

The single factor that made such a widespread export physically possible, however, was Khambhāt's port. With marble averaged at twenty-seven quintals, or three English tons per cubic meter, large cenotaph graves would have weighed several tons.⁵⁹ Water transport, which in Gujarat can be equated with sea transport, overcame this problem. Once loaded, Khambhāt marble could travel enormous distances. Indeed, carved marble constituted a valuable ballast to help load and balance ships.

Export Patterns

Grave memorials were by far the most popular export commodity (see table 1). The relatively large number of surviving grave memorials found outside Khambhāt (twenty-eight) in comparison to survivals in and around the port (forty-three) initially suggests that export production was extremely important to the Khambhāt workshops, constituting over half of gravestone production. The numbers for Khambhāt should probably be adjusted, however, to take account of the port's decline in later centuries and the widespread recarving and recycling of its carved

marble. Even if the twenty-eight grave memorials found outside Khambhāt represent only half the original export production, it is clear that tombstones never became a widely traded commodity. These tombstones are the fruit of individual purchases or commissions directly from the Khambhāt workshops; the private character of these purchases explains why Khambhāt marble carving never features as a trade product in the sources of the period.

One striking aspect of the spread of Khambhāt marble carving is the contrast between the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, on the one hand, and the fifteenth century, on the other. During the first period, Khambhāt marble appears to have been exported exclusively in the western Indian Ocean, from East Africa to Sri Lanka, and to numerous sites. By contrast, in the fifteenth century, export focused almost exclusively on the eastern Indian Ocean and on just three sites; the single exception is the group of pillars at Jubān in the Yemen. The shift is difficult to explain since it does not correlate with any known change in the pattern of trade around the Indian Ocean during these three centuries. As far as we know, trade and contacts between Khambhāt and Samudera-Pasai were as active in the fourteenth as in the fifteenth century, and Khambhāt gravestones were available for export as early as the late thirteenth century. Their appearance in Samudera-Pasai would seem to be due to local changes in taste and perhaps burial practices in the early fifteenth century. By contrast, the cessation of exports to Samudera-Pasai in the mid- to later fifteenth century appears to correspond both with a decline in marble carving at Khambhāt itself and with a period of intense political upheaval in Samudera-Pasai. There is no evidence for a regular production of tombstones at Khambhāt during the second half of the fifteenth century, and it is during this period that earlier headstones begin to be recarved and reassembled at Khambhāt for local usage (as opposed to recarving for export, which was practiced from the early fifteenth century). Although there are no suggestions of any particular economic downturn at Khambhāt during this period, it is possible that its marble carvers found larger and more regular commissions from the sultan and his court at Ahmadābād than their traditional base of merchant patronage at Khambhāt. At the other end of the chain, these trends coincided with a period of intense political instability in Samudera-Pasai that in all likelihood hindered trade and made complex overseas commissions unworkable.

Communities of Carvers at Khambhāt

The corpus of marble carving from Khambhāt was manufactured in a cosmopolitan environment, reaching an international market, and finds its place within the vast networks of long-distance trade that cross the Indian Ocean and South China



11

11
Detail of marble *mihrāb* niche
commissioned by Khālīs ‘aṭīq ‘Umar
al-Kāzerūnī, 726 A.H./A.D. 1326.
Khambhāt. Photograph by
the author.

Sea. However, explored at a micro, rather than macro, level, it also reveals valuable information about the organization of marble-carving workshops at Khambhāt and the technical development of this craft in response to Muslim patronage.

Sculptors and Marble Carvers

Though we have no signatures or mason’s marks on Khambhāt carving, using Peter Rockwell’s approach to carved objects as documents that tell the story of their own manufacture, a considerable body of information can be built up about the training and methods of the marble carvers who worked for Muslim patrons at the port. Since carving specialties tend to be organized around particular stones, it is almost certain that they were marble specialists and trained in the local “western Indian” tradition of carving, principally applied to temple sculpture and decoration. Since Khambhāt is not situated in an area with natural stone reserves, it is unlikely that stone carvers, let alone specialized marble carvers, were permanently based at Khambhāt except during large building projects or when there was a large-scale demand for certain types of marble carving. To this day it is the Gujarat-Rajasthan border area that sustains resident bodies of marble carvers. It follows that these carvers originally came to Khambhāt from other areas of Gujarat, probably northern Gujarat and southern Rajasthan, in response to patronage at the port. Given a sustained demand, however, it is not impossible that groups then settled there on a more permanent basis.

The background of these carvers is worth exploring in light of the strength of influence from local temple sculpture on Khambhāt carving for Muslim patrons.⁶⁰ The *mihrābs* and *mihrāb* motifs at Khambhāt display a profoundly sculptural approach. Most *mihrābs* in India, and indeed in the Islamic world, are



12



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Pan̄chamukhi Vāv, Dabhoi, mid-thirteenth century A.D. Photograph courtesy of the American Institute for Indian Studies, Centre for Art and Archaeology, Gurgaon.

13

Detail of fig. 12. Photograph courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Centre for Art and Archaeology, Gurgaon.

either made up of flat slabs, carved with a niche motif, or are built niches, lined with decorated stone. By contrast, Khambhāt *mihrābs* such as that from Lār (see fig. 7) and the *mihrāb* niche commissioned by al-Kāzerūnī's freed-slave Khālīs in 726 A.H./A.D. 1326 (fig. 11) are sculpted from single blocks of marble, with no joins or additions. The niche of Khālīs' *mihrāb* is carved to a depth of more than fourteen centimeters, with the lamp "hanging" at its center almost in the round, attached to the back of the niche by only three thin bridges of marble. The carving out of the *mihrāb* niche and the treatment of the lamp both suggest an approach founded in traditions of sculpture in the round rather than low-relief carving. While the transfer of sculptural approaches to *mihrāb* design seems perfectly logical in the Indian context, the Khambhāt *mihrābs* appear to be the only stone *mihrābs* in the subcontinent to have allowed, or perhaps even encouraged, this transfer.

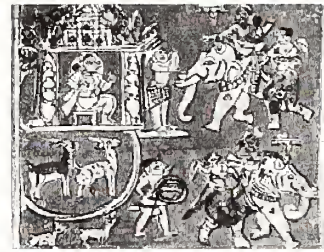
A second aspect of the Khambhāt *mihrābs* that ties them specifically to contemporaneous sculpture is their clear *trompe l'oeil* intent and technical display. The central niches of Khambhāt *mihrābs* (see figs. 7, 11) have a life-size lamp hanging from minutely rendered chains. The shape of the lamp corresponds to the general shape and size of contemporaneous Islamic glass lamps, of which numerous examples survive from Mamlūk Egypt and Syria. The sole inaccuracy is that the



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Detail of lamp motif with split plantains, undated marble headstone from A.D. 1310S–1320S. Khambhāt. Photograph by the author.



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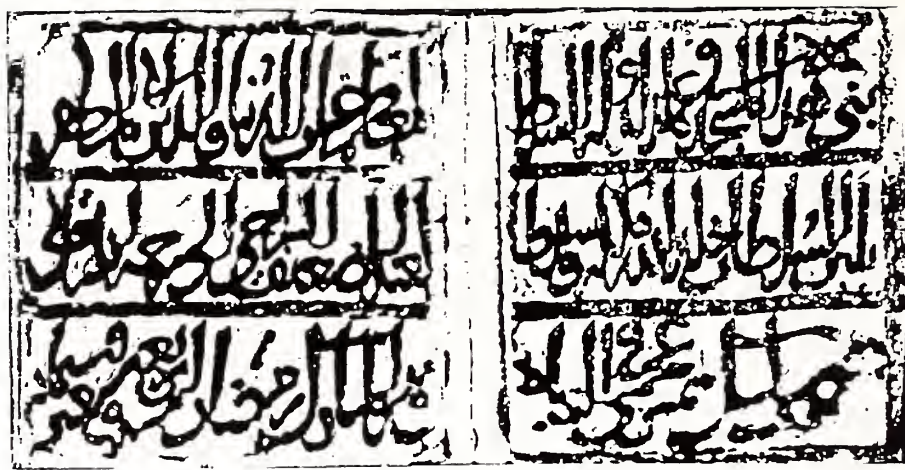
Wedding procession of the Jaina *tīrthankara* Neminātha, palm-leaf manuscript of the *Subāhukathā*, dated v.s. 1345/A.D. 1288, Sanghavina Pāḍa Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Pāṭan, Gujarat. From Mori Chandra, *Jain Miniature Paintings From Western India* (S. M. Nawab: Ahmedabad, 1949).

16

Marriage of the Jaina *tīrthankara* Pārśvanātha, palm-leaf manuscript, thirteenth century A.D. Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Jaisalmer, Rajasthan. From Sarabhai Manilal Nawab, *The Oldest Rajasthani Paintings From Jain Bhandars*, Jain Art Publication Series No 5 (S. M. Nawab: Ahmedabad, 1959).

Khambhāt lamps hang from chains attached to the rims of the lamp rather than from chains attached to the handles on the body of the lamp, as in real examples. Nevertheless, the intention is clearly illusionistic, and from a distance the marble lamp hanging at the heart of the niche might have been mistaken for a real glass lamp suspended by a metal chain. Moreover, it is possible that the whole was originally painted, thereby furthering the illusion.⁶¹ This interest in *trompe l'oeil* appears to connect to similar notions in slightly earlier Indic architecture in Western India, for example at the fort of Dabhoi, dating to the mid-thirteenth century.⁶² At a pavilion overlooking a tank, the so-called Pañchamukhi Vāv (figs. 12, 13), sculptors introduced a high-relief frieze of figures rendered in three-quarter size, positioned as if they were seated within the pavilion overlooking the water. The “inhabited” balconies are a visual joke, evoking the real balconies within the structure and the living people who once moved inside and around them.

There is also evidence of interaction with contemporaneous Jaina iconography. While lamp motifs were something of a fashion on *mihrābs* and tombstones across the Islamic world during this period,⁶³ none include the split plantains seen on Khambhāt carving (fig. 14). The motif appears to derive from representations of temporary structures, such as *cauris*, or wedding pavilions, as seen in Jain manuscript illustration. A miniature in a manuscript of the *Subāhukathā*, dated v.s. 1345/A.D. 1288, depicts the wedding procession of the Jain *tīrthankara* Neminātha (fig. 15). The illustrator has picked the critical moment as the procession approaches the bride in her marriage pavilion and Neminātha decides to renounce the world, and with it his bride. The pavilion has a distinct cusped roof; a lamp is suspended from the center of the structure and is flanked by two stacks of water pots and two split plantains. An even closer parallel comes from a scene in an undated thirteenth-century manuscript showing the marriage of the *tīrthankara* Pārśvanātha (fig. 16). Here the mono-scenic mode of narration provides a visual unit even closer to that at the head of Khambhāt gravestones and *mihrābs*. It is important to stress that the niches with split plantains shown on Khambhāt headstones and *mihrābs* are not marriage pavilions: the stacked pots, not the plantains, signal the marriage func-



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Mosque foundation inscription dated 674 A.H./A.D. 1276, red sandstone. Sultanpur near Gurgaon, Haryana. Ghulan Yazdani, "The Inscriptions of the Turk Sultans of Delhi," *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (1913–14), pl. 10a.

tion of these structures. It is my suggestion, however, that they were added as the result of a visual habit, a natural association between the Islamic motif of the lamp hanging within a cusped arch requested by Muslim patrons and the *cauri* depicted in Jaina narrative cycles. Although pavilions constructed from split plantains were used for a variety of functions in India, in Jaina manuscript illustration and narrative carving the form appears to be employed almost exclusively for wedding scenes. It is thus very specifically from this one iconographic element that the motif passed into the decorative repertory of carving for Muslim patrons at Khambhāt. Although the parallels come from Jaina manuscript painting, there is abundant evidence for a close correlation between narrative cycles in manuscripts and those found in architectural carving. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that identical scenes were carved in stone during the thirteenth century, probably by the same craftspeople who later carved Muslim headstones at Khambhāt.

Writing and Carving Islamic Inscriptions at Khambhāt

Muslim patronage must also have introduced new demands that radically altered the composition, working methods, and even the technology of marble workshops. The majority of carving on Islamic tombstones and foundation texts consists of inscriptions (the text or epitaph and associated Qur'ānic verses), written in Arabic or Persian and carved in flat-cut relief. This method was a revolution for local stone-carving practice, where inscriptions were not a primary form of decoration and were unusually incised (compare fig. 2). Flat-cut relief inscriptions demanded several new and important contributions. First, they required presumably literate individuals capable of composing texts in Arabic or Persian, selecting programs of Qur'ānic verses, and penning the texts for transfer to stone.⁶⁴ Second, they required someone capable of carving them.

The prominence of Islamic inscriptions on Khambhāt marble carving means that one or several skilled scribes must have been closely associated with the workshop. Certainly by the early fourteenth century, when carvings were being produced in large numbers, one or several professional scribes must have been involved at the very heart of production. Without "signatures" it is difficult to establish their backgrounds. The style of script found on Khambhāt headstones, however, and on inscription slabs from as early as the 1280s—best described as a



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18
Marble headstone of Shaikh
Arjūn al-Akhsī (d. 633 A.H./A.D.
1236) but produced in the 1280s
or 1290s. Peṭlad. Inked rubbing
from G. Yazdani, "Inscriptions
in the Tomb of Baba Arjun Shah,
Peṭlad," *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*
(1915–16) pl. 14a.

spidery *naskh* with *riqā'* flourishes—relates closely to styles of script on silver and gold coinage, *farmāns*, and foundation inscriptions from the mid-thirteenth century, under the Delhi sultans.⁶⁵ A foundation inscription dated 674 A.H./A.D. 1276 from Sultanpur near Gurgaon in Haryana (fig. 17), is one example, while other inscriptions in a similar style are known from Uttar Pradesh, the Panjab, Delhi, and even Bengal. These parallels raise the question of whether professional scribes and calligraphers, who had previously worked in the ambits of the Delhi courts, settled or worked at Khambhāt even before the Muslim conquest of 704 A.H./A.D. 1304–05. As one would expect, research into contacts of this type is almost non-existent.

Professional scribes were not necessarily the only ones involved in penning inscriptions, however. In less active times, more informal models of association may have existed. Paradoxically, we appear to have more information about the latter case than the main production. The only "signature" on Khambhāt carving comes from a headstone produced for the grave of a local holy man named Shaikh Arjūn al-Akhsī who died in 633 A.H./A.D. 1236 and is buried at Peṭlad. On stylistic grounds, the tombstone appears to be later than the date of death given on the epitaph and was probably carved in the 1280s or 1290s, thus before the Muslim conquest of Gujarat (fig. 18).⁶⁶ The final line, underneath the epitaph proper, carries the phrase "kātibuhu Abū Bakr ibn Maḥmūd ibn Ismā'īl al-Jauharī" (its



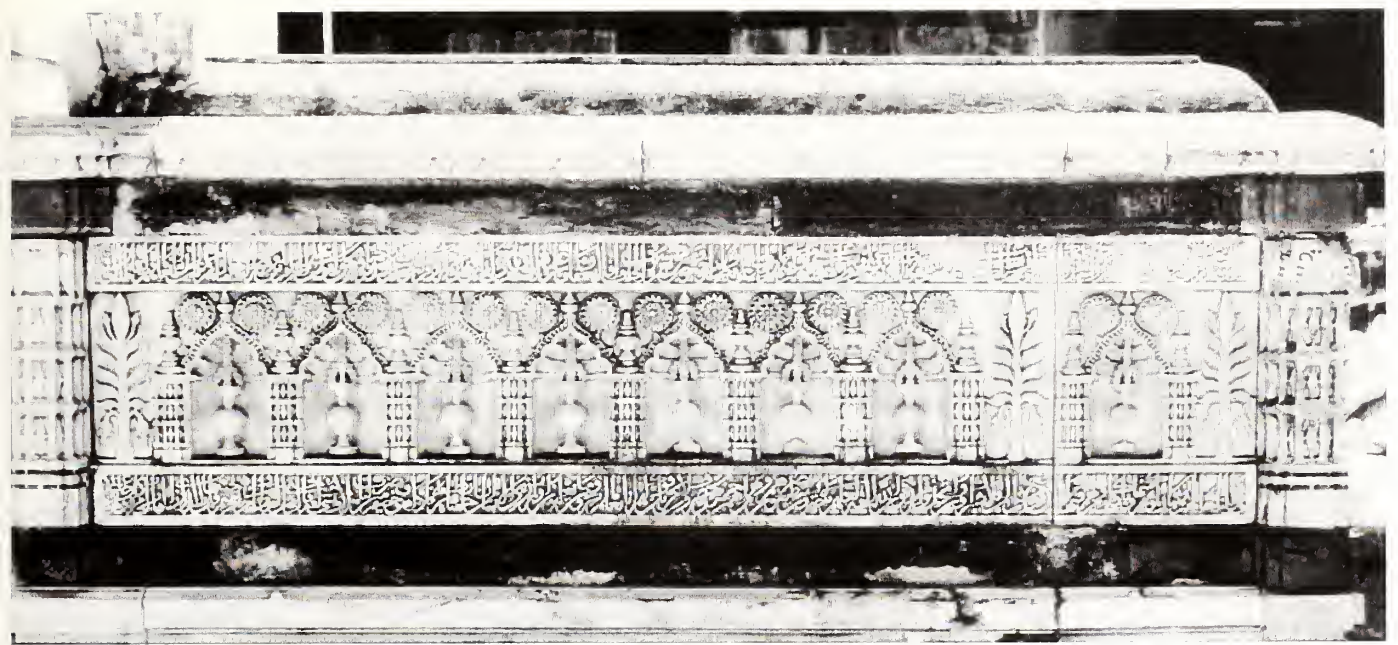
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Headstone of Amin al-Din ibn Ardashir al-Ahwī (d. 630 A.H./A.D. 1232), marble. Khambhāt. Photograph by the author.

writer is Abū Bakr ibn Maḥmūd ibn Ismāʿīl al-Jauharī, the jeweler or jewel seller).⁶⁷ Muslim names are rich in data, and his name tells us that Abū Bakr was at least a third-generation Muslim, while his *nisba* al-Jauharī suggests that he, or possibly an ancestor, was either a jeweler or a gem trader. As Khambhāt was an important center of trade in semiprecious and precious stones, the *nisba* fits well with the known Khambhāt context; however, it is difficult to extrapolate more about the precise relationship between Abū Bakr, the “writer” of the inscriptions, and the Khambhāt workshops. Abū Bakr may have been a professional scribe, but then the *nisba* al-Khaṭṭāt, the scribe, would have seemed more appropriate. On the other hand, Abū Bakr may have been a local jeweler or gem trader with a particular talent for calligraphy who offered to compose and write out the program because the tombstone was for the grave of a local saint. The *baraka* or blessings deriving from this pious act perhaps explains his urge to record his name and his role.

The idea that a locally available literate Muslim helped pen fine inscriptions is not as strange as it may seem, particularly for “one-off” inscriptions rather than regular productions. A study of “signed” Muslim inscriptions in Gujarat between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries shows that, especially outside Ahmadābād, local and obviously literate dignitaries were often associated with the penning of foundation inscriptions.⁶⁸ Only one signed inscription identifies the composer as a scribe,⁶⁹ other names fail to give any clear indication of the composer’s occupation (though all are Muslim), while four specifically mention religious occupations. Thus a mosque foundation inscription from Māngrol dated 784 A.H./A.D. 1382–83 was written by a shaikh (Shaikh ‘Umar ibn Ādam),⁷⁰ the Persian portion of a bilingual inscription from the Māngrol fort dated 797 A.H./A.D. 1395 was composed by a *qāḍī* (Qāḍī Badr[-i] Zāhir),⁷¹ a 860 A.H./A.D. 1456 mosque inscription from Pāṭan,⁷² and a 920 A.H./A.D. 1514 foundation inscription for a *jāmi‘masjid* from Junāgarh were both written by the *imāms* of the said mosques.⁷³ This record would support the idea that professional scribes probably had little interest in recording their contributions and thus remained anonymous, whereas “enlightened amateurs”



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Side of al-Kāzerūnī's cenotaph,
Kāzerūnī tomb complex, fig.
1. Photograph courtesy of the
American Institute of Indian
Studies, Centre for Art and
Archaeology, Gurgaon.

asked to compose and pen a text for an inscription were far more eager to record their contributions for posterity.

The convention of carving Islamic inscriptions in flat-cut relief also raises the question of how this carving technique was introduced and disseminated at Khambhāt and whether it subsequently became a subspecialization within the craft of marble carving. The slightly rustic, hesitant qualities of the earliest marble headstones from Khambhāt—for example, the headstone of Amīn al-Dīn al-Ahwī in 630 A.H./A.D. 1232 (fig. 19)—seem to support the idea that this was a new type of carving that demanded new skills and probably the development of new carving tools. It is certainly not a carving genre that appears at Khambhāt full-fledged and at the peak of its ability. Once again, the physical evidence is too sparse to interpret comfortably. On the one hand, the gradual improvements in the carving of these headstones over the thirteenth century supports the idea that a new skill base was being built up at Khambhāt, finally culminating in the headstones of the 1280s. On the other hand, it is possible to envisage contacts with the more developed traditions of Islamic inscription carving in the Delhi sultanate to the north that might have led to a sudden advance in inscription carving in the 1280s. Again, research is sorely lacking, although a passage in a Jaina text, the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutunga, refers to the transport of a statue from the Mammana (Makrāṇa?) quarry, apparently situated in the lands of the Delhi sultan, to a temple near Śatru-ñjaya during the ministership of Vastupāla and supports the idea of direct contacts between these two regions.⁷⁴ Whatever the route of development, by the 1280s (in any case well before the Muslim conquest of Gujarat) Khambhāt marble carvers were capable of producing Islamic inscriptions as fine as anything produced within the Delhi sultanate or in the main cultural centers of the wider Islamic world.

There is some evidence that inscription carving developed as a separate specialization at Khambhāt and possibly in Gujarat more broadly. The sides of al-Kāzerūnī's cenotaph show an odd break in the rhythm of the hanging lamps along its sides (fig. 20). The frieze of lamps is interrupted by a plantain and then starts up



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Mihrāb with inset, incised foundation inscription plaque dated 733 A.H./A.D. 1333. Mosque of Hilāl Malikī, Dholkā, Gujarat. Photograph courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Centre for Art and Archaeology, Gurgaon.

again on a new slab, to be completed again by a second plantain. By contrast, the epigraphic program, the full eighty-three verses of *sūra Yā' Sīn*, runs continuously across both slabs. In this case what appears to have happened is that a standard length cenotaph side was first carved with a frieze of lamps but was then discovered to be too short to accommodate the planned epigraphic program. The sides had to be extended by an additional slab, and the Qur'ānic inscriptions were then carved across both panels. The mistake demonstrates that decorative relief carving was executed before inscription carving. This example also suggests an absence of coordination and planning in the execution of the two phases, even for what must have been one of the most prestigious commissions of the decade. Since a mistake of this sort is unlikely to have come about if a single marble carver was executing the whole panel, it suggests that the decorative relief and inscription were executed by two separate carvers. Further support for this idea comes from a unique series of inscriptions in the 920 A.H./A.D. 1514 *jāmi'* *masjid* in Junāgarh, Saurāṣṭra (now known as the Borvād mosque). The mosque preserves a fine carved *mihrāb* and a foundation text inscribed on a separate slab of marble. The foundation text is silent as to the carvers and scribes involved; however, two crude Persian inscriptions incised on the upper corners of the *mihrāb* provide exceptional details about who executed what part of the commission and even how they were paid. As edited by Z. A. Desai, the first inscription reads: "stone carver [*sangtarāsh*] Narbad Tahya the executor of the *mihrāb* of the *jāmi'* mosque." The second, longer and more detailed inscription states: "This tablet bearing the date was executed by the stone carver [*sangtarāsh*], Radh, son of ... the land of the village of Umarala has been



22

22
Cenotaph of Ahmad Shāh I
(d. 846 A.H./A.D. 1442). Aḥmadābād.
Photograph courtesy of the
American Institute of Indian
Studies, Centre for Art and
Archaeology, Gurgaon.

granted to him by the great Khān Khawwāṣ Khān. The *in'āmī* land [is allotted to] the writer of the text, Sayyid Mirān Nūr, the *imām* of the *jāmi'* mosque."⁷⁵

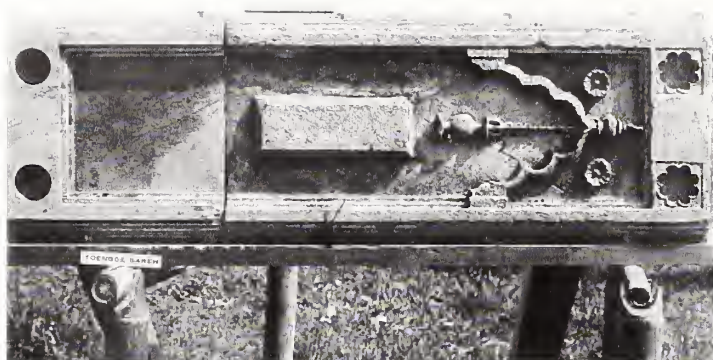
Thus the *miḥrāb* and the foundation tablet were carved by two different carvers, and the text of the inscription tablet was written by Sayyid Mirān Nūr, the *imām* of the mosque. Although the Borvāḍ mosque inscriptions are so far unique in the surviving evidence, they do hint at a separation of skills that was most likely in effect across western India.

If these ideas are correct, the tombstones from Khambhāt represent the fruit of an exceptional amalgam of specialized skills—those of the composer and writer of the text, and of the sculptor and the inscription carver. The difficulties of gathering all these skills together in a single time and place helps explain the unique character of Khambhāt marble carving among the Islamic stone carving of western India. Thus, although we find many ornately carved *miḥrābs* in Gujarat, for example in the 733 A.H./A.D. 1333 mosque of Hilāl Malikī at Dholkā (fig. 21), they are rarely inscribed on the body of the *miḥrāb*; instead, separate inscription slabs are accommodated within the *miḥrāb* structure. In funerary epigraphy, too, cenotaphs such as that of Aḥmad Shāh I (d. 846 A.H./A.D. 1442) at Aḥmadābād are finely carved but do not carry inscriptions (fig. 22).

Workshop Organization

It is difficult to be precise about the structure within which Khambhāt carvings were produced. The consistency of script, inscription programs, and decoration from the 1280s onward points to a stable group of craftspeople working in what might be called a Khambhāt style. There was a great deal of variation within these parameters, however, and, until the 1310s, the surviving numbers are simply too few to argue for the existence of a separate workshop serving only Muslim patrons. Thus we can probably assume these “new” products were manufactured within an existing atelier, one that worked primarily for Hindu and Jaina patrons.

Although the main elements of marble carving for Muslim patrons at Khambhāt had been formulated prior to the actual Muslim conquest, this event appears to have had a major effect on production, as Muslim communities now became the principal patrons. This development appears to have led to a substan-



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23
Partly carved cenotaph lid, grave 6,
Teungku Sareh. Leiden University
Library, Legatum Warnerianum, the
Netherlands, Or.23.481, photograph
384.



24

24
Marble cenotaph of Fāṭima al-ʿAlawī
(d. 738 A.H./A.D. 1337), Nagara.
Photograph by the author.

tial increase in the production of grave memorials and an expansion into other areas such as architectural decoration. By the second decade of the fourteenth century we have evidence of large-scale production of grave memorials along with foundation inscriptions and architectural elements. The stylistic consistency of this material and its numbers indicate that a, or perhaps several, workshops now specialized in carving marble for the Muslim market. This material provides good data on the processes or stages of production and the division of labor within the workshop or workshops.

On the whole, production appears to have been heavily hierarchic with limited space for input from the purchaser or patron. The basic unit of marble carving for Muslim patrons was the slab, used for head and footstones, for cenotaph sides and lids, for foundation inscriptions, and for certain parts of *mihrābs* and lintels. Only *mihrāb* niches required blocks rather than slabs of marble. The dominance of inscriptions in Khambhāt carving and the low-relief style of most non-inscriptional decoration meant that these slabs had to be cut, possibly sawn, then smoothed and even partially polished before the next stage of carving, namely the transfer of inscriptions and designs to the marble surface for carving. Since this process was relatively lengthy and repetitive, the workshop or workshops very likely held a stock of pre-prepared slabs ready for the next commission. No such slabs have survived at Khambhāt, but a number from Pasai and Gresik confirm that marble slabs were prepared to a smooth, semipolished finish, with the major planes of the design, such as the tripartite division of the slab for cenotaph sides, ready-carved (see fig. 9). Cenotaph lids were probably also pre-carved, as in the partly finished lid of grave 6 from the Teungku Sareh burial group at Samudera-Pasai in Sumatra, which records a death in 834 A.H./A.D. 1430–31 (fig. 23). Slabs seem to have been prepared with a single decorative scheme in mind, regardless of the final design selected by the patron or purchaser. Thus the cenotaph of Fāṭima al-ʿAlawī (d. 738 A.H./A.D. 1337) at Nagara, just north of Khambhāt, eschews the central frieze of hanging lamps generally carved on Khambhāt cenotaph sides during the fourteenth century and is instead carved with the full eighty-three verses of *sūra Yāʾ Sīn*. Despite this variation, the cenotaph sides were clearly divided into the three planes required for the lamp design and are thus likely to have come from pre-carved stock (fig. 24).

The same rigid separation of carving stages is seen further “up” the chain of production. The small museum attached to the Shri B. D. Rao College, Khambhāt Campus, preserves a partly carved cenotaph side panel with the central band of



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25
Unfinished cenotaph panel,
fourteenth century, marble.
Museum of Shri B. D. Rao College,
Khambhāt Campus, Khambhāt.
Photograph by the author.

hanging lamps completed but the upper and lower calligraphic bands untouched (fig. 25). As mentioned earlier, al-Kāzerūnī's cenotaph sides appear to have been prepared in the same sequence. The logic behind the stages here is technical, since the relief frieze of lamps involves carving into the slab to a depth of up to five centimeters. Given that marble is a metamorphic rock with fracture and fault lines within the stone, deep carving of this type risks splitting the slab far more than the flat-cut relief carving involved in inscriptions.⁷⁶ This method ensured that any fracture in the slab would be discovered at the start of the carving process, when minimum effort had been expended, rather than toward the end. The standardization of production and the separation of different stages suggest that the workshop (or workshops) was relatively large and working in a rote fashion. These clues do not fit, however, with the relatively small numbers of headstones and cenotaphs that survive at Khambhāt, and they therefore seem to confirm the hunch that large numbers of carvings have been lost over time.

In this context, by the fourteenth century Muslim clients probably had little space for personal input. Beyond the details of the epitaph, the only area that appears to have allowed for a certain personalization of the epigraphic program was that immediately above the epitaph. Several gravestones carry Qur'ānic verses in this area that are not generally used in the Khambhāt repertory; in a number of cases it is possible to decipher the link between the deceased and these atypical verses, indicating that they had been chosen particularly for this individual. The epitaph of 'Umar al-Kāzerūnī is preceded by verses 169–71 of *sūra Yā' Sin*, verses that speak of the first martyrs of Islam, killed at the battle of Uḥud. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of his visit to India during the 1340s gives a detailed account of al-Kāzerūnī's death, recounted to the author firsthand by a witness.⁷⁷ According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's source, al-Kāzerūnī was killed by Hindu bandits while traveling to Delhi. His death at the hands of non-Muslims appears to have been sufficient to qualify him as a martyr. The proximity of these verses to al-Kāzerūnī's epitaph appears deliberately designed to compare him to these first martyrs of Islam. Another example of the same phenomenon is seen on the headstone of the above-mentioned Ikhtiyār al-Dawla wa al-Dīn, Khambhāt's *baḥr bek* (commander of



26

26

Marble headstone of al-Damīrī (d. 714 A.H./A.D. 1315), Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Photograph courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

the sea) (see fig. 6). Ikhtiyār al-Dawla's epitaph is preceded by verse 29 of *sūra al-Mu'minīn*, a prayer recited by Noah before he disembarked from the ark after the flood had subsided. The relationship between this verse and Ikhtiyār's official post seems evident.

Working for Export Production

By and large, the same constraints that existed for local production appear to have held true for export production. Most tombstones found outside the port follow the same decorative schemes and inscription programs as at Khambhāt proper and were probably executed using precarved slabs. While the purchase and delivery processes must have taken longer, the basic stages must have been the same. Apart from four instances, all the tombstones exported from Khambhāt appear to have left the port with finished epitaphs, presumably after the demise of the individuals they were commissioned for. Only the three tombstones found at Dhofar in southern Oman and one grave memorial from Gresik in eastern Java were shipped with unfinished epitaphs, and thus probably during the lifetime of the individual they were destined to commemorate. A recent technical and stylistic study of the headstone of al-Damīrī (fig. 26) has demonstrated that it was ordered with only the first four lines of the epitaph, including the introductory formulas and his name, but without the date of death.⁷⁸ This information was added after his death by local stone carvers at Dhofar, as can be seen by the change in script and carving technique in the last lines of the epitaph (see fig. 26). One of the three



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Grave 2, Kuta Kareueng, epitaph
dated 851 A.H./A.D. 1447–48, marble.
Leiden University Library, Legatum
Warnerianum, the Netherlands,
Or.23.481, photograph 481.

28
Detail of headstone of fig. 27. Leiden
University Library, Legatum
Warnerianum, the Netherlands,
Or.23.481, photograph 12.

headstones from Gresik is even less complete and gives only the first introductory formulas (for a female epitaph) without even a name.

Until now we have underlined the static, somewhat inflexible nature of Khambhāt carving. While this assessment undoubtedly applies to the majority of production, particularly grave memorials, it is important to underline instances of a more creative interaction between purchasers and the Khambhāt workshops. In spite of the hieratic nature of production outlined above, Khambhāt tombstones evolved significantly between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, and there was clearly room within these systems for innovation and change, including the production of one-off pieces. In later centuries Gujarati craftspeople were famed for their sensitivity to the demands of the export market and the varying tastes and fashions of different regions. In his *Aʿīn-i Akbarī* (Mirror of Akbar's Works), a text composed in the forty-second year of Akbar's reign, or A.D. 1595–96, 'Allāmī noted that at Khambhāt "imitations of stuffs from Turkey, Europe, and Persia are also produced."⁷⁹ While much research has been devoted to interactions of this sort in the applied arts, the example of Khambhāt carving suggests the same imitative abilities also found expression in the field of stone carving.

Probably the best-documented example of the interaction with overseas clients are two cenotaphs produced for the court of Samudera-Pasai toward the middle of the fifteenth century—grave 2 in the Kuta Kareueng burial group at Pasai, which carries an epitaph dated 851 A.H./A.D. 1447–48 (fig. 27) and grave 4 in the same cemetery (fig. 28). Both graves are magnificent white marble cenotaphs of a type known at Khambhāt; however, their headstones differ radically from known examples at the port. The two headstones are relatively small and sit on the lid of the cenotaph rather than being attached at the ends, as at Khambhāt. Furthermore, while their material, white marble, along with their epigraphy and interlace border attach them clearly to the Khambhāt corpus, their shape is entirely unparalleled at Khambhāt and even in northern India more widely. The two gravestones



29

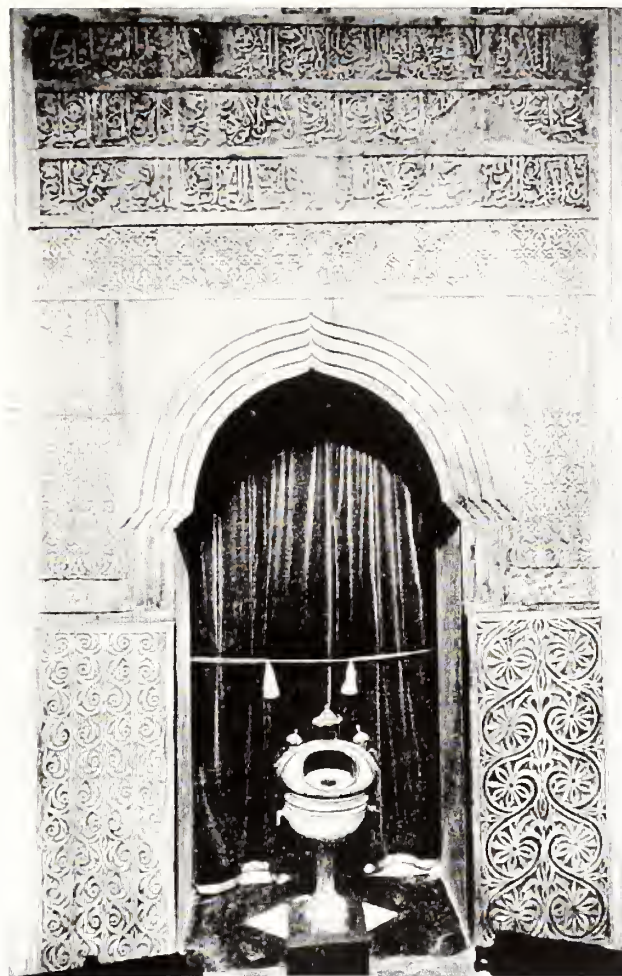
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Muslim headstone recording a death in Śaka 1329 / A.D. 1407, Tralaya, East Java. From L. C. Damais, "Etudes Javanaises I: Les Tombeaux Musumanes Datées de Tralaya," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* 48.2 (1957).

are slightly horseshoe-shaped, topped by a lotus flower, but come in tightly at the base before flaring outward and upward in an almost Baroque volute. The shape and particularly the volute terminals distantly recall arch types seen in southern Indian architecture. The closest parallels, however, are actually with Southeast Asian and particularly Javanese arch forms, notably the so-called *kālamrnga*, or deer-arch, form. Whether South Indian or Southeast Asian in inspiration, the form is entirely unknown in western India. Significantly, the form is well documented in a large number of early Muslim gravestones found at Tralaya and Trawulan in eastern Java, manufactured for Muslim courtiers at the kingdom of Majapahit between 1407 and 1475 (fig. 29).⁸⁰ While we still have no clear indication of why this grave was ordered from Khambhāt with apparently East Javanese style gravestones, the extraordinary fusion between Khambhāt carving and nonlocal elements demonstrates the enormous versatility of this carving tradition.

The two grave memorials from Kuta Kareueng are not unique within the Khambhāt corpus. Two of the three headstones ordered for Dhofar introduce a new program of Qur'ānic verses quite different from that in use at Khambhāt. While all have a clear funerary usage or relevance, their use for the Dhofar commission seems to point to a specific request by their patrons, perhaps based on local Dhofari epigraphic traditions or personal taste.⁸¹ The same adaptive capacities are seen in the group of architectural elements found in the Fakhr al-Dīn mosque in Mogadishu. While the *mihrāb* niche there closely follows Khambhāt models, the marble portal facing within the same complex (fig. 30) is another extraordinary fusion of Khambhāt materials, techniques, and stylistic elements with East African Islamic elements.⁸²

The volume of export production and the instances of stylistic fusion obviously beg the question of whether marble carvers ever left Khambhāt to work on their commissions *in situ*. South Asian craftspeople are sometimes seen as immobile even though there is a considerable amount of evidence for their mobility within India, and it is worth considering whether this mobility extended overseas as well. Clearly, when dealing with orders for individual headstones, the commission



30

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Plaster cast of the marble portal facing of the Fakhr al-Din mosque, Mogadishu, fourteenth century. Formerly in the Museo della Garesa, Mogadishu (present status unknown). From *Catalogo, Museo della Garesa, 1934*. *Reggio Governo della Somalia Museo della Garesa Catalogo* (Mogadiscio: Reggio Governo della Somalia, 1934), 77.

could be executed entirely in Khambhāt. While we have no written evidence for the manner in which overseas purchases were organized, it must have been either through personal contact—the client, or a representative, visited Khambhāt—or via letter. Either manner would have allowed for the majority of information to be passed directly from client to workshop. The letters of Jewish traders, preserved in the Geniza documents, offer numerous examples of sometimes complex objects being ordered across vast distances directly by letter.⁸³

Commissions of large cenotaph graves, however, and indeed architectural commissions such as the decoration of the Fakhr al-Din mosque in Mogadishu (see fig. 30) may have demanded changes to working practices. It seems more than probable that Khambhāt stone carvers would have needed to accompany some commissions simply for technical reasons. Khambhāt cenotaphs are complex structures, held together by a system of dowels and metal pins. Although it is impossible to provide completely accurate figures, large cenotaph graves are composed of more than seventy separate pieces of marble, with over four-fifths or 80 percent of these belonging to the plinth (see figs. 9, 27). There is no evidence for pieces being individually coded prior to assembly. Furthermore, the excavation of the foundations to support these cenotaphs, as well as the assembly of the cenotaphs themselves, all required specialist knowledge. It therefore seems unlikely that large cenotaph graves would have simply been shipped off to be assembled by local craftspeople.

The large number of memorials ordered at Pasai would certainly indicate that specialized craftspeople from Khambhāt accompanied the carved stones for their proper assembly upon arrival at their destination.

The idea that marble carvers moved outside Khambhāt might also explain the extraordinary fusion of Khambhāt elements with non-Indian elements seen both in certain Khambhāt memorials at Pasai and in the carving of the Fakhr al-Dīn mosque in Mogadishu. The corpus of carving that survives at Khambhāt certainly shows evidence for the importance of direct observation and copying in the production of new carvings, with decorative details and epigraphic programs regularly borrowed (sometimes centuries later) from earlier carvings. Against this background, it becomes possible to envisage stylistic interaction based on direct observation and experience rather than via written instructions or sketches. Could Khambhāt carvers erecting the three cenotaph graves at Gresik have seen local tombstone types at nearby Tralaya and Trowulan and eventually reintroduced the deer-arch form for graves 2 and 4 in the Kuta Kareueng burial group at Pasai? I have argued recently that the structure and epigraphy of the Fakhr al-Dīn portal could have been copied directly from the portal of the nearby congregational mosque at Mogadishu.⁸⁴

Although it is not currently possible to answer such complex questions, as this article has shown, even without written documents about workshop activities and commissions, the analysis of Khambhāt carving can provide a significant amount of data about many aspects of the production of fine marble carving for Muslim patrons, its market, and the relationship between producers and consumers in western India during the late thirteenth through mid-fifteenth centuries. Even if the case of Khambhāt carving remains unique for the moment, this article demonstrates the amount of information that approaches grounded in the study of material culture can coax from material that has generally been seen as the preserve only of epigraphers.

Conclusions: Stone and Maritime Transport in Western India

At present, Khambhāt appears to represent a near unique case of the seaborne export of stone carving in the Islamic world and in South Asia. Other tombstones produced at coastal sites or on the islands of the Persian Gulf and Red Sea appear not to have been exported much beyond the site of their manufacture. Of the more than two hundred grave markers manufactured at Dahlak in the Red Sea, only a handful have been found beyond the island, and none of the fine cenotaphs carved at Sīrāf on the Persian Gulf have been identified outside the port.

Nevertheless, there are some clues that the Khambhāt example belongs to a broader western Indian model. Construction materials other than stone were def-

initely transported by sea around the coast of western India and across the Indian Ocean. Since Roman times teak had been shipped from southern India to the coasts of Gujarat and beyond to the Near East.⁸⁵ There is also one recorded instance of finished architectural elements being shipped by sea around the coast of Saurāṣṭra in the early thirteenth century. A passage in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* describes an incident that took place during the construction of the Nandiśvara temple on Mount Śatruñjaya in v.s. 1277/A.D. 1220–21. A group of carved columns made from “Kaṇṭheliya stone” was being unloaded near a site called Samudrakaṇṭha when one fell out of the boat and lodged itself in the mud. The column was finally recovered the following year “owing to the change produced by the tide of the sea.”⁸⁶ The source of Kaṇṭheliya stone may correspond to the site of Kaṇṭh Kuṭa or the Mahī Kaṇṭha region in north Saurāṣṭra, opposite the Rāṇṇ of Kachh, suggesting that the carved columns were transported by sea around the coast of Saurāṣṭra to a coastal site near Śatruñjaya. Whatever the final identification of the site, the passage clearly indicates that in the early thirteenth century architectural elements were carved at their quarry site and then transported in a finished or semifinished state by sea to the site of their final use. For the moment this passage is unique, but further research on other texts of the period may yield additional examples.⁸⁷

The peninsula of Saurāṣṭra has enormous reserves of stone coupled with a geography that encourages sea transport. In actual fact, Saurāṣṭra was even more suited to sea transport before the great earthquake of 1819 that raised the peninsula. Numerous sources, of which de Varthema, Baldaeus, and Alexander Hamilton in addition to contemporary maps, record that Saurāṣṭra was a half-island separated from Gujarat by a lagoon known as the Nāl.⁸⁸ During the monsoon the Nāl flooded, effectively linking the Gulf of Khambhāt with the Rāṇṇ of Kachh and transforming the peninsula into an island for six months of the year.⁸⁹ This flooding may have been especially significant in opening up the central plain of Gujarat, the main center of settlement and locus of the major cities such as Aḥmadābād and Dholkā, to Saurāṣṭran stone. The quarries at Dhrangadhra would have been located on the “coast” of the Nāl with easy access to these major cities. Against this background, H. G. Briggs’s slightly superior observation that certain persons naively believed that the stone used in the construction of the congregational mosque at Aḥmadābād was “a grey-wacke procured from the contiguity of the Rann of Katch” may be true.⁹⁰ Prior to 1819, then, Gujarat and its architecture were intimately linked to the sea, and the phenomenon of Khambhāt marble export may find its place in this larger western Indian picture, linking in turn to the webs of stone exchange around the South China Sea and Indonesian archipelago.⁹¹

NOTES

1. Peter Rockwell, *The Art of Stoneworking: A Reference Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 2–3.
2. The literature is extensive but see, for example, Nusin Asgari, “The Stages of Workmanship of the Corinthian Capital in Proconnesus and Its Export Form,” in *Classical Marble: Geochemistry, Technology, Trade*, ed. Norman Hertz and Marc Waelkens (Dordrecht, Boston, and London: Kluwer, 1988), 115–25; Patrizio Pensabene, “A Cargo of Marble Shipwreck at Punta Scifo, near Crotone (Italy),” *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 7.2 (1978): 105–18; J. B. Ward-Perkins, “Nicomedia and the Marble Trade,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 48, 1980. See also F. J. Clayton, ed., *Ancient Marble Quarrying and Trade*, BAR International Series 453 (Oxford: B.A.R., 1988).
3. Wolfgang Franke and Ch'en T'ieh-fan, “A Chinese Tomb Inscription of A.D. 1264, Discovered Recently in Brunei,” *Brunei Museum Journal* 3.1 (1973): 91–99; Ch'en T'ieh-fan and Wolfgang Franke, “710 Years Old Chinese Tombstone Discovered in Brunei,” in *Chinois d'outre-mer*, ed. Denys Lombard, Actes du XXIX^e Congrès international des Orientalistes (Paris: L'Asiathèque, 1976), 1–2; Dasheng Chen, “Une pierre tombale du début du XIV^es. retrouvée à Brunei,” *Archipel* 42 (1991): 47–52. The Filipino examples have been published only cursorily in local publications, for example, C. A. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1973), unnumbered plates within the text. Their location in the southern Philippines now makes further study extremely difficult. It is perhaps not surprising that these export stones have never been traced back to the corpus from which they originate in Fujian Province in China, which has itself been published in fragments. For stone carving produced locally for Buddhist communities, see Gustav Ecke and Paul Demiéville, *The Twin Pagodas of Zaytun: A Study of Later Buddhist Sculpture in China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935). The corpus of Islamic inscriptions is presented most accessibly in Chen Da-sheng and Ludvik Kalus, *Corpus d'inscriptions arabes et persanes en Chine*. 1st ser. *Province de Fu-Jian* (Paris: Geuthner, 1991). A production also existed for local Hindu and Nestorian Christian communities, described in, e.g., Gustav Ecke and Ananda Coomaraswamy, “Hindu Sculptures at Zayton,” *Ostasiatische Zeitung*, 2nd ser., 9 (1933): 5–11; Ecke and Demiéville, *Twin Pagodas*, pls. 69a–d, 70b.
4. The Nestorian material has recently been the object of a project based out of Macquarie University in Australia, see in particular the relevant chapters in Iain Gardner, Samuel Lieu and Ken Parry eds., *From Palmyra to Zayton: epigraphy and iconography* (Turnhout: Brepols; NSW, Australia: Ancient History Documentary Research Centre Macquarie University, 2005). For the work for Hindu patrons see especially recent work by John Guy, “Tamil Merchant Guilds and the Quanzhou Trade” in Angela Schottenhammer ed. *The Emporium of the World. Maritime Quanzhou, 1000–1400* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 283–308.

5. Four granite statues were found at the port of Kota Cina. See E. E. McKinnon, "Tamil Imagery in Northeast Sumatra," *Oriental Art* 40.3 (1994): 17. For a broader view, see also E. E. McKinnon, "Mediaeval Tamil Involvement in Northern Sumatra, c11–c14 (The Gold and Resin Trade)," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 69.1 (1996): 85–99; see 91, where the author notes that a *bodhisattva* torso carved from red granite was discovered at Barus on the western coast of Sumatra at the turn of the last century.
6. Elizabeth Lambourn, "A Collection of Merits Gathered from Different Sources': The Islamic Marble Carving and Architecture of Cambay in Gujarat between 1200 and 1350 A.D." (PhD diss., University of London, 1999).
7. Elizabeth Lambourn, "The Decoration of the Fakhr-al-Din Mosque in Mogadishu and Other Pieces of Gujarati Marble Carving on the East African Coast," *Azania: Journal of the British Institute in Eastern Africa* 34 (1999): 61–86; Lambourn, "From Cambay to Samudera-Pasai and Gresik: The Export of Gujarati Grave Memorials to Sumatra and Java in the Fifteenth century C.E.," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 31.90 (2003): 221–89; Lambourn, "Carving and Recarving: Three Rasulid Gravestones Revisited," *New Arabian Studies* 6 (2004): 10–29.
8. Rockwell, *Art of Stoneworking*, 5.
9. James Burgess, *On the Muhammadan Architecture of Bharoch, Cambay, Dholka, Champanir, and Mahmudabad in Gujarat*, Archaeological Survey of Western India 6 (London: W. M. Griggs and Sons, 1896), 27–29 and plates. The grave was first published without illustrations in Burgess, *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, Archaeological Survey of Western India (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1885), 267–75 and the later *Revised Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, Archaeological Survey of India New Imperial Series 14 (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1897), 8:313–21, by the same author. The grave has since been published extensively. For the main publications, see Z. A. Desai, "Some Fourteenth Century Epitaphs from Cambay in Gujarat," *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (1971): 39–43; Wayne Begley, *Monumental Islamic Calligraphy from India* (Villa Park, Ill.: Islamic Foundation, 1985), inscription 15; Elizabeth Lambourn, "Those Slain in God's way...': The Martyrdom of 'Umar al-Kazaruni and His Grave at Cambay in Gujarat (India)," in *Inscription as Art in the World of Islam*, ed. Habibe Rahim, Hofstra University, Long Island, (Conference proceedings forthcoming).
10. In total, about ninety inscriptions and grave memorials, dating to between 615 A.H./A.D. 1218 and 1297 A.H./A.D. 1879–80, have been documented at Khambhāt. The best idea of the range of material can be gleaned from the lists of Islamic inscriptions from Khambhāt in various volumes of the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy*. A number of pieces carrying dated epitaphs or foundation texts have been published in more detail in articles in the series *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* and its successor, *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*. For a detailed study of the production spanning 1200 to 1350, see Lambourn, "Collection of Merits."
11. The patronage of the Jaina merchant-ministers Vastupāla (d. v.s. 1298/A.D. 1241), at one time governor of Khambhāt, and his brother Tejaḥpāla (d. v.s. 1308/A.D. 1251) may have been critical. For a useful summary of patronage at Khambhāt, see A. K. Chatterjee, *A Comprehensive History of Jainism, 1000 AD to 1600 AD*, 2 vols. (Calcutta: Firm KLM, 1978), 2:31–32; see also M. A. Dhaky, "The Chronology of the Solanki Temples of Gujarat," *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad*, no. 3 (1961): 66–68.
12. See *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* listings, also bibliography for al-Kāzerūnī's grave memorial (n. 9 above), particularly Desai, "Some Fourteenth Century Epitaphs from Cambay," and relevant inscriptions in Z. A. Desai, "Some Arabic Inscriptions of the Rajput Period in Gujarat," *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (1961): 1–24. Also see Ghulam Yazdani, "Inscriptions of the Khalji Sultans of Delhi and Their Contemporaries in Bengal," *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1917–18): 37–38. A number of fifteenth-century headstones in and around Khambhāt are published for the first time in Lambourn, "From Cambay to Pasai and Gresik."
13. See Mahdi Husain, "Six Inscriptions of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq," *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (1957–58): 29–34; Z. A. Desai, "Khalji and Tughluq Inscriptions from Gujarat," *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (1962): 1–40; Z. A. Desai, "Inscriptions of the Gujarat Sultans," *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (1963): 5–50; Z. A. Desai, "Inscriptions of the Sultans of Gujarat," *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (1974): 1–57.
14. Z. A. Desai, "A Persian Inscription of Karna Deva Vaghela of Gujarat," *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (1975): 13–20.
15. Architectural fragments are probably the most neglected group of carvings from Khambhāt since many do not carry dated foundation texts and were thus ignored by epigraphers. A number of unpublished pieces are presented in Lambourn, "Collection of Merits;" Lambourn, "The English Factory or 'Kothi' Gateway at Cambay: An Unpublished Tughluq

- Structure from Gujarat," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 65.3 (2002): 495–517.
16. For a first outline of the history of these techniques in Gujarat, see V. S. Parmar, *Haveli: Wooden Houses and Mansions of Gujarat* (Ahmedabad: Mapin, 1989), historical survey chapter. For brick and timber construction in the Muslim context in Gujarat, see relevant sections of Elizabeth Lambourn, "Of Jewels and Horses: The Career and Patronage of an Iranian Merchant under Shah Jahan," *Iranian Studies* 36.2 (2003): 213–58.
 17. There is practically no literature on historical quarrying in western India. Petrographic analysis of quarry sites and surviving sculptures to match sources of stone, as carried out for antique marbles, has never been attempted in India, and attribution rests on logic more than firm proof. However, some details about quarrying in the early twentieth century are given by James Burgess, and Henry Cousens, *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, Archaeological Survey of Western India 9 (London: Bernard Quaritch, Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner and Co. and Luzac and Co., 1903), 28–29.
 18. Similar motifs can be found on roughly contemporaneous funerary memorials and shrines in Egypt, Syria, eastern Anatolia, the northern Jazīra, at Dahlak in the Red Sea, and in Afghanistan. See Nuha Khoury, "The Mihrab Image: Commemorative Themes in Medieval Islamic Architecture," *Muqarnas* 9 (1992): 11–28.
 19. See Desai, "Some Fourteenth Century Epitaphs from Cambay," 53–58.
 20. For a more in-depth study of titles and names on Khambhāt inscriptions between 1200 and 1350, see Lambourn, "Collection of Merits," chap. 5, pt. 7.
 21. For a biography and study of his patronage at Khambhāt, see Lambourn, "A Collection of Merits ...": Architectural Influences in the Friday Mosque and Kazaruni Tomb Complex at Cambay in Gujarat," *South Asian Studies* 17 (2001): 131–32; Lambourn, "Martyrdom of 'Umar al-Kazaruni," forthcoming.
 22. Desai, "Some Arabic Inscriptions of the Rajput Period," 22–23; and "Some Fourteenth Century Epitaphs from Cambay," 46–47; Alka Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society during the Twelfth through Fourteenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 53.
 23. Most accessibly published in Yazdani, "Inscriptions of the Khalji Sultans of Delhi," 37–38; Begley, *Monumental Islamic Calligraphy from India*, inscription 12.
 24. Desai, "Some Fourteenth Century Epitaphs from Cambay," 35–38.
 25. For a biography of al-Būthihārī, see Lambourn, "Architectural Influences," 123–25.
 26. See Patel, *Building Communities*, 49–50, 52–55.
 27. Just before going to press I became aware of a further three elements of the Khambhāt corpus along the western coast of India and in the Maldivian islands. While it was too late to add this information to the tables and main text, readers should be aware of the following new additions to the corpus.
A damaged 14th-century cenotaph side in two parts from Quilon in southern Kerala (published in Mehrdad Shokoohy, *Muslim Architecture in South India: the Sultanate of Ma'bar and the traditions of maritime settlers on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 139).
One 14th-century headstone blank also reached Male in the Maldives where it was inscribed locally for use as a *mihrāb* dedicated by Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn 'Umar ibn Ṣalāḥ of the Maldives in 722 A. H./A.D. 1322. The stone was published for the first time by the Department of Information and Broadcasting of the Maldives (Department of Information and Broadcasting, *Mosques of Male* (in Divehi) (Male: Department of Information and Broadcasting, 1980), 23) and has recently been discussed by Ludvik Kalus and Claude Guillot (L. Kalus and C. Guillot, "Inscriptions islamiques en arabe de l'archipel des Maldives," *Archipel*, 70 (2005): 19–27). Kalus and Guillot's analysis is largely epigraphic and assumes the stone to be a purpose carved *mihrāb* principally inscribed at Khambhāt; however, it represents a far more complex and interesting appropriation. First of all, comparison with the Khambhāt material makes it abundantly clear that this is a tombstone rather than a Khambhāt *mihrāb*; its transformation into a *mihrāb* was effected in the Maldives through its positioning as a *mihrāb* and the carving of the dedicatory inscription which describes it as such. There is also no doubt that the dedicatory text was carved in the Maldives since it is far too crude to be a product of the Khambhāt workshops of the period but is typical of non-specialist carvers (here local Maldivian coral carvers) struggling to work with a much harder and more complex stone. A very similar process has already been examined in the two Dhofar stones recarved for the Rasulid governor al-Wāthiq (see Lambourn "Carving and Recarving"). The only epigraphic element carved at Khambhāt would have been the elaborate geometric and floral *bismillāh* along the shoulder of the stone.
Finally a tombstone pair from Raa Atoll in the Maldives are also of Khambhāt manufacture, although unfortunately only the headstone has been illustrated and described in any detail ("Inscriptions

- islamiques en arabe de l'archipel des Maldives," 47–51). Both are marble stones and the headstone records the death of one Abū Bakrān 'urf Shaikh Jūnairī who died in 885 A.H./A.D. 1480. The headstone is a unique "collage" of familiar Khambhāt motifs (a flatter reinterpretation of the hanging lamp) and inscriptional panels, such a departure from more standardised decorative and inscriptional systems that is typical of later mid-fifteenth century work and thus fits with the date of the epitaph. From photographs at least it appears that this stone was carved *in toto* at Khambhāt and shipped as a finished piece; however, there is no doubt that it would repay further study. Together with the eight marble columns from Jubān, this tombstone pair represents some of the latest evidence for the continued export of Khambhātī marble carving around the Indian Ocean rim.
28. Neville Chittick, *Kilwa: An Islamic Trading City on the East African Coast*, 2 vols. (Nairobi: British Institute in Eastern Africa, 1974), 2:262, pls. 105a, 105b, 106a, 106b.
 29. Regio Governo della Somalia, *Museo della Garesa: Catalogo* (Mogadiscio: Regio Governo della Somalia, 1934), 69–71, nos. 12, 14; Enrico Cerulli, *Somalia: Scritti vari editi ed inediti*, 2 vols. (Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato P. V., 1957–59), 1:9–10, inscription 13, fig. 5; J. S. Kirkman, *Men and Monuments on the East African Coast* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1964), 44; P. S. Garlake, *The Early Islamic Architecture of the East African Coast* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 49–50, figs. 65, 82A; Michele Inzerillo, *Le Moschee di Mogadiscio: Contributo alla Conoscenza dell'Architettura Islamica* (Palermo: Ilapalma, 1980), pls. 17–18, 23, 27, 28, 30; most recently, Lambourn, "Decoration of the Fakhr-al-Din Mosque," 61–86.
 30. An unpublished tombstone in the British Museum (acc. no. OA 2307) clearly belongs to the Khambhāt corpus and probably dates to the late thirteenth century. The stone was found in Aden and donated to the British Museum in 1840. My thanks to Michael Willis and Venetia Porter of the British Museum for informing me of the existence of this tombstone and for organizing access.
 31. R. Guest, "Zufar in the Middle Ages," *Islamic Culture* 9 (1935): 408–10; Venetia Porter, "The Art of the Rasulids," in *Yemen: 3000 Years of Art and Civilisation in Arabia Felix*, ed. Wesner Daum (Innsbruck et Frankfurt/Main: Pinguin Verlag and Umschau Verlag, 1987), cat. nos. 52–54; Porter, "Three Rasulid Tombstones from Zafar," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1 (1988): 32–37; and Lambourn, "Carving and Recarving."
 32. Robert Howard, "The Lar Mihrab," *Art and Archaeology Research Papers* 9 (1976): 24–25.
 33. *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* (1954–55), inscription C168.
 34. Published by Muhammad Nazim, "Inscriptions of the Bombay Presidency," *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1933–34): 36–37, inscription 3335, but not identified as part of the Khambhāt corpus.
 35. Rosa M. Perez et al., *Histórias de Goa* (Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Etnologia, 1997), cat. no. 165.
 36. *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy*, (1965–66), inscription D 95.
 37. Z. A. Desai, "A Fourteenth Century Epitaph from Konkan," *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (1965): 9–10. The two stones from Trincomalee have recently been re-evaluated by Claude Guillot and Ludvik Kalus (Ludvik Kalus and Claude Guillot, "Réinterprétation des plus anciennes stèles funéraires islamiques nousantariennes: III. Sri Lanka," *Archipel*, 72 (2006): 47–59). There is no doubt about the reading of the first epitaph which records the death of a certain Qāḍī 'Afīf al-Dīn 'Abdallāh al-'Alawī who died in 808 A.H./A.D. 1405. However, debate has raged about the reading of the date on the second fragmentary and weathered stone which records the death of the daughter of a certain Amīr Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Ḥ'alabī. In a wrangle familiar to Islamic epigraphists, debate has centered around the common problem of whether to read seven hundred or nine hundred *hijrī*, since the two are easily confused. In this recent publication Kalus and Guillot opt for 929 A.H./A.D. 1523. However, this interpretation overlooks the stylistic evidence of the script itself, which points firmly to a fourteenth century date and thus the reading 729 A.H./A.D. 1329. This is the date retained in my discussions of the stone.
 38. Somasiri Devendra, "Arabic Gravestone from Trincomalee Dockyard," *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 14 (1970): 28–35; *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* (1972–73), inscriptions D 284–85; Somasiri Devendra, "New Light on Some Arabic Lithic Records in Sri Lanka," in *Sri Lanka and the Silk Road of the Sea*, ed. Senake Bandaranayake, Lorna Dewaraja, Roland Siva, and K. D. G. Wimalaratne (Colombo: Sri Lanka National Commission for UNESCO/Central Cultural Fund, 1990), 212–13.
 39. J. P. Moquette, "De Grafsteenen te Pase en Grisee vergeleken met dergelijke monumenten uit Hindoestan," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 54 (1912): 536–48; G. L. Tichelman, "Een Marmeren Praalgraf te Koeta Kareuëng (Nordkust van Atjeh)," *Culturel Indie* 2 (1940): 205–11; H. K. J. Cowan, "A Persian Inscription in North Sumatra," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 80 (1940): 15–21; Lambourn, "From Cambay to Pasai and Gresik."

40. André Cabaton, "L'Épitaphe de Malik Ibrahim à Gresik," *Revue du Monde Musulman* 13 (1911): 257–60; Moquette, "De Grafsteenen te Pase en Grisee," 536–48 and plate; Lambourn, "From Cambay to Samudera-Pasai and Gresik."
41. Among which the cenotaph side from Kilwa, the *mihrāb* from Lār, one of the three headstones from Dhofar and grave 10 at Kuta Kareueng and grave 2 at Candi Said Syarif from Pasai. The reverse of the Kilwa cenotaph side is published in Chittick, *Kilwa*, pls. 105b, 106b; for grave 10 at Kuta Kareueng, see Moquette, "Grafsteenen te Pase en Grisee," pl. 3.
42. A grave at Pasai was compared to that of al-Kāzerūnī by J-P Moquette in his "Grafsteenen te Pase en Grisee" (for a summary in French, see André Cabaton, "Les tombes musulmanes de Pasé [Sumatra] et de Grisee [Java] comparés aux monuments de la même espèce de l'Hindoustan," *Revue du Monde Musulman* 23 [1913]: 112–16). Porter paralleled the three Dhofar stones to known examples from Khambhāt in "Three Rasulid Tombstones from Zafar," 34–35.
43. Selma al-Radī, *The "Amiriya in Rada": The History and Restoration of a Sixteenth-Century Madrasa in the Yemen*, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art 13 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), figs. 6, 52.
44. al-Radī, *Amiriya*, 100–101, parallels given in nn. 95, 96.
45. A marble cenotaph side panel in the style commonly seen at Aḥmadābād was sent to Goa in the mid-sixteenth century for the grave of Dona Caterina a Piro, the wife of the Portuguese viceroy Garcia de Sa, in the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary. However, the stone bears no relation to cenotaph sides produced at Khambhāt and should not be included in the corpus.
46. Similar tombstones in Aden were mentioned to me by Geoffrey King of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
47. The three Khambhāt tombstones now held in the Mahdawi mosque in Vadodarā were transported there in the early twentieth century and thus belong to the home corpus (unpublished but listed in *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* [1978–79], inscriptions D 32–34). A tombstone commemorating a death in 675 A.H./A.D. 1276 and formerly held in the Pīr Muḥammad Shāh *dargāh* at Aḥmadābād may have belonged to the corpus but has since disappeared. See M. A. Chagatai, "Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad through Their Inscriptions," *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* 3.2 (1942): 25–26, pl. 3.
48. See Guest, "Zufar in the Middle Ages," 409, citing Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325–1354*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb (London: Hakluyt Society, 1929): 2:201. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa apparently visited the shrine of this sheikh and also met his sons.
49. A bilingual inscription in Sanskrit and Persian describes the construction of a mosque at Somanātha-ṭaṭṭana in 662 A. H./1320 v.s. (equivalent to a.d. 1264). The mosque was constructed by the merchant Firūz ibn Abū Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-'Irāqī in memory of his father Abū Ibrāhīm. A comparison of the *nasabs* (lines of descent) given in our Khambhāt tombstone and this inscription suggests that the Hasan of our epitaph was Abū Ibrāhīm's brother. For this inscription, see Desai, "Some Arabic Inscriptions of the Rajput Period," 10–15, inscription 4.
50. Also, we have no evidence to suggest that the Khambhāt workshops also worked for the many non-Muslim Gujaratis settled outside India.
51. Desai, "Fourteenth Century Epitaph from Konkan," 9–10. In this case the slab was found at the Aidrusīyya *khanqah* in Rājpurī, and there is no guarantee that 'Alā' al-Dīn was actually buried here.
52. For Malik Mufarraḥ's career in Gujarat, see Desai, "Khalji and Tughluq Inscriptions from Gujarat," 9–14, 19–21.
53. The term is also found in a variant spelling, *nainā*, on a number of fourteenth-century Muslim tombstones from Fujian in eastern China. See Chen Da-sheng and Ludvik Kalus, *Corpus d'inscriptions arabes et persanes*, 87–88, 232–33, 241–43.
54. Quoted in Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a-'shā' fī ṣinā' 'at al-inshā'*, *An Arab Account of India in the 14th Century: Being a Translation of the Chapters on India from al-Qalqashandī's Subh al-A'shā'*, trans. and ed. Otto Spies (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1939), 32.
55. al-Qalqashandī, *Arab Account of India*, 27–28.
56. Ruth Barnes, *Indian Block-Printed Textiles in Egypt: The Newberry Collection in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 2: cat. nos. 354, 944; the first is dated A.D. 1420, +/- 40, and the second A.D. 1410, +/- 40.
57. The motif of single silhouetted tree was certainly very fashionable on later silks. See Stephen Cohen, "A Group of Early Silks: The Tree Motif," in *The Woven Silks of India*, ed. Jasheen Dhamija (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1995), 19–36.
58. For a comparison with material available locally along the coast of East Africa, see G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville and B. G. Martin, "A Preliminary Hand List of the Arabic Inscriptions of the Eastern African Coast," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, no. 2 (1973): 98–122. For Dhofar, see Giovanni Oman, "Preliminary Epigraphic Survey of Islamic Material in Dhofar," *Journal of Oman Studies* 6 (1983): 227–89. For contemporary local alternatives at Samudera-Pasai in northern Sumatra, see Elizabeth Lambourn, "The Formation of the *batu Aceh* Tradition in Fifteenth Century Samudera-Pasai," *Indonesia and*

- the Malay World* 32.93 (July 2004), 211–48. For eastern Java, see L. C. Damais, “Etudes Javanaises I. Les Tombeaux Musulmanes Datées de Tralaya,” *Bulletin de l’Ecole Française d’Extrême Orient* 48.2 (1957): 353–415.
59. Rockwell, *Art of Stoneworking*, 166.
 60. These ideas are developed in more detail in a forthcoming article, Elizabeth Lambourn, “Aedicules, *mihrābs*, Minarets and Chawris: Experiments in Islamic Architectural Decoration in Fourteenth-Century Gujarat.”
 61. The Lār *mihrāb* shows traces of ocher paint in its upper section, and the possibility is not to be excluded. See the discussion of painted sculpture in Kirit Mankodi, *The Queen’s Stepwell at Patan* (Bombay: Franco-Indian Research, 1991), 9–12.
 62. The major publication on Dabhoi in English is still James Burgess and Henry Cousens, *The Antiquities of the Town of Dabhoi* (Edinburgh: George Waterstone, 1888).
 63. See Khoury, “Mihrab Image.”
 64. See Alka Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt: Architecture and Society during the Twelfth through Fourteenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 51 ff. for another point of view.
 65. See discussion and references in Lambourn, “Collection of Merits,” 155–60.
 66. See Ghulam. Yazdani, “Inscriptions in the Tomb of Baba Arjun Shah, Petlad,” *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1915–16): 15–16; and for my re-analysis, Lambourn, “Collection of Merits,” 94–96.
 67. The verb *kataba* is ambiguous in this context and could have the simple meaning “to write” (Abū Bakr wrote out the text) or the more complex “to write and compose” (Abū Bakr wrote out and composed the program of inscriptions on the tombstones).
 68. Lambourn, “Collection of Merits,” 222–27.
 69. Inscription from Kapadwanj, dated A.D. 1370–71, signed by ‘Uthmān [ibn] Kamāl Khaṭṭāt. See Desai, “Khalji and Tughluq Inscriptions from Gujarat,” 17–18.
 70. Desai, “Khalji and Tughluq Inscriptions from Gujarat,” 23–24.
 71. Desai, “Khalji and Tughluq Inscriptions from Gujarat,” 32–37.
 72. Z. A. Desai, “Inscriptions of the Sultans of Gujarat from Saurashtra,” *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (1953–54): 61–62.
 73. Desai, “Inscriptions of the Sultans of Gujarat from Saurashtra,” 66–67.
 74. Merutunga, *The Prabandhacintamani, or Wishing-Stone of Narratives*, trans. C. H. Tawney (Calcutta: Gilbert and Rivington for the Asiatic Society, 1901), 165.
 75. Desai, “Inscriptions of the Sultans of Gujarat from Saurashtra,” 65–67.
 76. The same approach is seen on two half-finished cenotaph lids from Pasai (grave 2 at Candi Said Syarif and grave 6 at Teungku Sareh).
 77. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta: India, Maldive Islands and Ceylon*, trans. Mahdi Husain (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1976), 67–69.
 78. For further analysis, see Lambourn, “Carving and Recarving.”
 79. ‘Allāmī, *A’in-i Akbarī*, trans. H. F. Blochmann, D. C. Phillott, H. S. Jarrett, and J. Sarkar, 3 vols. (Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1989), 2:247.
 80. Damais, “Etudes Javanaises I,” 353–415.
 81. The fact they are also carved on both sides, a practice rarely seen at Khambhāt, may also reflect local Dhofarī usage. For further details of possible local influences see Lambourn, “Carving and Recarving.”
 82. For an in-depth discussion of the fusion of influences, see Lambourn, “Decoration of the Fakhr al-Din Mosque,” 71–76.
 83. For example, a letter from a merchant in Aden to the owner of a bronze foundry at Dahbattan on the Malabar coast, written in the 1130s, gives detailed instructions for the commission of a bronze lamp. See S. D. Goitein, ed., *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders: Translated from the Arabic with Introductions and Notes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 195, letter 39.
 84. See Lambourn, “Decoration of the Fakhr al-Din mosque,” 71–76.
 85. Mark Horton, “Colonisation of the East African Coast: The Manda Evidence,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* no. 2 (1986): 414–15.
 86. Merutunga, *Prabandhacintamani*, 159.
 87. Though much later, we also know that in the early twentieth century “near Porbandar a valuable description of building stone is extracted from the hills and sent to Bombay in large quantities,” *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Bombay Presidency*, 2 vols. (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1909), 2:349, 356.
 88. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Bombay Presidency*, 2:346. For the maps, see a map of Gujarat by Petrus Bertius from the *Caert Thresoor* of 1612 or a map of India by T. Herbert in *Some Yeares Travels into Divers Parts of Asia and Afrique* of 1665, both reproduced in Susan Gole, *A Series of Early Printed maps of India in Facsimile*, 2nd rev. ed. (New Delhi: Sanskriti and Harnold-Heinemann Publishers, 1984), map 11b and title page, respectively.
 89. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Bombay Presidency*, 2:340–46.
 90. H. G. Briggs, *The Cities of Gujarashtra* (Bombay: Times Press, 1849), 202.
 91. This topic is explained more fully in E. Lambourn, “Brick, Timber and Stone: Building Materials and the Construction of Islamic Architectural History in Gujarat,” *Muqarnas* 23 (2006): 191–217.



INDIAN TEXTILES FOR ISLAND TASTE

*Gujarati Cloth in Eastern Indonesia***Abstract**

The article discusses specifically the Indian trade textiles found in eastern Indonesia, but also attempts to place them in the wider context of Indian Ocean trade. The main focus is on the wide range of painted and block-printed cotton fabrics that have survived in Sulawesi and the southern Moluccas. Recently discovered textiles with large figural representations, hand-painted with mordants and resist, add important new evidence to this material. Not only do they expand our understanding of export textiles, but they add considerably to the history of Indian painting prior to the Mughal period. A second issue addressed is the Indian production of cloth, possibly made on order to suit eastern Indonesian taste. It is shown that these distinctly un-Indian designs were probably made in Gujarat, as similar material was also exported from northwestern India to Egypt.

Coarse cloth from Cambay is of value in the Moluccas; and for the finer sort, all the enrolado cloth from Bonuaquelim, with large, medium or small ladrilho, patolas, all the coarse and white cloth ... but the principal merchandise is cloth from Cambay and the tails of white oxen and cows which they bring from Bengal.

Tomé Pires, writing about Ternate, ca. 1515

When European explorers and merchants became involved with the markets of South and Southeast Asia in the early sixteenth century, many of them commented on the richness of the Indian textile trade and on its importance for Asia's maritime commerce. Cloth from Gujarat, Bengal, and the Coromandel Coast was exported to many parts of the Indian Ocean to be used as dress and for furnishings, but in some regions these foreign textiles were also integrated into a complex political and social system of gift exchanges. This integration occurred especially in Southeast Asia, where textiles frequently moved from a secular into a religious context and could eventually become elevated to the high status of heirloom items. The region apparently had an insatiable appetite for cloth. Despite having a highly developed weaving tradition of its own, with a time depth that goes back to the prehistory and early history of Austronesian societies, there was a considerable demand for imported textiles, especially from India.¹ These foreign fabrics had a formative influence on indigenous societies, both as prestige items that could eventually take on a significant ritual role and as inspiration for the development of local design. For eastern Indonesia two types of cloth were of particular importance: double-ikat silk *paṭoḷā* and mordant- and resist-dyed cotton fabrics. Both types were at least initially produced in Northwest India and were exported

¹ Indian textile (detail); Gujarat, traded to Sulawesi, fourteenth century; cotton, block-printed, resist applied, dyed; warp 310 cm, weft 97 cm. Tapi Collection, Surat, Gujarat, 01.196.



via the ports of Gujarat. But as the epigraph from Tomé Pires indicates, textiles from Central and eastern India, exported via the Coromandel Coast, were also of importance.

Alfred Bühler was the first to point out the effect of Indian *paṭola* textiles on Indonesian ikat design.² Several studies have followed on the reception of these textiles in Southeast Asian societies, in particular in Indonesia.³ There now is reasonably good knowledge of their historical and social significance and their influence on indigenous designs. So far the only extensive ethnographic discussion of the local function and use of the resist- and mordant-dyed cotton textiles exists, however, for the Sa'dan Toraja, published by Hetty Nooy-Palm.⁴ It is based on her field research among this particular ethnic group inhabiting a part of the wider Toraja region in Sulawesi. Toos Van Dijk and Nico de Jonge also have presented evidence for the use of Indian cotton textiles as ceremonial cloths and heirlooms in the southern Moluccas.⁵

The silk *paṭola* are technically and aesthetically extremely accomplished, but they follow a fairly strict and limited design repertoire. The cotton textiles are far more varied in their iconography and technical execution. They range from meticulously hand-painted resist- and mordant-applied fabrics to textiles with rather static, repetitive block-printed images; many of them combine block-printing with hand-applied mordants and resist. This article is concerned mainly with the mordant- and resist-dyed cotton textiles produced in Gujarat, and it focuses on their reception in eastern Indonesia, although it begins by placing the material into the wider context of Indian Ocean textile trade. The trade of textiles from the Coromandel Coast to Southeast Asia, which increased in prominence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is not a major consideration here, as it moves beyond the chronological range of this volume and was intended primarily for the western Indonesian market.⁶ Nevertheless, a particular type of cloth exported from Southeast India, the *palampore* with an elaborate flowering tree as its main motif, will enter into the discussion, as it may contribute evidence for the transmission of design, not only from India to Indonesia but possibly also in the reverse direction.⁷

Textiles from Gujarat for an International Market

It was in particular Gujarat, or possibly more widely Northwest India, that supplied the earliest major surviving groups of textiles. Small fragments of probably Indian origin have come to light both at Central Asian and Red Sea archaeological sites, dating from the third to fifth centuries A.D.⁸ But the first substantial finds all come from Egypt. As these textiles are visually and technically related to the resist- and mordant-applied cloths traded to eastern Indonesia, they need to be introduced here as evidence for the geographical expansion of the Gujarati textile market. They are plain weave cotton, usually block-printed with resist and/or mordant and dyed red and blue. Their Indian origin was first identified in the 1930s by the textile historian R. Pfister.⁹ The textiles obviously had a utilitarian function in the Near East, as there are numerous remains of hems and seams, indicating that they were sewn into garments or used for pillows and curtains. The fabrics survive as fragments; they often seem to have come from waste disposal sites, the most famous at Fuṣṭāṭ (southern Cairo). Some may also have come from graves, possibly associated with the cemeteries south of the Fuṣṭāṭ site. More than two thousand of these textile fragments first appeared in the art markets of Cairo and Alexandria in the early twentieth century and ended up in private and public collections, of which the largest is the Newberry Collection of more than 1,200 textiles in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.¹⁰ It needs to be stressed, though, that none of the fragments came from provenanced sites; eventually similar material was found at Gebel Adda and Qaṣr Ibrīm, both in Upper Egypt, but the first archaeological excavation to pay serious attention to similar fragments was carried out in 1978 and 1980 by Donald Whitcomb and Janet Johnson at the Red Sea port of Quṣeir al-Qadīm.¹¹ That material was dated by context to the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.

On stylistic grounds, Pfister had arrived at a similar date for the Indo-Egyptian trade textiles. He compared their designs in particular to motifs found in the architecture of Gujarat, where he saw strong parallels. The dated architecture was thereby used as a means to provide a tentative chronology for the textiles, relating them mostly to the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. As part of recent research on the Newberry Collection in Oxford, however, radiocarbon dating showed that the earliest of these trade cloths were made in the tenth century A.D., with the majority dating between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. This period coincided with the active economic maritime contact between Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid, and Mamlūk Egypt and India, via Aden and the Red Sea.

The designs found on these Indo-Egyptian fragments often are strikingly similar to those seen on the large cotton textiles that were traded to Southeast Asia and survive in various parts of eastern Indonesia, so far documented in particular for



2

2
Gujarat textile for the Egyptian market, calibrated radiocarbon date 1260 to 1330; cotton, block-printed resist, dyed; 35 x 23.5 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University, Newberry Collection, 1990.1099.



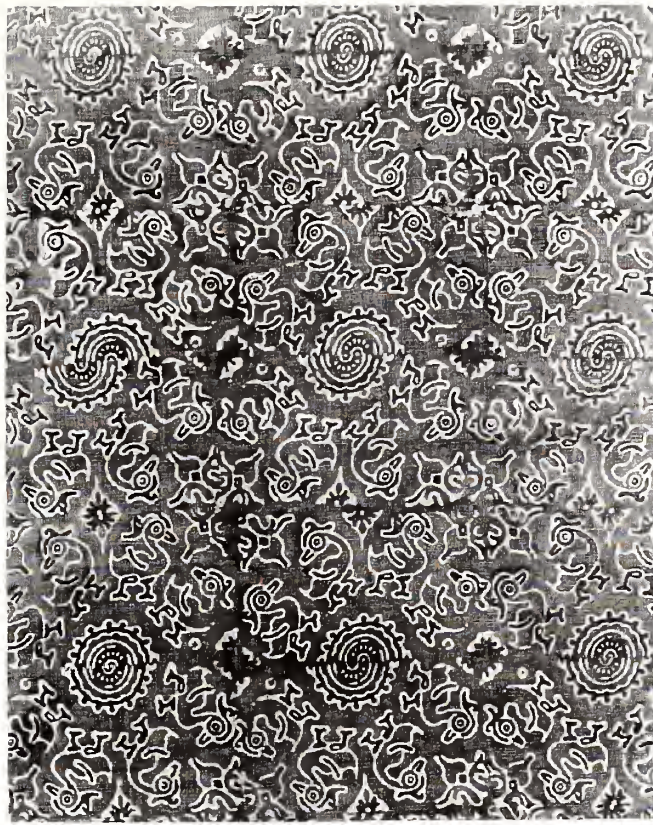
3

3
Gaṇeśa of Bara, Blitar, East Java (A.D. 1239), view of back with linked circle design. From N. J. Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923), 3: pl. 56.

Sulawesi, the southern Moluccas, and Timor. Until recently, it had been assumed that in this tropical climate textiles could not have survived for more than two to three hundred years, at the very most. Here again the use of radiocarbon dating has furnished surprising results.¹² It is now known that many of the cloths found in eastern Indonesia were made as early as the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

Indian Textiles in Indonesia: The Early Evidence

Many parts of Indonesia, particularly the eastern part of the archipelago, are still historically and archaeologically understudied. At present there is little evidence in written documents or other media for a date *post quam* for the arrival of Indian textiles in the island cultures. We can establish a certain link between Indian textile prototypes and Indonesian production, but at the moment we cannot say when this adaptation first took place. Regarding local production in Java, we have Jan Christie's analysis of the Central Javanese *śīma* charters, which record tax and labor rights granted, in particular, to religious foundations from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries. From these documents we know that imported cloths were a desired commodity to the island societies from the ninth century onward, when Indian textiles, called *buat kling putih*, i.e., "white cloth made in India/ Kālinga," are first referred to as gifts in Javanese tax edicts.¹³ The Southeast Indian Kālinga domain (shortened to *Kling* in the Javanese source) had economic and political contacts with Java at the time. Javanese sculpture of this period pays considerable attention to representing the patterns of dress and ornament, and by the thirteenth century we see designs that may have had their source in an Indian textile prototype; for examples of designs available to connoisseurs of Indian textiles, it is helpful to look at the Indo-Egyptian material (figs. 2, 3), although the cloth exported to Java may have been patterned with more costly materials. Christie has pointed out that the sculptural evidence between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries shows a development from band-arranged designs to an overall, continuous pattern, and she has tentatively related this shift to the increased impact of Indian designs on

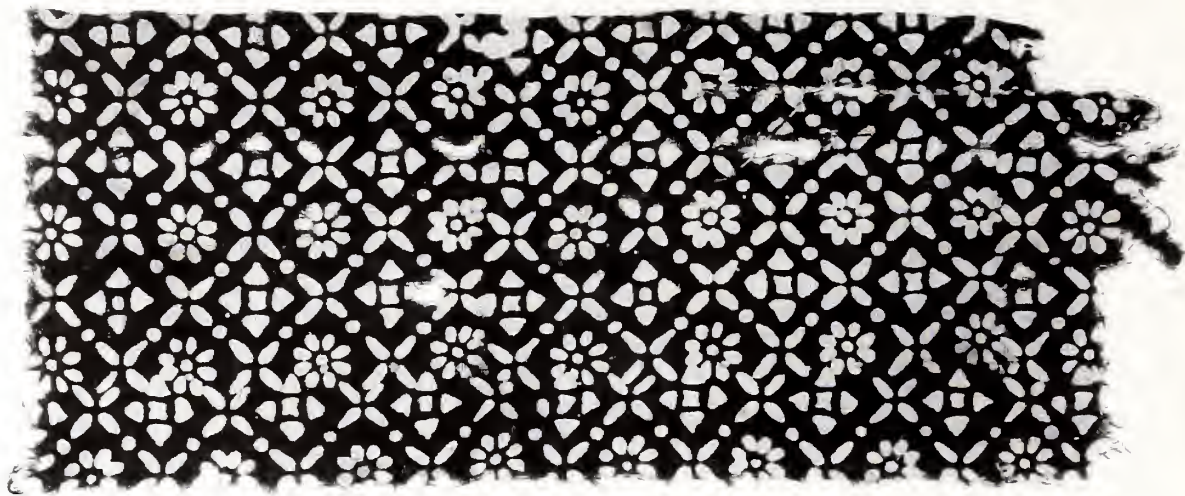


4

4
Gujarat, traded to Sulawesi,
calibrated radiocarbon date
fourteenth century; cotton, block-
printed resist, mordant dyed; warp
406 cm, weft 99 cm. Ashmolean
Museum, Oxford University, EA
1995.61.

Indonesian aristocratic fashion.¹⁴ No actual textiles of this date have so far been discovered in Java. The earliest surviving cloths come from eastern Indonesia, and they are slightly later, with radiocarbon dates that point to the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries for the earliest examples. They generally do not come from a court or temple context but were found in the highland interior of Sulawesi, inhabited by the Toraja. They have become sacred heirloom cloths and are essential ceremonial paraphernalia for certain annual and life-cycle rituals.¹⁵

Coastal settlements with access to international trade would have been the initial recipients of the fabric. For the fourteenth-century textiles that survive from the Toraja region, the importing principality would possibly have been Luwu, at the time the major economic and political power in southern Sulawesi and probably the oldest of the Bugis kingdoms.¹⁶ For comparative purposes one may consider Leonard Andaya's account of the spice-rich and wealthy northern Moluccas at the time of first European contact in the early sixteenth century. Especially relevant is his discussion of the relationship between the powerful sultans of Ternate and Tidore and village societies on nearby Halmahera and in the Bird's Head region of New Guinea, where Indian cloths played an important role. He shows that cloths were passed on by the ruler to his dependencies on the periphery of the realm, as essential gifts to establish and confirm local alliances.¹⁷ To the people of the interior the presentation of Indian textiles was a significant indicator of the coastal ruler's legitimacy. By offering and accepting these donations, the relationship of interdependence was emphasized and reinforced. It is possible that on Sulawesi the relationship between coastal and interior regions may have followed a similar pattern. There is considerable historical and ethnographic evidence for the social



5

5
Gujarat, traded to Egypt,
fourteenth–fifteenth century;
cotton, block-printed resist,
dyed; warp 30 cm, weft 12.5 cm.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
University, Newberry Collection,
1990.105.

significance of cloth in Indonesian societies, and the emphasis on gift exchanges involving textiles is well documented.¹⁸ Cloth is presented at all life-cycle ceremonies, with its presence overwhelmingly in evidence at weddings and funerals, in particular. During ritual ceremonies, the sacred space is often defined by textiles, and lineage houses may be draped with them, as is documented for the Toraja, who use their Indian imported cloths for these occasions.

Indian Production for Local Taste

Were the island recipients of Indian textiles satisfied with whatever style and design they received, or is there evidence for preferences of particular types? Was there evidence for textiles being traded that were specifically in line with local taste? The cotton cloths that survive from eastern Indonesia tend to have similar, rather large, dimensions: typically they are approximately one meter wide, with a length of five to six meters. They are usually kept at their full length, rather than cut; this is true even for cloths that are visually divided into several panels (see fig. 11, below). The designs can vary a great deal, but the majority of cloths have overall floral designs. Animals and human figures are also found; among the earliest are red textiles with resist- and mordant-dyed geese (fig. 4). Also among the early pieces are textiles with large female figures; this type will be discussed in further detail below.

The similarities between the Indo-Egyptian fragments and the textiles for eastern Indonesia have been stressed above. It is just as revealing, though, to recognize the differences. Among the Indian textiles for the Egyptian market, there is a large number that has been resist-dyed blue only; apparently these indigo-blue cloths were much in demand. Many of them have continuous design fields with small rosettes or star shapes (fig. 5). Similar patterns also survive from eastern Indonesia, but they are inevitably dyed red (fig. 6); up to now not a single textile has been found in the region that was dyed blue only, although many combine red and blue. The reason for this preponderance is likely to be cultural and probably is related to the local significance given to the color red. Red is of particular importance in many Southeast Asian societies, and is often associated with spiritual



6

6
Gujarat, traded to Sulawesi,
radiocarbon date late fourteenth
to early fifteenth century; cotton,
block-printed resist, mordant dyed;
half-length, warp 242 cm, weft 95
cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
University, EA 1998.223.

power and fertility. This association is apparent in the ninth- and tenth-century Javanese documents with which Christie has worked.¹⁹ Several twentieth-century ethnographic reports also confirm the association for eastern Indonesia.²⁰ Many of the Indian textiles exported to Indonesia are used locally in a ceremonial context, where the use of a particular color may be prescribed. Color symbolism is a difficult topic to interpret in a cross-cultural manner, as there is rarely one single answer to the meaning of any color. Whatever the specific meaning of red in a Southeast Asian society or cultural context, certain associated properties relate to power and fertility, but also to danger. Red, as the color of blood, can stand for the positive aspects of fertility and childbirth, but also for the negative one of warfare. However, even the latter is an ambiguous connection, as warfare in many Southeast Asian societies was formerly associated with head-hunting, a practice that in turn fulfilled the cycle toward fertility. The reason given for the taking of heads involved the gaining of well-being and fertility for the community.²¹

Figural representations are rare among the Indo-Egyptian textiles but are common for the cloths found in eastern Indonesia. Rather than relating their absence in the former group to the often overstressed prohibition of showing human forms in Islamic art (a prohibition that does not apply to secular art in the Islamic context), this absence is more likely to have its explanation in the function for which the textiles were intended in Egypt: large-scale figural designs were not suitable to be cut up and tailored into garments and domestic furnishings. The Indian cloths from eastern Indonesia did not have this function, and among the earliest radiocarbon-dated textiles from the region are cloths that show large representations of female dancers, often accompanied by attendants. These fourteenth-century pieces are block-printed and dyed red and blue; the indigo dye is often so crudely applied that much of the design is obscured.²² But where it is possible to make out the design of the women's dress, we discover they are wearing floral patterns that relate closely to fragments surviving from Egypt (see fig. 1). Rather than being merely a derivative form of design, copying other, supposedly more innovative art forms, the block-printed textiles seemed quickly to represent what was the current fashion.



7

Gujarat, traded to Sulawesi,
radiocarbon date ca. 1500–50;
cotton, mordant- and resist-painted;
warp 550 cm, weft 102 cm. Tapi
Collection, Surat, Gujarat, 01.51.

8

Gujarat, traded to Sulawesi,
radiocarbon date ca. 1500–50;
cotton, mordant- and resist-painted;
warp 531 cm, weft 99 cm. Tapi
Collection, Surat, Gujarat, 01.28.



Textiles as Painting: New Evidence for the History of Jaina Painting

Against the background of these rather unrefined images, I want to bring attention to two remarkable textiles that were made in an Indian Jaina context, most likely in Gujarat. Although obviously made for an Indian client, they entered Gujarat's international trade network, and they must have been received with acclaim, as they were carefully preserved for five centuries. Radiocarbon analysis dates them to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, and they were recently collected in Sulawesi. Both are now in the private Tapi Collection in Surat, Gujarat (figs. 7, 8).²³ It is true that most Gujarati cotton textiles for the Indonesian market were block-printed. These pieces, however, are rare examples of hand-painted cloths, where mordant and resist were applied with a fine brush before the textile was dyed. The line drawings and subsequent color applications are of superb quality. In the first painted textile, we are looking at a festive entertainment scene, probably from a courtly context (fig. 9). A richly dressed couple at the center of the cloth possibly represents a prince and his consort, or at least enacts that role. Between them is a small flowering tree; he holds a long fly whisk or flower stalk, while she has small single disks in her raised hands, no doubt meant to be cymbals. On either side of the couple are five females; they all move toward the two central figures, some with dancing steps, others bringing offerings of refreshments. On the consort's side, four of the attendant ladies are playing musical instruments. The figures' movements are lively and highly expressive.

The figurative style and depiction of facial features are familiar from Jaina manuscript paintings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the characteristic three-quarter profile including a protruding second eye. No further attempt is made to add a depth of perspective; instead, the figures remain strictly in the two-dimensional space of the cloth's surface, even when their bodies turn to suggest movement. This convention is maintained throughout. However, the attention given to details of individual features beyond this convention of perspective,



9

9
Detail of fig. 7.



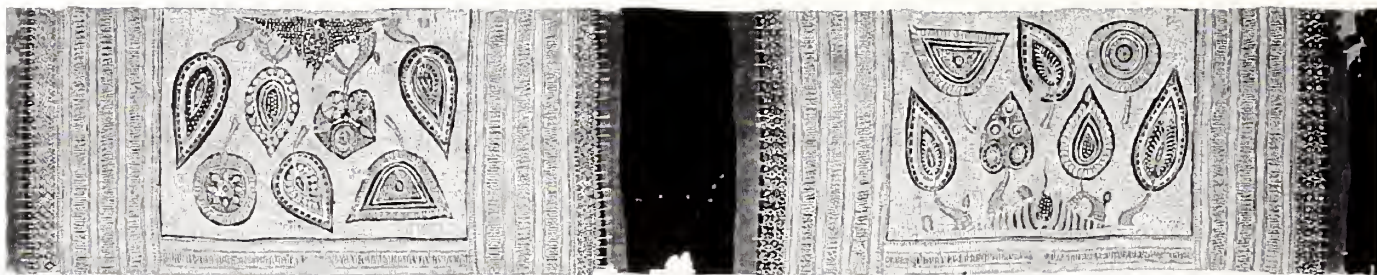
10

10
Detail of fig. 8.

particularly to dress and personal adornment, is unusual. The half-life-size figures are drawn with such care that it is possible to identify textile patterns, jewelry, and coiffure. Several of the dancers have large *paṭkās* (sashes) with swirling spirals tied around their waist. The prince is wearing Central Asian-style boots, although he is otherwise not depicted in a manner reserved for Mongols in Jaina paintings.²⁴ We can therefore assume that he is supposed to be Indian rather than of Central Asian origin. The background is densely filled with flowering bushes, small elephants, horses, gazelles, birds and two lions, as well as textiles draped from ornamented horizontal poles or shelves. Some of these motifs reappear on other trade textiles; compare the flowering trees and small geese of the background, which can become the dominant feature on cloths surviving from eastern Indonesia. Three shields and swords, as well as a bow and quiver, are suspended from ledges above the figures' heads. The entire scene therefore combines entertainment—dancing and music—with images of nature, hunting, and weaponry.

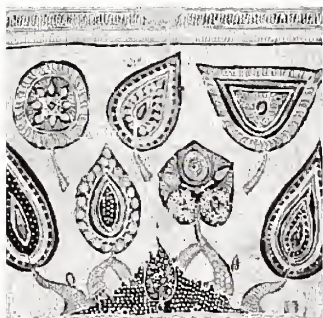
The second cloth (fig. 10; see also fig. 8) shows a prominent lady with her entourage of attendants, again including dancers and musicians. Once again, the technical achievement is remarkable. Despite the formulaic rendition of facial features and the exaggerated gestures, the figures are drawn with considerable individuality. This is particularly apparent in the major figure herself, who is distinguished from her attendants: she is slightly taller than the other women, with a plump face and a prominent double chin, and she is further differentiated by having a small servant girl facing her with the offering of a bowl; although placed off-center, all other figures are turning toward her. The iconographic meaning of the scene is uncertain; it may represent the preparations for an entertainment, maybe even a wedding ceremony.

As most fifteenth-century Jaina paintings from Gujarat survive only in small-scale manuscript form, these half-life-size images provide important new evidence for the artistic level achieved in painting of the time. Apart from these cloths in



11

11
Gujarat, traded to Sulawesi,
seventeenth–eighteenth century
(?); cotton, painted and block-
printed resist, mordant and resist
dyed; warp 473 cm, weft 90 cm. Tapi
Collection, Surat, Gujarat, 01.337.



12
Detail of fig. 11.



13
Gujarat, traded to Sulawesi, fourteenth
century; cotton, mordant- and resist-
dyed; warp 525 cm, weft 107 cm. Tapi
Collection, Surat, Gujarat, 01.335.

the Tapi Collection, only one other textile of this type has so far been published; it is in the Abbott Collection in the National Gallery in Canberra and is dated ca. 1500.²⁵ The Canberra textile is also entirely hand-painted rather than block-printed. Compared to the two cloths in the Tapi Collection, it displays a slightly mannerist stiffness, as the figures are further elongated and move with a stilted stylization. But all three textiles have a quality and liveliness about them that is otherwise not known from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Jaina painting. The history of Indian manuscripts usually discusses Jaina painting as formulaic and stylized, although not without charm. These characteristics are true for the manuscript illustrations that have survived. With the discovery of these exceptional textiles, however, there is evidence for a painterly tradition that is monumental and of outstanding quality.

How do these painted textiles fit into the story of Indian trade textiles? This is a difficult question to answer. They were recently bought in Bali or eastern Indonesia, regrettably without further detail of family or clan affiliation other than that they had once been heirlooms in Sulawesi. It is often repeated in the literature on Gujarati export textiles that the cotton goods were typically of medium quality, block-printed, and mass produced. That description is generally borne out by the material surviving from both Egypt and Indonesia. But the picture emerging now is more complex. There also was the economic connection and incentive to send high-quality cotton cloths to eastern Indonesia from Gujarat, in some cases as early as the fourteenth century, as can be seen in an exceptionally fine cloth of flowering trees, also entirely painted resist and mordant (fig. 13).

These examples raise an important issue: they represent scenes and settings that are purely Indian in context. There is no reference to any non-Indian taste, style, or iconography. Yet they were clearly appreciated and treasured at their receiving end in eastern Indonesia.

From India to Sulawesi—from Sulawesi to India?

To return to an earlier question: is there evidence for textiles being imported especially to suit local taste or ceremonial requirements? Figure 11 is relevant for this consideration. It shows a version of the “flowering tree” motif that was widely accepted at an early date in Sulawesi; among the most common fourteenth-century textiles are elaborate versions of this design, usually block-printed. This particular example is likely to take us chronologically beyond the fifteenth century. The cloth’s length is divided into two panels, each with a flowering tree design that has its origin in ornate tree images typically found on *palampore* textiles from



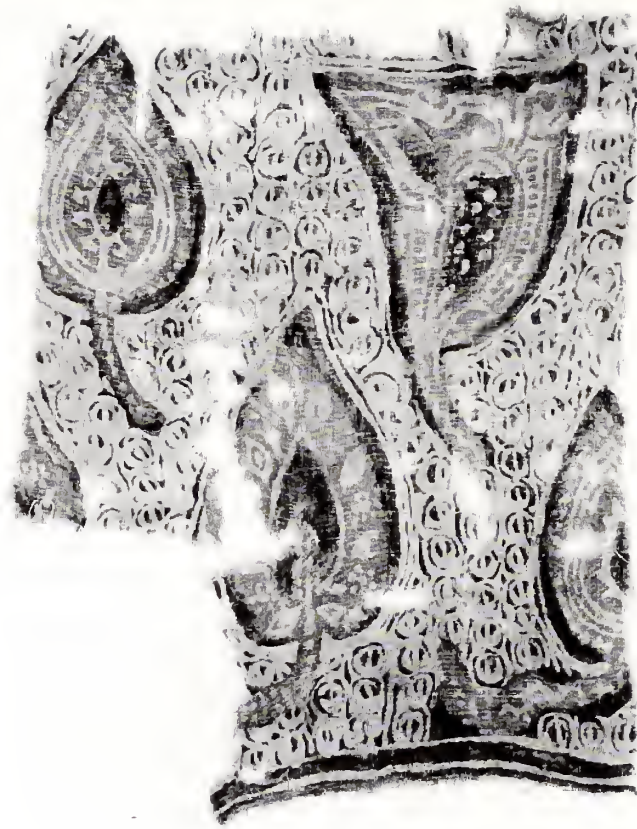
14

14

Coromandel Coast, traded to Sumatra, seventeenth–eighteenth century; cotton, painted mordant and indigo; warp 173 cm, weft 107 cm. Tapi Collection, Surat, Gujarat, 99.1949.

the Coromandel Coast, traded both to Europe and Southeast Asia from the seventeenth century onward (see note 7). Here, however, the images are drawn in a curiously simplified version, and I suggest that this change was made specifically to suit Toraja taste. The cloth has two rectangular main fields, each with wide borders at the narrow ends; the direction of the tree patterns in the two panels are reversed. The reversal of viewpoint is not uncommon among the textiles traded to the Toraja region. The panels are variations of the same design, with trees or branches growing out of a triangular base, partly with joined trunks that emerge from two roots. The crowns have single leaf shapes with concentric lines repeating the outlines (fig. 12).

The triangles are here in place of the mound or rocky hill from which the “classic” *palampore* tree grows (fig. 14); the two roots that merge into a single trunk or branch are a standard detail that has its source ultimately in Chinese tree images.²⁶ Coromandel Coast *palampore* must also have been available to the Toraja, as they draw them occasionally as “tree-of-life” images on their own ceremonial *sarita* or *maa’* textiles.²⁷ If one interprets these single-leaved, large



15

15
Gujarat, traded to Egypt,
seventeenth century (?); cotton,
mordant and resist applied, length
30 cm, width 22 cm. Ashmolean
Museum, Oxford University,
Newberry Collection, 1990.1136.

bushes as growing out of one source—the triangle that is the equivalent of the rocky hill of the *palampore*—then we may be looking at the representation of a single tree. This understanding adds a local dimension to the interpretation of the representation. Both panels show seven trunks or branches, with seven large leaves. The Toraja call this textile a *daun bolu* (betel pepper leaf) cloth, and its presence is part of the *merok* ceremony, an annual thanksgiving ritual and evocation of future prosperity. On that occasion a buffalo is sacrificed, but first there is a recitation of the *passomba tedong* (laudation of the buffalo), a poetic litany that consecrates the animal. In this recital the “heavenly *sendana* tree” (sandalwood tree) is evoked, a “tree with the life-fluid of the people of the earth”: it is called the tree with “seven branches and seven leaves.”²⁸ What is the evidence that this textile was made in India for Toraja requirements? And if it is Indian, where was it made?

We can be fairly certain that the Indian fragments from Egypt were exported from Gujarat, rather than the Coromandel Coast. If this provenance is accepted, then it also becomes relevant for the origin of this Toraja cloth, as designs with large, single-leafed trees or branches also occasionally appear in Egypt and survive in the Ashmolean Museum’s Newberry Collection (fig. 15). They may be among the later (sixteenth- or seventeenth-century) part of the collection. The technical knowledge that went into patterning the cloth also strongly suggests an Indian, probably Gujarati, source. The large motifs are hand-drawn resist and mordant, but the very wide border patterns are block-printed. However, they are similar to the borders of the large painted figural textiles discussed earlier, although they

are more crudely executed here. The manner of transfer for the “primitive” design interpretation that had particular resonance among the Toraja has to remain hypothetical, although one may speculate that a locally produced ceremonial cloth, called *sarita*, may have been sent to India to initiate an Indian reproduction for the Toraja market. Rather than assuming that the eastern Indonesian recipients of Indian trade cloths played a passive role in this exchange of goods, it seems that they may have placed specific orders to fulfill their own requirements and tastes.

Conclusion

What made Indian cloth so very desirable for eastern Indonesian societies? A major attraction was certainly the quality of dyes used in decorating the fabrics. The brilliance and colorfastness of the designs was unrivaled at the time, and remained so until well into the nineteenth century. Indian textile trade was initially in the hands of Arab and Indian merchants, but eventually was dominated by the European trading companies. The Portuguese and later Dutch, English, and French arrival in Asia was driven by economic factors and their desire to gain control of certain market products of South and Southeast Asia. The spices and aromatics of India and maritime Southeast Asia were a potential source for huge wealth, and Indian textiles proved to be a major currency in exchange transactions involving eastern Indonesian cloves, nutmeg, and sandalwood. It was quickly realized that a successful merchant company needed to have access to and preferably a monopoly over the distribution of Indian cloth.

Paṭoḷā and block-printed cotton textiles survive to this day in eastern Indonesian societies that were, even if in an indirect way, connected to the wider trade network of the Indian Ocean. It is clear from the material discussed here that eastern Indonesian communities were discerning customers who could appreciate the quality of Indian painted textiles and may have sent orders to be fulfilled to their own specifications. Nowadays the Indian textiles are typically kept either as personal belongings of high social prestige or as lineage-owned heirlooms. Their designs may have influenced the design of indigenous weaving. Textiles have been—and still are—a major transmitter of design and technology, and they tend to convey considerable social meaning. Of course they share that role with other manufactured goods that have historically moved between societies, both as prestige items and as utilitarian objects. Few products, though, can claim the same convenient portability; while in the long term considered fragile, textiles are initially far more durable and easier to transport than, for example, glass and ceramics. They were, therefore, primary sources of cross-cultural influences.

NOTES

The epigraph is from Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, ed. Armando Cortesao, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1944), 1:216. *Bonuaquelim* means "Land of the Kling," a reference to the Coromandel Coast; see also n. 3, below. Apart from the reference to *paṭola*, the meaning of the textile terms is uncertain.

1. There is both linguistic and technological evidence for the early presence of weaving in Southeast Asia. Otto Dempwolff, *Austronesisches Wörterverzeichnis*, vol. 3, *Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes*, Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen 19 (Berlin: Reimer, 1938), has Austronesian *tenun*, meaning "weave." This definition was refined by Robert Blust to refer specifically to loom weaving rather than the wider category including, e.g., basketry. Robert Blust, "Austronesian Culture History: Some Linguistic Inferences and Their Relations to the Archaeological Record," *World Archaeology* 8 (1976): 34. He argues, "The conclusion seems inescapable that the loom was known to speakers of a language ancestral to at least Malay, the Batak languages and various languages of northern Luzon. A minimum time depth of 4,000 years would seem to be implied." This linguistic interpretation is confirmed by the back strap loom technology shared by the Aborigines of Taiwan, who are Austronesian and peoples of Indonesia whose ancestors left Taiwan close to 3,500 years ago.
2. Alfred Bühler, "Patola Influences in Southeast Asia," *Journal of Indian Textile History* 4 (1959): 4–46; Bühler and Eberhard Fischer, *The Patola of Gujarat: Double Ikat in India* (Basel: Krebs Verlag, 1979).
3. Mattiebelle Gittinger, *Splendid Symbols: Textiles and Tradition in Indonesia* (Washington, D.C.: Textile Museum, 1979); Gittinger, *Master Dyers to the World: Technique and Trade in Early Indian Dyed Cotton Textiles* (Washington, D.C.: Textile Museum, 1982); Ruth Barnes, *The Ikat Textiles of Lamalera: A Study of an Eastern Indonesian Weaving Tradition* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989); Marie-Louise Nabholz-Kartaschoff, "A Sacred Cloth of Rangda: Kamben Cepuk of Bali and Nusa Penida," in *To Speak with Cloth: Studies in Indonesian Textiles*, ed. Mattiebelle Gittinger (Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of California Press, 1989): 181–97; Nabholz-Kartaschoff, "The Same—Yet Not the Same: Similarities and Differences in Some Textile Techniques and Textile Products from India and Bali," ed. Ruth Barnes and Rosemary Crill, special issue on South and Southeast Asian textiles, *Textile History* 30.1 (1999): 46–68; Robyn Maxwell, *Textiles of Southeast Asia: Tradition, Trade and Transformation* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990); John Guy, *Woven Cargoes: Indian Textiles in the East* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998).
4. See Hetty Nooy-Palm, *The Sa'dan Toraja: A Study of Their Social Life and Religion*, vol. 1, *Organization, Symbols and Beliefs*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 87 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979); Nooy-Palm, *The Sa'dan Toraja*, vol. 2, *Rituals of the East and West*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 118 (Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1986); Nooy-Palm, "The Sacred Cloths of the Toraja: Unanswered Questions," in Gittinger, *To Speak with Cloth*, 163–80.
5. See Toos van Dijk and Nico de Jonge, "Bastas in Babar: Imported Asian Textiles in a South-East Moluccan Culture," in *Indonesian Textiles*:

- Symposium 1985*, ed. Gisela Völger and Karin von Welck, *Ethnologica N.F.* 14 (Cologne: Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, 1991), 18–33.
6. Partly or entirely hand-painted cotton textiles were predominantly traded to Sumatra, and so far only a few have come to light from the eastern part of the archipelago, despite Tomé Pires's reference to them.
 7. The term *palampore* is an Anglicized combination of the Persian words *palang*, "bed," and *posh*, "cover."
 8. John Peter Wild and Felicity Wild, "The Textiles" in *Berenike 1995*, ed. Steven E. Sidebotham and Willemmina Z. Wendrich (Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1996), 245–56; Sophie Desrosiers, Corinne Debaine-Francfort, and Abdurassul Idriss, "Two Resist-Dyed Cottons Recently Found at Karadong, Xinjiang," in *The Roman Textile Industry and its Influence: A Birthday Tribute to John Peter Wild*, ed. Penelope Walton Rogers (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), 48–55.
 9. R. Pfister, "Tissus imprimées de l'Inde médiévale," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 10 (1936): 161–64; Pfister, *Les Toiles Imprimées de Fostat et l'Hindoustan* (Paris: Les Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1938).
 10. See Ruth Barnes, *Indian Block-Printed Textiles from Egypt: The Newberry Collection in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), for the full catalogue of the collection.
 11. Donald S. Whitcomb and Janet H. Johnson, *Quseir al-Qadim 1978: Preliminary Report* (Cairo: American Research Center in Egypt, 1979); Whitcomb and Johnson, *Quseir al-Qadim 1980: Preliminary Report*, American Research Center in Egypt Report 7 (Malibu: Undena, 1982). The textile finds from India were published by Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood, *The Resist Dyed Textiles from Quseir al-Qadim, Egypt* (Paris: AEDTA, 1990).
 12. Ruth Barnes, "Indian Trade Textiles," *Hali* 87 (1996): 80–85; Barnes, "From India to Egypt: The Newberry Collection and the Indian Ocean Trade," in *Islamische Textilkunst des Mittelalters: Aktuelle Probleme*, ed. Karel Otavsky, *Riggisberger Berichte* 5 (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1997), 79–92; Guy, *Woven Cargoes*.
 13. Jan Wisseman Christie, "Texts and Textiles in 'Medieval' Java," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 80.1 (1993): 181–211, esp. 199.
 14. Jan Christie, "Ikat to Batik? Epigraphic Data on Textiles in Java from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Centuries," in *Weaving Pattern of Life: Indonesian Textile Symposium, 1991*, ed. Marie-Louise Nabholz-Kartaschoff, Ruth Barnes, and David Stuart-Fox (Basle: Museum of Ethnography, 1993), 11–29, esp. 15.
 15. See Nooy-Palm, *The Sa'dan Toraja*, vol. 2.
 16. See David Bulbeck and Ian Caldwell, *Land of Iron: The Historical Archaeology of Luwu and the Cenrana Valley* (Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, 2000). The Bugis are an ethnic and linguistic population based in coastal southern Sulawesi, historically and to the present day with wide-ranging seafaring contacts.
 17. Leonard Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993) 66, 106–7.
 18. For eastern Indonesia, see, e.g., Barnes, *Ikat Textiles of Lamalera*; Roy Hamilton, *The Gift of the Cotton Maiden* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 1994).
 19. Christie, "Ikat to Batik?" in *Weaving Pattern*, 11–29, esp. 12.
 20. For a brief summary see Barnes, *Ikat Textiles of Lamalera*, 93–94.
 21. See Ruth Barnes, "Women as Headhunters: The Making and Meaning of Textiles in a Southeast Asian Context," in *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*, ed. Ruth Barnes and Joanne B. Eicher (Oxford: Berg, 1992), 29–43.
 22. See Guy, *Woven Cargoes*, 112, fig. 146.
 23. They have recently been published in Ruth Barnes, Steven Cohen and Rosemary Crill, *Trade, Temple and Court: Indian Textiles from the Tapi Collection* (Mumbai: India Book House, 2002).
 24. See Karl J. Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *New Documents of Indian Painting: A Reappraisal* (Bombay: Prince of Wales Museum, 1969), fig. 3, where a distinction is made in the facial features between an Indian and two Mongols.
 25. See Robyn Maxwell, "Textile Contributions," in *Traditions of Asian Art Traced through the Collection of the National Gallery of Australia*, ed. Michael Brand (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 1995); Guy, *Woven Cargoes*, 112, fig. 147.
 26. See Guy, *Woven Cargoes*, 106.
 27. Both terms refer to ritually important cloth used by the Toraja. *Sarita* usually are long, narrow resist-dyed cloths produced locally, while *maa'* are Indian trade textiles; but occasionally these terms are interchanged.
 28. Nooy-Palm, *Sa'dan Toraja*, 1:220.

LUXURY GOODS AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

The Case of Printed and Woven Multicolored Textiles in Medieval India

Abstract

Advances in the technology of cloth design fascinated medieval Indian poets and intellectuals. After a brief survey of the many ways in which cloth figured in the imagination of the medieval poet and storyteller, this article focuses on one particular discipline—philosophy. It argues that innovations in cloth design challenged traditional understandings of how the world was conceived. As an example, it discusses in detail a particular philosophy text of the tenth century belonging to the realist school, or the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, to show how the extravagant multicolored cloth that was being produced compelled philosophers to rethink their understandings of some fundamental categories such as substance and quality. Cloth-making here provides an exciting case study of the ways in which technological advances in the arts stimulated debate and progress in philosophy, a seemingly unrelated area.

Cloth in the Medieval Imagination

It may come as something of a surprise to learn that it was not particularly on account of their aesthetic qualities that the magnificent products of India's medieval weavers and dyers sparked the imagination of contemporary intellectuals. Poets, to whom we might look expectantly for an homage to the delicate designs we know from paintings of textiles and actual remaining textiles themselves, wrote lavish descriptions of the rich and famous of their day, and of fictional heroes and heroines, in which they all but ignored the finery that their subjects must have worn. For the medieval poet, clothes were an obstacle that prevented the observer from seeing what was really important about a person—his or her physical beauty and the special marks on the human body that proclaimed a person's worthiness, just as centuries earlier it was thought that the extraordinary marks or *lakṣaṇa* of the Buddha proclaimed his future greatness as either a world emperor or a great sage. Where clothing is mentioned by the poet, it seems as if its special qualities lie in the fact that it is virtually invisible. Instead of drawing attention to the details of the cloth, its colors and patterns, the poet praises it because it seems not to be there at all; the finest cloth is diaphanous, a shimmering curtain through which the beauty of the body is tantalizingly revealed.

Cloth is often likened to the elusive rays that are emitted by the gems the hero or heroine wears; indeed often the rays of these gems alone are deemed sufficient covering for the body. For example, the eleventh-century Sanskrit poet, Śrī Harṣa, in his *Naiṣadhiyacarita*, perhaps the most famous of all medieval Sanskrit poems, paid almost no attention to what his heroine was wearing as she entered the hall where the kings were assembled on the occasion of her self-choice, the

ritual by which she would select her husband. In one verse the poet tells us that the flawless radiance of her jewels served her as an upper garment (10.94), while in another we are told that the rays of the gems she wore veiled her from the eager eyes of the kings in the assembly (10.100). Many of the verses in the chapter describe her jewels; none describes her clothing. In the verses in which the kings praise her beauty, it is of course the beauty of her body that they single out and not her clothes.¹ It may not be an exaggeration to say that in medieval Indian poetry it is in fact jewels and the marks of the body itself that serve as the outward signs of a person's special status, a role that clothes more frequently played in medieval Europe.²

That Śrī Harṣa was adhering to well-established poetic convention is clear from even a cursory survey of Sanskrit literature. Bāṇa, in his *Kādambarī*, a prose tale of the seventh century, similarly describes the heroine Kādambarī in terms of the auspicious marks on her body, the radiance of her jewels, and the beauty of her naked limbs. Indeed, there is a sumptuous description of her body, her feet, her toes, the jewels on her anklets, the girdle around her hips, her waist, her navel, her breasts, her arms, her earrings, her hands, her chin, her lips and cheeks. The only mention of cloth is of the blue cloth covering her couch.³ Little attention is paid to what the king Śūdraka in the frame tale wears; all we are told is that his garment is white like the froth of the drink of immortality that came from the ocean when it was churned by the gods and demons and that it had a border on which geese were painted with the pigment *gorocanā*, or yellow orpiment. By contrast, the outcaste woman who comes to the king's court wears a dark robe and red scarf. What seems most important about the clothes these characters wear is in fact their color; the fine clothes of the heroine and the king are luminous and diaphanous; lower castes wear colors like dark blue and red.⁴ The lower the status, the more deeply colored and obviously concealing the clothing.

In his other famous prose tale, the *Harṣacarita*, an account of the deeds of his patron King Harṣa, Bāṇa takes little note of what the king wears. For example, in a long and complex description of the king there is only one spare phrase that describes his lower garment, while much is made of his jewels and his body. As we might have expected, the king's lower garment is described as luminously white and glistening with the reflected rays from the jewels of his girdle. Whatever pattern it has is thus extrinsic to it, a reflection of the rich and variegated jewels surrounding it. Indeed, it is like a jewel itself in its ability to capture reflections.⁵

The emphasis on jewels and a lack of interest in clothing are common to texts of different genres and religious groups in medieval India. In a Jaina version of the story of Nala and Damayantī, widely known from the *Mahābhārata*, the medi-

eval poet similarly describes Damayantī's body and her jewels, while her clothes are likened to mere wisps of clouds that veil the beauty of the heavens.⁶ The same conventions could also govern descriptions in Buddhist texts. An early Mahāyāna Buddhist text, the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, in describing one of the women whom its hero, the pilgrim Sudhana, meets on his search for teachers, describes her jewels at length; it says nothing of her clothing.⁷

These few examples could easily be multiplied. While they are meant to show that medieval poetic convention was little interested in describing the clothing that people wore, they are not meant by any means to imply either that the value of fine cloth was unrecognized or that its existence went entirely unnoticed in the literate circles of medieval India. We know from other texts that cloth could be highly valued; in the *Purāṇas* cloth is often among the ritual gifts to be given to Brāhmaṇa priests, along with other obviously valuable things such as gold and cows. One of the most popular Jaina stories, a story about the wealthy merchant Śālibhadra, has the merchant excite the jealousy of the king and his queen when he is able to afford a fabulously expensive cloth and proceeds to use it to wipe his feet.⁸ A Buddhist story told of the famous disciple of the Buddha, the monk Mahākāśyapa, suggests that clothing was not the only use for fine cloth in the world of these stories. Mahākāśyapa in his past birth asks for something to wear and receives the finest cloth there is, a divine cloth from the heavenly wishing tree. But instead of using it for clothing, he makes it into a canopy for the Buddha.⁹

Such fine cloth canopies were in fact markers of royal status. A tenth-century text about the accoutrements of kingship ascribed to the Paramāra king Bhoja has much to say about cloth objects as a necessary part of the ceremonial signs of kingship. Cloth is an important component of the royal standard and the royal parasol, for example, and King Bhoja emphasizes that the particular color of cloth used in royal objects announces the status of a person and has the power to procure certain magical benefits.¹⁰ Well before Bhoja, the sixth-century author Varāha Mihira, in his *Br̥hatsamhitā*, had described various kinds of pennants and their colors; specific colors are linked to specific benefits and misfortunes, with white leading to victory and yellow to illness.¹¹

Story literature also took note of some aspects of the process of preparing textiles. An early story in the *Pañcatantra*, familiar to all students of Sanskrit because of its inclusion in the Lanman reader, told of an indigo dyer who left his vat of indigo unattended. A jackal falls into it and ends up dyed blue. He is so impressed with his new color that he sets himself up as king of the forest, only to come to a disastrous end! In the *Avadānakalpalatā* of the eleventh-century Kashmiri author Kṣemendra, a Buddhist monk is dyeing his monastic robe red, but because of

his previous bad karma the cloth turns into meat and the dye into blood. He is accused of murdering a cow.¹² A Jaina story from the fourteenth-century suggests that behind the Buddhist story may lie a deep suspicion of the craft of the dyer. The story is brief and I give it here in full:

There was a certain monk of the rank of master who was extremely learned. Through the force of his karma he came down with leprosy. When he saw that his disease could not be cured by various medicines, he made a pilgrimage to Śrīśeṣasaka and having renounced all solid food he sat down in front of the god. He did this for seven days. When that was of no avail he next renounced drinking as well. Now some of the superintending gods of the main deity had been away and when they got back, the one who had remained behind asked them, "Why did you take so long in the distant world of Mahāvīdeha?" They replied, "The daughter of the perfume merchant Bhīma, who was to be the wife of the minister Tejahpāla, had reached marriageable age. But she refused to be married and instead became a nun. The Jina Sīmandhara, who lives and preaches in Mahāvīdeha, himself initiated her into the order. Her father spent all that he had planned to spend for her wedding on the ceremony of her becoming a nun. We tarried so long there because we wanted to see the great festivities at the time of her consecration." And then they turned to the leprous teacher and said, "Seven births ago you were a cloth-dyer. You killed seven baby mongeese in an orchard one day when they fell into your vat of boiling dye. Because of that bad deed, in this birth, seven births later, you have become ill with leprosy. You do not have long to live. Your karma is almost exhausted. If you want, we can cure you. But in the next birth your karma would reassert itself and you would have to live through its results." When he heard this, the monk took his leave of the lay devotees and in his leprous condition continued just as he was.¹³

The craft of the dyer seems somehow to be connected to the death of animals in the literary imagination of both Buddhists and Jāinas. Artisans figure rarely in these stories; these two stories are unusual and intriguing glimpses into the attitudes toward someone who dyes cloth, whether professional dyer as in the Jaina story or the monk dyeing his own robe as in the Buddhist story.

These diverse texts show us that there were many ways in which cloth and its preparation figured in medieval literature. But there is one particular genre of texts that I would like to highlight in the rest of this article. If we are surprised by the observation that poets seem indifferent to the marvelous aesthetic qualities of the

textile artist's work, it can only be of still greater surprise to learn that philosophers were intrigued by a particular category of cloth, namely cloth that was either woven from threads of more than one color or cloth that had been dyed with designs of many colors. India's philosophers, who in their commentaries to the foundational works of their different schools endeavored to understand the nature of reality and our perceptions of reality, found in the existence of cloth with more than one color something extraordinary, something that defied normal expectations of the way things ought to be. Committed to the presupposition that their theories about the nature of our world must coincide with what we actually observe, one particular group of philosophers found in the very existence of such cloth of many colors a challenge to any simple understanding of the world around us. The mere possibility of weaving a cloth of different colored threads to create a variegated product or dyeing patterns onto finished cloth to create *citrapaṭas*, or chintz, gave these Indian philosophers much to ponder.¹⁴ As one popular saying, cited often in such philosophical discussions of the nature of variegated cloth, put it, "That a cloth [or a color] should be one and multicolored [many] (*citra*) at the same time, is the greatest marvel of all (*citratarā*)."¹⁵ The saying, hard to capture in English, is a play on the word *citra*, which can mean "many," "multicolored," and "marvelous" or "fantastic." One cloth cannot, after all, be both "one" and "not one" or "many" simultaneously.

The argument in what follows is that the existence of variegated cloth of different types challenged the early medieval Indian understanding of the world. I would like to suggest further that in the case of at least one philosopher, knowledge of the different kinds of patterned cloth the philosopher was trying to explain may help us to understand why he developed his somewhat idiosyncratic doctrine. Here, I will propose that, with Bhāsarvajña in the tenth century, we have a case in which the technical virtuosity and the variety of textiles he could see before him led the philosopher to search for a general theory of how we perceive the color of variegated cloths that could account for the many different types of multicolored cloth he knew. His contemplation of multicolored cloth in turn determined the somewhat unusual form that his theory was to take and indirectly influenced the course of subsequent philosophical discussions.

In what follows I look briefly at several philosophers and their responses to patterned cloth. I concentrate on one school of philosophers, those of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, or Indian Realists, who analyzed the world and its complex objects by breaking everything down into a number of constituents. Our concern will be with their categories of substance and quality, for these are what the existence of cloths of many colors challenged. Color was regarded by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika as a quality. All qualities exist in substances by means of a separate relationship that the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika called inherence (*samavāya*). In addition, substances

were said to be constituted from parts that were different from the substance itself, which was considered to be a “whole.” The whole rested on its parts by means of the relationship of inherence. It could be in contact with other objects by means of another category of relationship called contact or *saṃyoga*. In addition, the color of the whole was thought to have been caused by the color of the parts. To put these concepts back into our discussion of cloth, an ordinary cloth, say a blue cloth, would be analyzed as a whole that resided in its parts, the blue threads. The color of the cloth, “blue,” is caused by the color of the threads. There was another tenet of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika that we need to consider. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika described in some detail how large objects—wholes—are built up from their constituent parts, from invisible atoms to units of two atoms, to visible wholes. It was a given in this system that the parts that combine to yield wholes must be of the same kind.

It is possible, I suspect, to intuit the challenge that India’s marvelously patterned or woven cloths provided to this ontology. These problems did not go unnoticed by the prime opponents of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, the Buddhists, and it is in this arena of debate that patterned cloth assumed its considerable importance in the medieval intellectual world. Technological advances in textile art challenged the old worldview, not only by the changes wrought in society through trade, increased wealth, and foreign contact. An equally startling challenge was one that has yet to be noticed in the history of the medieval Indian textile trade: it was the challenge to received understandings of how the world is constructed and how we as perceiving subjects can know that world. In the end, consideration of cloth that had patterns applied to it or was woven of many colored threads would force the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika to abandon some of their basic tenets, a process that may well have undermined their ability to withstand the onslaughts of their Buddhist critics. As an example of the effects luxury items could have on such rarefied fields as philosophical speculation, the case of multicolored cloth raises the larger question of the potential that new advances in technology and the availability of new goods through trade had fundamentally to alter or enrich old ways of seeing. As a start toward understanding this larger question, I focus here on the case of multicolored cloth, for which the written documentation is ample. In what follows I briefly review a few examples of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika speculation on multicolored cloth.

Variegated Cloth and the Indian Philosopher

A careful reading of select passages in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika writings indicates that by the tenth century the philosophers were trying to understand the nature of two types of multicolored cloth: cloth woven of threads of different colors and

cloth woven of threads of a single color to which a pattern was applied after weaving. The texts give us little or no indication of the process by which patterns were added to whole cloth, but there is a brief statement in one text of the tenth century suggesting that the author knew of a process similar to that in which mordants were applied to the cloth and the cloth was then put into a bath of dye. The remark, made in the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* of Bhāsarvajña, occurs in a context that has nothing to do with cloth or variegated cloth.¹⁵ The context is the proof of the existence of the mind as a sense organ in addition to the five organs of sight, smell, taste, hearing, and touch.

The standard Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika proof for the existence of the mind is an inference made from the observation that our perceptions are always in sequence, one at a time. Perception is thought to occur through a chain of connections. For example, in the case of sight, the eye is in contact with its object and in contact with the soul, the locus in which knowledge will arise. The philosopher observed that in fact our sense organs may be in contact with a multitude of stimuli at any one point in time; he therefore postulated the existence of an additional causal factor to explain why at any given moment we see one thing and not another, or we only see something but do not also taste it at the same instant in time. This additional cause they called the mind, and they argued that it must be atomic in size and thus capable of being connected to only one object at any given moment. The cause of perception is thus the contact of the object-eye-mind-soul. The *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* is unique among Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika texts in the way it presents its argument for the existence of the mind. Here is its inference to prove the existence of the mind: “The sense organs and their objects depend upon another factor with which they come into contact at a particular moment, because even when they are all connected with each other they still only produce their products at a given moment, just like the coloring agents that produce patterns on cloth.”¹⁶

The inference is clear: the sense organs and their objects are in contact virtually all the time when we are awake; however, we do not perceive everything at every moment. We perceive only certain things and that occurs when we are paying particular attention to them. Staring into space absentmindedly, we do not notice the person in front of us. It is not sufficient for there to be contact between the sense organ and the object; the mind also has to be engaged, and its engagement is not guaranteed. We cannot be “absentminded.” This is what it means to say that the sense organs and objects depend on the existence of a factor that is connected with them only occasionally. Every inference requires a valid example, in which the reason given for what you wish to prove and the factor that you wish to prove are known to exist together. The coloring agents are the example in this inference. In Indian logic, an example thus shows the presence of both the inferential mark,

which we may paraphrase as “producing products from time to time although they are continuously in contact with each other,” and the attribute to be proved, in this case “depending upon another factor with which they come into contact at a particular moment.” Thus we are told that the coloring agents, *varṇaka*, which are said to produce a pattern (*citra*) that is added to a cloth (*utkṣipta*), do not act to produce that pattern as soon as they are applied to the cloth; they depend upon contact with yet another factor, which is not always there. I understand this statement to mean that the *varṇaka* is first applied to the cloth and then the combination of cloth-*varṇaka* (like the combination of sense organ-object) must be brought into contact with another factor, which could be the dye bath. Only then is the pattern produced. This process is also reminiscent of the use of mordants to apply the design and the subsequent immersion of the cloth in a dye bath.¹⁷ The mordant could also be analogous to the mind; it would be that additional something that must be present for the process of dyeing to succeed, just as “presence of mind” is required for perception to occur.

It was in the tenth century, the time of the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* in which this inference is found, that Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika authors seem to have been preoccupied with the implications for their philosophy of the existence of richly patterned and multicolored cloth.¹⁸ We shall see that these two types of cloths—the cloth woven of threads of different colors and the cloth woven of threads of a single color to which a pattern was applied after weaving—raised somewhat different problems for the philosophers. In both cases, of course, there was the question, what is the color of the final product? It was generally agreed, at least in the case of the cloth made of threads of different colors, that the color of the cloth could not be simply blue or red or any single color. Although they differed on its exact nature, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika authors tended to agree that there had to be a separate color, which they called *citra*, “variegated color.” In addition, the case of the cloth made of threads of different colors challenged the rule that things can only be made from components that are alike; some Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophers would ultimately be forced to reject or greatly modify this key rule. The case of patterned cloth was even more complicated; the pattern does not cover the cloth, and problems would arise in trying to understand how a single cloth could be both colored and not colored. In answer to the question Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophers would offer their particular understanding of what actually happened to a cloth in the process of dyeing or painting it and how we perceived the final result, whether our perception of the cloth as having the pattern is in fact an error or a true perception. The answers to these questions would have ramifications both for the development of their own philosophical system and for their debates with their arch-opponents, the Buddhists.

Several of the discussions of variegated cloth can be found in commentaries to the sixth-century commentary of Praśastapāda on the *Vaiśeṣika sūtras*.¹⁹ The tenth-century commentary by Śrīdhara, the *Nyāyakandalī*, has an extended discussion on the nature of the color of cloth woven of threads of different colors. The context of the discussion is the nature of the substance earth. Substances are divided into six categories. The category earth is distinguished from other substances in that all individuals belonging to that category possess the universal, “earthness.” All individual instances of “earth” also share certain features in common; one of them is that they all possess color. Praśastapāda had said that the earth has many colors. This leads Śrīdhara into a lengthy discussion of what his predecessor might have meant by such a statement. He comments that it can mean both that the many different instances of earth taken together can be said to have many different colors (one color each) and that a single instance of earth may have many colors if it is made up of parts of different colors. This last statement in turn occasions further discussion, since it is a clear violation of the rule that products can only be produced by parts that are similar. Here is Śrīdhara’s explanation:

Just as a whole is produced from its parts, so is the color of the whole to be produced from the color of the parts. Now the color of the parts in such a case is not just white nor just black. It is black, white, yellow, and so on. It makes no sense to say that only one of those colors produces the color of the whole and not the other, for in every other case we have seen that any of these colors in the parts of something is perfectly capable of producing color in the product. Nor is it reasonable to say that none of the colors in the parts would produce any color in the product since they would all be in conflict with each other. After all we do see the whole, which is many-colored, and a substance that has no color is not visible. It is also not logical to say that in such a case it is the colors of the parts alone, taken together, that are seen and understood as “multicolored” and that this accounts for the perception of the whole. If you admit that in this case the color of the parts is sufficient to account for the fact that the whole can be perceived, then you would have to extend that logic to the perception of every whole and you would never be able to say that any whole has its own color. Therefore you must admit that together the colors of the parts produce the color of the whole.²⁰

The argument is clear. Parts that are different in color can act together to produce a color in the product; that color is called *citra*, “variegated” or “many-colored.” What may be less clear is why it is unacceptable for Śrīdhara to allow the color of the parts to account for the visibility of the whole. This position would

weaken his case against his Buddhist opponent. Much of the debate about colored cloth needs to be evaluated in the light of the Buddhist/Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika debate. The Buddhist was vehemently opposed to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika ontology, particularly to its notion of wholes. Insofar as the Buddhist believed in objects that exist in the outside world, apart from the awareness of the perceiving subject, he believed only in the existence of the “parts”; the notion of a whole was just that—a notion, an abstraction made on the basis of our perceptions of raw sense data like color, taste, etc.²¹ To allow that our perception of the color of the whole is not due to the existence of the color of the whole but is the result of the color of the parts would undermine the entire structure of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika ontology by admitting that what we attribute to the whole is not there at all; by extension, then, all of our perceptions of attributes of the whole could be said to have as their objects the parts. It would be difficult indeed in such a case to argue that wholes exist. The problems posed by variegated cloth are thus not trivial; it was deemed more prudent to abandon the principle that products must be produced by parts of a like nature and thus allow that threads of different colors gave rise to the color “multicolored” in the whole, rather than to allow that the color of the parts was responsible for our perception of color in the whole. But Śrīdhara in fact ended up saying almost just this, as we shall now see.

Śrīdhara continues with another problem, this one raised by the existence of a plain border (or side) to our cloth. An objector now says that if you admit that the color of the cloth is “many-colored” and that it is one, then it should be visible even on those places of the cloth where we in fact only see the plain cloth itself. Here is his reply: “No, you are wrong, because we know from experience that seeing together the various colors of the parts is also a cause for seeing the color ‘many-colored.’ And where this does not happen, we do not see the color ‘many-colored.’”²²

Śrīdhara’s answer makes the perception of the color of the parts the cause of our perception of the color of the whole. It entails a number of problems—for one, the assumption that the color of the cloth is present in its plain border although we cannot see it there. This problem could lead to any number of absurdities; one could also assert that a rabbit is present but we simply do not see it. Particularly for the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, in which seeing is believing, to assert the existence of something we do not see is a risky step. Śrīdhara has also now asserted that the perception of the color of the parts is required for the perception of the color of the whole. An objector raises the obvious point that in such a case one would never really be able to see the color *citra*; at some point the parts of the threads are tiny diatoms. We can never see the color of their parts, since the color of atoms is invisible. If the color of atoms is invisible and the color of diatoms also now invisible, the sequence of invisible colors would continue right up to the whole! But the worst problem

is left unstated. It is not difficult to see that a Buddhist might well jump in at this point and ask what necessity (or indeed proof) could there then be of the existence of the color *citra* in the whole at all? Why not just say that the color of the parts is sufficient, since perception of the color of the parts is now required for us to see the whole and its color. And it is not such a big step from there to assert that there would also be no proof for the existence of the whole; what we see are the parts and their color. Indeed, this is what the most serious Buddhist critic of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theories, the seventh-century philosopher Dharmakīrti did say in his *Pramāṇavārttika* (2.202).²³

Ultimately the sheer visual complexity and technical virtuosity displayed by the cloth in his example has defeated Śrīdhara by raising a number of problems. It was not enough that the cloth was composed of different color threads; it also had a border of a single color. The issue of a cloth that does not have a consistent color throughout would continue to plague the medieval Indian philosopher.

The general lines of argument used by Śrīdhara were followed in the later texts. Thus the sixteenth-century author Śaṅkara Miśra argued that different colored threads acted together to produce the color *citra* in variegated cloth. He tried to maintain the principle that likeness of parts is necessary for the production of the product and said that it was sufficient for the threads to share the attribute “having some color” in order for them to have the required similarity. It was not necessary for them to be so similar that they shared the intermediate universals “blueness” or “redness.”²⁴

Another context in which the discussion about variegated cloth occurred was in the context of the Buddhist attack on the notion of wholes. We have already anticipated some of the discussion. Dharmakīrti had argued in his *Pramāṇavārttika* that the notion of a whole was fraught with contradictions. As one example he cites a cloth that is both dyed and not dyed in different places (2.85–86). The standard reply to this argument after Dharmakīrti is interesting. Śrīdhara, it is to be remembered, considered in his discussion of color really only one type of cloth, cloth woven of threads of different colors with a plain border. He argued that the cloth has a single color, but that the color is not always seen, since it requires for its perception the perception of the many colors of the parts. We have seen that this explanation was potentially dangerous for a Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosopher to make. A similar conundrum arises in the case of cloth to which a pattern is applied after weaving. On such cloths there could clearly be distinguished the pattern and the background of the cloth. What, then, was the color of the whole? This was a distinct problem for philosophers who believed that there is such a thing as a whole and that it should have its own color. The answer lay in an assumption that an applied pattern was not to be regarded as the color of the cloth in the same way in which a

blue cloth is said to be blue. The pattern was regarded as an appliqué, something added onto the cloth, which had its own color that had nothing to do with the pattern. Śrīdhara and Vācaspatimiśra both considered Dharmakīrti's objection and gave just this answer.²⁵ This line was also followed in the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*: "The whole is not said to be dyed or not dyed on the basis of whether its parts are dyed or not dyed, for the whole is an entity different from its parts. To say that the whole is dyed just means that it is in contact with a substance that bears the dye; in the absence of that contact the cloth is said to be not dyed. Now contact is a category that does not exist everywhere on a substance, and so there is no contradiction for a single cloth to be both dyed and not dyed."²⁶

The answer is telling. Applying a pattern to a cloth does not produce in the cloth a new color, called *citra*. Color, as a quality, exists in its locus by means of the special relationship *samavāya*, or inherence, and it would indeed exist everywhere on the locus. If a patterned cloth has one color, *citra*, we would have Śrīdhara's dilemma with the border, which was to explain why the color *citra* is perceived in some places of the cloth (where the pattern exists) and not in other places (where there is only the background). The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika authors would seem to have agreed that in the case of a cloth onto which a pattern is dyed, the dyeing process does not produce a new color called *citra*. What happens is that certain parts of the cloth come into contact with a substance that has color, the dye-stuff (the term used, *rakta*, can mean dyed in general or red), while other parts of the cloth do not come into contact with such a substance. The contact here is the relationship *saṃyoga*, which is the normal connection between different substances as opposed to the relationship of inherence between a substance and its qualities. What is special about *saṃyoga* is that it does not need to exist everywhere on a substance. The standard example is the monkey in a tree; the monkey is in contact with one branch of the tree, but not elsewhere. The use of this explanation for cloth on which a pattern has been dyed after weaving allows the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika to explain why the pattern is seen in some places of the cloth and not others without resorting to a process which requires that the perception of the color of the parts is necessary to the perception of the color of the whole, a step in eradicating the existence of wholes themselves.²⁷

Śrīdhara and Vācaspatimiśra both consider the case of the dyed cloth in their defense of the existence of wholes and apart from the discussion of the color of a cloth made from differently colored threads. The distinctiveness of the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* is that it considers these two types of cloth together in its efforts to develop a general theory of how we perceive a cloth to be of variegated color. Bhāsarvajña in the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* directly follows his discussion about the dyed cloth with a discussion of a second type of cloth, one in which the cloth is woven

from threads that are both dyed and not dyed (or red and not red). Here is what it says:

Well then, what is the color of the whole that has been made up of parts that are both dyed and not dyed? The color of the whole will be impossible to designate as any particular color, since the parts of different colors, being in conflict with each other, and being the cause of the color of the whole, cannot together give rise to any one particular color. But since blue, yellow, and so on all share the common general property of being “some color,” they will give rise to “some color” in general that cannot be stated to be blue, or red, or any particular shade. That this must be the case is clear from the fact that we can see the whole; thus it must have its own color, since a substance without color is imperceptible and to see one thing by virtue of the fact that something else has color would result in general confusion of things. Therefore it must be acknowledged that “color” in general, incapable of being specified as blue, red, or some other particular color has been produced in the whole. The appearance of the cloth as of “variegated color” is due to the connection with parts of different hues, just as the appearance of blue, etc., in a crystal is due to conjunction with things of these colors.²⁸

This is one answer that the text gives; the whole must have some color, since we can see it, but it says that it is impossible to designate that color more precisely, since it cannot be any one of the single colors of the parts. It then proceeds to offer a second explanation²⁹: “Here is another explanation. The color ‘many-colored’ is produced in that cloth, for that is what we perceive by means of a valid perception that is not contradicted by any other means of knowledge.”³⁰

The author of our text thus gives two possibilities for a cloth woven of threads of different colors: either it has some color that cannot be named by any one of the component colors, or it has one distinctive color of its own, which is called *citra*, “variegated” or “many-colored.” Bhāsarvajña then proceeds to raise and refute an objection to the very notion that something can be one and yet perceived as many, however that perception comes about. As noted earlier, the objection is based to some extent on a play on the meaning of the word *citra*, which can indeed mean “many.” To say that the cloth is one and “*citra*” (many-colored) is to say that the cloth is both one and many at the same time, an obvious self-contradiction. To say that the color is one and *citra* involves the same contradiction. For Bhāsarvajña, the two options are not that far apart; in the first case, the cloth cannot be designated as having one particular color; in the second case, it is designated with the

term *citra*, which, as he explains, means literally of various colors: it means that the one color *citra* has the universals for blue, red, green, etc., all at once. Bhāsarvajña's reply to the objection is interesting. He returns to the case of the patterned cloth, which he now uses as an example. He reminds the objector that such a cloth is one object and is indeed perceived to be variegated or of many colors, since it is connected to many substances, themselves of different colors (the applied dyes). In the present case, the color of the cloth could similarly be perceived to be variegated since it is the locus of the different universals, "blueness," "redness," and so on (all of which inhere in the color *citra*, according to Bhāsarvajña). As we shall see what is common to both cases is the connection of the one entity (cloth or color) to many colors/color universals. The text continues to argue that there is absolutely no contradiction in the fact that these many color universals coexist in the single locus, the color *citra*.

If you should say, "A thing cannot be both one and *citra*, 'many'; this is blatantly self-contradictory," we reply that it is perfectly possible for one color to be perceived as *citra*, that is, as "many-colored," being as it is the locus of multiple universals such as "blueness" and "redness," etc. We have already seen how one piece of cloth, being in contact with different dye stuffs, is itself perceived as of variegated color. Should you argue that the universals "blueness," "redness," etc., are mutually in conflict and thus cannot exist in one locus at one time, I reply that it is not proved that they are in conflict with each other. And should you say to this, "Indeed it is, because they are never in fact seen to occur together in any other case," then I would reply that the same logic would prove that "blueness" and "lotusness" are in conflict with each other. And should you then say there is no conflict between them since they are found together, well, my answer to you about the case of blueness and redness is that the same thing applies to them as well. They are found together precisely in the case of the color we are calling "many-colored." Reasoning, too, establishes that the color of the whole, caused as it is by colors in the parts that are characterized by different universals, should indeed be the locus of more than one universal, for we observe the general rule that the colors of the parts give rise in the whole to colors possessed of the same universal.³¹

Bhāsarvajña finally concludes by saying explicitly that the color *citra* is one color and that it is the locus of many universals, such as "blueness," "redness," and so on.³² I would like to emphasize the role played in this argument by the example of the cloth to which a pattern has been applied: this gives Bhāsarvajña an exam-

ple, to which all parties may agree, of one entity that through its contact with many colors/color universals appears as variegated, or many-colored, *citra*. In the case of the dyed cloth, the cloth is in contact with the applied dyes and through them with their colors and their universals.³³ It is this relationship that allows the one cloth to appear as *citra*, or many-colored. Similarly, he argues in what I have just translated above that in the case of the color of a cloth woven of threads of different colors, the color of the cloth, called *citra*, is one and appears as many because it is in contact with the many different color universals “blueness,” “redness,” and so forth, all of which inhere in Bhāsarvajña’s color *citra*. The cloth on which a pattern has been dyed has provided Bhāsarvajña with a paradigm in which if one entity is in contact with many colors (and through it with the universals that belong to those colors) it can appear as many-colored. This paradigm may have helped Bhāsarvajña to formulate his unique notion of the color *citra* as itself something multiple, having many different universals, rather than as a single color with its own single, universal “many-coloredness.”³⁴

To summarize, in my understanding of this passage, for Bhāsarvajña what ensured that the one color *citra* could be perceived as many was precisely its connection to the many different universals that he argued inhered in it. The patterned cloth had given him a specific case from which he could derive a more general rule, namely that the perception of many-coloredness in a unitary entity is occasioned by the connection of that unitary entity to multiple colors or universals of colors. Bhāsarvajña’s commitment to realism seems to have required that the perception of manifoldness come from manifold entities; the example of cloth on which a pattern had been applied by dyeing after the weaving process gave him the clue to understand how this could be possible.

It is intriguing to ponder the significance of the fact that, of our authors, Bhāsarvajña seems to have been the only one to integrate the case of dyed cloths into the discussion of color. I noted above that Vācaspatimīśra and Śrīdhara both considered it separately in their discussions of Dharmakīrti’s attacks on the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika concept of the whole. For those philosophers, the perception of the cloth that has been dyed after weaving as a cloth of various colors is false; it is an error made when the perceiver attributes the color of the dye to the cloth.³⁵ My understanding of the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* is that Bhāsarvajña wants to explain the perceptions of many-coloredness in such a way as to include the color of the dyed cloth as well as the cloth made of threads of different colors. It may be recalled that in his first suggestion about the nature of the color of the cloth woven of threads of different colors—namely, that it is some color that cannot be specified—he says: “The appearance of the cloth as of ‘variegated color’ is due to the connection with parts of different hues, just as the appearance of blue, etc., in a crystal

is due to conjunction with things of these colors.”³⁶ In other words, the operative principle is the same one that we have already seen: the object that is to be seen as variegated is in connection with things that are variegated and through them with their many colors/color universals. Dyed cloth, which appears to us as variegated in color, is similarly in conjunction with many dye-stuffs of different colors and thus with many different colors and color universals. If we consider the color of the cloth woven of threads of different colors to be some unspecified color, then we can say that the cloth is in contact with its parts, the threads that are many in color, and thus in contact with their many colors/color universals; we have just seen that if we consider the color of the cloth to be a new color that we designate as *citra* and in which various universals of colors reside, then the cloth that appears to us as variegated or many-colored is in contact with the universals of many colors that reside in its own color, *citra*, and through those universals with the many colors themselves. If I am correct, then, Bhāsarvajña would have regarded the perception of manifold-color in all three cases to be valid and determined by adequate causes. If my reconstruction of the arguments is valid, Bhāsarvajña has taken as his starting point the dyed cloth that his contemporaries did not include in their discussions of color to build a comprehensive theory of how we perceive “variegated color.” Perhaps this point tells us something of the culture in which Bhāsarvajña worked, where dyed cloths were so abundant and important that he was prompted to consider them first. Unfortunately, we lack the information that would confirm or refute such a suggestion.

In summary, the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* seems to be the text most conscious of the different ways in which cloth may be multicolored. In its argument it differentiates clearly between cloth to which a pattern has been applied that does not cover the entire cloth and cloth that has been woven of threads of different colors. Both cases challenged the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosopher, but others had considered the cases as presenting two separate challenges that required two separate responses. The cloth made from threads of many colors was a challenge to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika understanding of how the qualities of a whole are made from the qualities of its parts. The dyed cloth was a challenge to the notion of the existence of a whole as one unitary entity; having a color and its absence is an example of mutually contradictory qualities. It was agreed that the existence of mutually contradicting attributes on a locus meant that the locus in question could not be one thing. In other words, there is no such thing as a “whole” above and beyond the parts out of which it is constructed.

In this way, the existence of cloth on which a pattern has been dyed gave the Buddhist opponent a powerful example in which the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika understanding of wholes could be shown to be contradictory, while the existence of

cloth woven of threads of different colors undermined the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika analysis of how products and their qualities come into being, as a gradual buildup from parts of similar nature, with the color of the whole being caused by the color of the parts.³⁷ Bhāsarvajña seems to have attempted an analysis of the nature and mechanism of our perceptions of a cloth as multicolored that would encompass the different types of cloth that he no doubt knew firsthand. It has been instructive to contrast his treatment of the subject with that of his contemporaries. In all their cases, the analysis lacks the richness of that offered by Bhāsarvajña, in that they confine themselves in their discussion of color to the one type of multicolored cloth, cloth woven of threads of different colors.³⁸ Nonetheless, it is clear that for all of these medieval thinkers the problems that variegated cloth posed for these philosophers were substantial.

Conclusions

In this article I have tried to use the example of textile arts to illustrate how the creations of artists could have an unexpected influence in wider intellectual circles. From the start the early Vaiśeṣika, which was later to merge into a joint school with the Nyāya, had taken into consideration man-made objects in building its understanding of the world. Its discussion of color in earth substances, for example, included the possibility that color was produced by heat in order to account for the change of color that is seen to occur when pots are fired. It would seem to have maintained its interest in describing a world that could explain both man-made and natural objects. By the sixth century, the Nyāya author Uddyotakara had raised the issue of cloth that is variegated in color because it is made of threads of different colors.³⁹ Shortly thereafter in his attack on the Nyāya notion of wholes, the Buddhist philosopher Dharmakīrti raised the issue of a cloth that is *raktārakta*, both red and not red, or both dyed and not dyed. We cannot be sure exactly what he had in mind, but for the tenth-century philosophers who refuted him, it was assumed that Dharmakīrti was referring to cloth that had been dyed after it was woven. While the details of the debates in the philosophical texts might not be of particular interest to scholars of Indian textiles, the fact that they occur suggests that both patterned and variegated textiles were widely known by the tenth century. If the poets ignored them, the philosophers could not. These arguments tell us that advances in making objects could have far-reaching effects.

In closing I would like to add that this was not the only context in which his knowledge of cloth and the process of its manufacture helped the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosopher to formulate his theories. In another Buddhist text, the *Tattvasaṃgraha* of Śāntarakṣita with the commentary by the eighth-century author Kamalaśīla, a Nyāya author is struggling to establish that the whole and its

parts are different from each other. He formulates an inference that relies on his knowledge of how cloth is made. Here is the inference: "The cloth and threads are different, because they have different capabilities and different makers" (10.560).

In his commentary, Kamalaśīla explains in what way cloth and threads have different capabilities and makers, exist at different times and are of different size: "Women are the makers of the thread, while the male weaver makes the cloth. The cloth has the ability to ward off the cold, while the threads do not. In addition, threads are seen before the cloth is made, while the cloth is only there after the weaver has done his work. The cloth has a width and breadth that are not there in the threads; this constitutes a difference in size."⁴⁰

There are no doubt many more examples of how the medieval philosopher looked at the technology of the objects in his environment as he sought to formulate his theories about the nature of the physical universe. Further research will, I hope, add to these remarkable examples.

NOTES

All translations are by the author.

1. Śrī Harṣa, *Naīṣadhīya Carita*, ed. Nārāyaṇa Rāma Ācārya (Bombay: Nirnaya Sagara Press, 1952).
2. N. B. Harte and K. G. Ponting, *Cloth and Clothing in Medieval Europe: Essays in Memory of Professor E. M. Carus-Wilson*, Pasold Studies in Textile History 2 (London: Heinemann Educational Books, Pasold Research Fund, 1983). See also Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Raymond van Uyten, “Showing Off One’s Rank in the Middle Ages,” in *Showing Status: Representatives of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Wim Blockmans and Antheun Janse (Tournhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1999), 19–35.
3. Bāṇa, *Kādambarī of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, ed. Kāśīnātha Pāndurang Parab (Bombay: Nirnaya Sagara Press, 1896), 358–65.
4. Bāṇa, *Kādambarī*, 17, 22. The importance of color is clear not only in a prose text like the *Kādambarī*; the color of a deity’s garment is always stated in iconographical texts, and a text to which I will return—the *Yuktikalpataru* of the tenth-century King Bhoja, even classifies the insects from which threads are derived by caste according to the color of the thread that they produce. The Brāhmaṇa insects, at the top of the scale, produce pure white thread. It should be noted that the word for “white” can also mean transparent. This is thread that to the eye really is not even there. See Bhoja, *Yuktikalpataru of Bhoja*, ed. Isvara Chandra Śāstrī (Calcutta: Siddeheśvara Machine Yantra, 1917), 81. Other sections of the same text, for example, on canopies and pennants, also emphasize the importance of color as an indicator of status and conveyor of specific benefits.
5. Bāṇa, *Harṣacarita*, ed. Kāśīnātha Pāndurang Parab (Bombay: Nirnaya Sagara Press, 1897), 72. I have written on jewels and their role in poetic descriptions in *Three Mountains and Seven Rivers: Professor Musashi Tachikawa’s Felicitation Volume*, ed. Shoun Hino and Toshiro Wada (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2004), 331–355.
6. I have translated the story of Nala and Damayanti from the twelfth-century *Kumārāpālāpratibodha* in *The Forest of Thieves and the Magic Garden: An Anthology of Medieval Jain Stories* (Delhi: Penguin Books, 1998), 177–224.
7. *Gaṇḍavyūha*, ed. P. L. Vaidya, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 5 (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1960), chap. 10.
8. *The Salibhadra-Dhanna-Carita: The Tale of the Quest for Ultimate Release by Salibhadra and Dhanna, A Work in Old Gujarati*, ed. and trans. Ernest Bender (New Haven, Conn: American Oriental Society, 1992).
9. *Theragāthāthakathā*, vol. 3, ed. F. L. Woodward (London: Pali Text Society, 1974), 124.
10. Bhoja, *Yuktikalpataru*, e.g., chap. 37.
11. *Varāhamihira’s Brhatasaṃhitā*, ed. and trans. M. Ramakrishna Bhat (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1981–82), chap. 43, 26–27.
12. Kṣemendra, *Avadānakalpalatā*, ed. P. L. Vaidya, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 22, 2 vols. (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1959), 2:558.
13. *Purātanaprabandhasaṃgraha*, ed. Jinavijaya Muni, Singhi Jain Series 2 (Calcutta: Singhi Jaina Jñāna Piṭha, 1936), 114, par. 249.
14. I take the term “chintz” and much of my understanding of the technical aspects of medieval Indian cloth from Mattie Belle

Gittinger, *Master Dyers to the World: Technique and Trade in Early Indian Dyed Cotton Textiles* (Washington, D.C.: Textile Museum, 1982).

15. Bhāsarvajña, *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*, ed. Svāmī Yogīndrānanda (Vārāṇasī: Śaddarśāna Prakāśana Pratiṣṭhāna, 1968), 440. Little is known about Bhāsarvajña beyond the broad outlines of his dates. The editor of the text comments that he is generally thought to have come from Kashmir, although there is no positive proof.
16. *Indriyārthādayaḥ kramasamīyogisahakāryaṇtrāpekṣāḥ sannihitānām api kramakāryotpādakatvād vastropakṣiptacitrotpādakam iva varṇakādayaḥ*. Bhāsarvajña, *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*, 440.
17. I am basing my understanding of the process on Gittinger, *Master Dyers to the World*, 19–23. It is possible that the author of the text intended some other similar process; in any case, it is clear that he knows a sophisticated process of producing patterns on cloth that requires several steps. It is interesting to note that only the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* has this inference; of our texts it also has the most elaborate discussion of patterned and variegated cloth. Bhāsarvajña seems to have had a particular interest in patterned and variegated cloth and some knowledge of its production and to have eagerly used it in formulating his philosophical discussions.
18. Much of the material that I review here has been discussed elsewhere. The most detailed discussion, including translations of the relevant text passages, is in Otto Grohma, “Theorie zur Bunten Farbe im älteren Nyāya und Vaiśeṣika bis Udayana,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasien* 19 (1975): 147–82. While Grohma reviews many of the texts that I discuss in this article, he does not note that different types of cloth figure as the objects of the different refutations. My

contention here is that the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* is acutely aware of the two types of variegated cloth: cloth woven of threads of different colors and the cloth woven of threads of a single color to which a pattern was applied after weaving. I am arguing that this awareness is what motivates Bhāsarvajña to formulate his unique theory; he is trying to explain why in both cases we perceive the cloths to be variegated in color. He is in search of some general theory that will explain both cases. By contrast, Udayana seems, if anything, to conflate the two types of cloth or to ignore the case of the cloth to which the pattern has been added after weaving. His theory—that there is a single color *citra* with its own universal, *citra*—is applicable only to the cloth that has been woven of threads of different colors. It leaves unexplained why we see both types of cloth as *citra*, or of many colors.

For a very readable overview of the Buddhist-Nyāya debate, see D. N. Shastri, *Critique of Indian Realism* (Agra: Agra University, 1964), 256–59, which gives a summary of some of the arguments about variegated color. The *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* had not yet been discovered at the time he wrote his book. Johannes Bronkhorst has also written briefly on the debate over the color *citra* in the Vaiśeṣika. “Studies on Bhartṛhari, pt. 5: Bhartṛhari and Vaiśeṣika,” *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Bhartṛhari*, University of Poona, January 6–8, 1992, *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 47.1 (1993): 75–94.

19. I am relying for my dates of texts on Karl Potter, *The Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, vol. 1 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971). The *Praśastapādabhāṣya* with Śrīdhara’s commentary is edited by Vindhyeśāvaraprasāda Dvivedin,

Vizianagram Sanskrit Series 6 (Benares: E. J. Lazarus, 1895), 30–32.

20. *Praśastapādabhāṣya* with Śrīdhara’s commentary, 30–32.
21. For the Buddhists on perception, see Masaaki Hattori, *Dignāga on Perception* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968).
22. *Acitre pārśve paṭasya tadāśrayasya citrarūpasya grahaṇaprasaṅgaḥ tasyaikatvād iti cen na anvayavayavīrekābhyāṃ samadhigatasāmarthasyāvayavanānārūpadarśanasyāpi citrarūpagrahaṇaheturvāt tasya ca pārśvāntare ‘bhāvāt*. Śrīdhara Nyāyakandalī, 30.
23. Dharmakīrti, *Pramāṇavārttika*, ed. Svāmī Dvarikadas Shastri, Bauddha Bharati Series 3 (Varanasi: Bauddha Bharati, 1968), 161.
24. Śaṃkara Miśra, *Vaiśeṣikopaskāra*, ed. Śrī Nārāyaṇa Miśra, Kashi Sanskrit Series 195 (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1969), 368.
25. Śrīdhara, *Nyāyakandalī*, 42; Vācaspatimiśra, *Nyāyavārttikatātparyāṭīkā*, ed. Taranātha Nyāya Tarkatīrtha and Amrendramohan Tarkatīrtha (Calcutta: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1985), 474.
26. *yad apyuktam: rakte caikasminnityādi. Tadapyayuktam, nahyavayavaraktatārakatābhyām avayavinas tathābhāvas tasya tebhyo ‘rthāntaratvād. Api tvavayavina eva raktadravyasamīyogo raktatā, tadabhāvaścāraktateti samīyogasya cāvīparyavṛttitve na raktatāraktatvam apy ekasyāvayavino virudhyate*. Bhāsarvajña, *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*, 111.
27. The same explanation is given by the tenth-century author Vācaspatimiśra, *Tātparyāṭīkā*, ed. Taranātha Nyāya Tarkatīrtha and Amrendramohan Tarkatīrtha (Calcutta: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1985), 473.
28. *yas tarhi raktāraktair evāvayavair avayavī niṣpādītas tasya kiṃ rūpamiti?*

Viśeṣānarambhād anirdeśyam eva viśeṣato viruddhaviśeṣāṇām viśeṣārambhe tu virodho na sāmānyārambhe nilapītādiṣu sarvatra rūpātmanah saṁbhavāt nilādiviśeṣarahitam api rūpam utpannam ityavavavidarsanāt evāgamyate nīrūpadravyasya darśanāyogād anyarūpeṇānyadarśane cātīprasaṅgāt. Tasmād viśeṣato 'nirdeśyaṁ rūpamātram eva tatrotpannam iti citrapratibhāsas tu tatra citrāvayavasambandhāt sphaṭike nilādiviśeṣārahitam. Bhāsarvajña, Nyāyabhūṣaṇa, 112.

29. The tenth-century author Vyomaśiva, Bhāsarvajña's contemporary, has a lengthy section on *citra* in his commentary to the *Vaiśeṣika sūtras*, the *Vyomavati*, ed. Śrīgaurīnātha Śāstrī (Vārāṇasī: Sampūrṇānanda Sanskrit Viśvavidyālaya, 1983), 63–66. He combines the two possibilities: that there is color in general and that there is a specific color known as *citra* into one. First, he argues, one proves to a doubter that the variegated cloth must have some color since it is perceived. One then deduces that this color must have its own name, since it cannot be any of the colors we already know. That name is *citra*.
30. *Atha vā citram eva tadrūpam utpannam tathaiṣābādhitapratibhāṣāt. Bhāsarvajña, Nyāyabhūṣaṇa, 113.*
31. *Ekam taccitraṁ ceti virodhād ayuktam iti cet, na; ekasyāpy anekanīlatvādidharmād-hikaraṇatvena citrapratibhāṣaviśayatvasambhavāt; yathā gairikādyanekavarṇasambaddhaṁ vastraṁ citram iti pratīyate. Nīlatvādiviśeṣārahitam viruddhatvād ekatrasamavāyo na yukta iti cet, na; virodhasyāśiddhatvāt. Anyatra saḥādarśanāt tatsiddhir iti cet, na; nīlatvotpalatvayor api virodhaprasaṅgāt. Tayor eka darśanād avirodha iti cet, samānam etat. Yuktyāpi bhinnajātīyarūp-ārabdhasyāvayaviūpasyānekajātyadhikaraṇatvaṁ sambhāvyyate, avayavarūpāṇāṁ*

niyamenāvayavini samānajātīyarūpārambhakatvadarśanād iti. Bhāsarvajña, Nyāyabhūṣaṇa, 113.

32. Bhāsarvajña, *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*, 113. This view was explicitly refuted by Udayana, whose dates are given as A.D. 975–1050. Udayana and Bhāsarvajña may well have been contemporaries. See the *Ātmatattvaviveka*, ed. Pandit Dhundirāja Śāstrī (Benaras: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1940), 274. Udayana argues that *citra*, like all the other colors, must have its own universal. It is clear that the existence of cloth woven from threads of different colors challenges the fundamental principles of the Nyāya system. Udayana has abandoned the principle that like gives rise to like, in having the colors blue, red, and so on give rise to something entirely different from them. Bhāsarvajña has preserved part of that principle but has allowed that many universals can exist in the same substratum. There are also other problems in both theories; in both cases consideration of these cloths has led to a re-evaluation of basic philosophical principles.
33. To the Nyāya philosopher these are really the same thing; anything connected to a color is also indirectly connected to its universal.
34. As did, for example, his contemporary Udayana in the *Ātmatattvaviveka*, 274.
35. Vācaspatimiśra, *Tātparyāṭīkā*, 474.
36. Bhāsarvajña, *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*, 112.
37. It may also have stimulated Buddhist philosophers in their development of their doctrine known as *citrādvaita* (variegated monism), in which consciousness is said both to be one and to have many forms or appearances as the various external objects. By the same token the difficulties the Buddhists found in the Nyāya willingness to attribute variegated qualities to any one thing could be used by the Jainas against the

Buddhists. On the centrality of the issue of *citra* for Dharmakīrti, see Grohmann, “Theorie zur Bunten Farbe,” 155, citing Tilmann Vetter, *Erkenntnisprobleme bei Dharmakīrti* (Vienna: Universität Wien, 1964), 66. For Jaina refutations of the Buddhists by Akalaṅka, see the *Siddhiviniścayaṭīkā*, ed. Mahendrakumar Jain, *Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā* 22 (Kashi: Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha, 1959), 157. Dharmakīrti himself could use the inability of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika satisfactorily to explain how variegated cloth can be perceived to show that all philosophical investigation leads to one point—the conclusion that the world as we see it cannot be ultimately real. See the *Pramāṇavārttika* 3.208–9. The example of variegated cloth was also used by the philosopher Bhartṛhari to illustrate how words combine to make sentence meanings. See Bronkhorst, “Studies on Bhartṛhari.” While these brief comments are in no way adequate to an understanding of the philosophical discussions in these texts, they should make clear that how variegated cloth was conceived became a crucial standpoint that could be used to undermine a realist understanding of the world.

38. This also includes Vyomaśiva, another tenth-century author whom I have not discussed in any detail and who also dealt with some of the problems that cloth of variegated color presented in his *Vyomavati*, 65.

39. See Uddyotakara, *Nyāyavārttika*, in the *Nyāyadarśanam*, ed. Taranatha Nyaya-Tarkatīrtha (Repr., Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1985), 1053.

40. Śāntarakṣita, *Tattvasaṁgraha*, ed. Swami Dvarikadas Shastri, *Bauddha Bharati Series* 1, 2 vols. (Varanasi: Bauddha Bharati, 1968), 235.



PATTERNS IN TIME AND SPACE

*Technologies of Transfer and the Cultural Transmission
of Mathematical Knowledge across the Indian Ocean*

1
Woodcut from Gregor Reisch,
Margarita Philosophica (Freiburg,
1503). Arithmetica is shown
instructing an algorist and
an abacist, labeled Boethius
and Pythagoras, respectively.
From Claire L. Parkinson, ed.,
*Breakthroughs: A Chronology of
Great Achievements in Science and
Mathematics, 1200–1930* (Boston:
G. K. Hall, 1985), figure 1.

Abstract

This article explores the potential role of textiles in the transfer of mathematical knowledge from the Indian subcontinent to the central Islamic lands and westward to an emerging modern Europe through an inquiry into prospective technologies of textile manufacture and pattern-making. Ikat textiles of the ninth and tenth centuries, found in Egypt but presumed to be from Yemen, serve as a means to explore possibilities of numeration and treatment of the spatial dimension. An initial attempt is made to separate patterning from the technology of textile production in an effort to treat the mathematical possibilities that patterning offers for the application of mathematical knowledge. This article proposes an ontology of pattern, distinct from the category of a textile itself, which raises significant questions pertaining to the transmission of mathematical knowledge in relation to expanded trade routes in the eighth through tenth centuries, coincident with Islamic developments in the understanding of two-dimensional space.

IN 1202 A MAN BY THE NAME of Leonardo Pisano, later known as Fibonacci, published a work that introduced the Hindu numerals to his countrymen.¹ Leonardo of Pisa had grown up in North Africa in the town of Bugia, today in Algeria, where his father was engaged in mercantile activities. Bugia was a Pisan trade colony in an Arabic-speaking environment.² Leonardo in his youth was regularly exposed to methods of calculation using the numerals 1 to 9, plus 0 as a placeholder, which were commonplace among the Arabs with whom he grew up along the southern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. In countries to the north, the practice was to use finger calculation at the time his book was written.³ By using the Hindu numerals, he carefully explained, one could perform arithmetic calculations in a manner previously unknown in Italy. Hindu numerals had entered the Islamic realm several hundred years earlier, when they caused an immediate stir among the intellectual elite, precipitating the writing of mathematical works in Arabic that explained the new prospects offered by the methods of “Hindu reckoning.”⁴

Books and oral transmission represent two technologies by which mathematical knowledge was transferred across time and space. Looking at various categories of evidence, this article examines another potential technology of transfer by exploring the role that textiles may have played in the transmission of mathematical knowledge from the Indian subcontinent to the central Islamic lands—Iraq, Iran, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa—and westward to an emerging modern Europe as early as the thirteenth century, a transfer that occurred in both directions several times.

Textiles are generally treated as physical objects, visual works created in specific times and places to serve a multiplicity of practical functions, from providing shelter and warmth to expressions of group and individual identity with respect to class, rank, status, ethnicity, and religious beliefs.⁵ As physical objects, textiles are usually considered as integral and discrete units, although they are often made in multiples drawing on technologies that facilitate repetition of forms and designs to create patterns. In many cultures, patterns themselves occur in multiplicities, with many patterns often present in any given textile. In general, form and structure, design and composition, are treated as integral components of the whole object. While understanding how a textile was made requires an external familiarity with technological processes and often depends upon interpretation based on diagnostic structural features, technique is not inherent in a textile in the manner that structure inheres.⁶ In this study, an initial attempt is made to separate the patterning process from the technology of textile production in an effort to treat the possibilities that patterning offers for the understanding and application of mathematical knowledge.

The Transmission of Mathematical Knowledge

The work of Leonardo of Pisa conveyed the capability of calculating using a base-10 set of numerals by means of a written text. The text itself reflected directly the firsthand experience of a man who had lived and traveled extensively through Arabic-speaking lands. The finger calculation method, advanced by Leonardo, enabled quick computations of relatively small sums but was problematic for anything large. In an emergent Europe of the thirteenth century, computation using Roman numerals did not lend itself to long division or rapid multiplication except by finger counting, with its attendant limitations. The mental gymnastics required for calculation relying upon numbers designated by letters of the alphabet, which were then common both in the Greek tradition and in contemporary Arabic usage, also did not lend itself to the manipulation of large numbers. The introduction of the nine-digit system plus zero as a place holder made computation accessible to all who knew just ten numbers, to sums as large as the mind could comprehend and beyond to infinity.⁷ The initial encounter in the Islamic world with the nine digits of the Hindu system had already generated considerable scholarly excitement for the potential that was offered in reckoning and calculation.⁸ An early sixteenth-century woodcut (fig. 1) visually records the competitive advantage offered by the new method of calculation, which eventually transformed methods of mathematical thinking in early modern Europe.⁹

This prefatory consideration of what today in schools in the West are still called Arabic numerals might seem simplistic and prosaic since we take them so much

for granted. But the transmission of this mathematical knowledge from India to Europe has profound implications for questions concerning cultural transfers across the Indian Ocean. Mathematicians today refer to the written numbers from 1 to 10 as Hindu-Arabic numerals, in recognition of their dual heritage.¹⁰ Indeed, there is clear and incontrovertible evidence for their introduction from India into the Islamic world at least by the ninth century of our era, their influence reaching Europe several centuries later with the publication of Fibonacci's *Liber Abaci* (Book of Calculation).

Textual transmission, as in the case of Hindu-Arabic numerals, is the mode by which we generally assume intellectual understanding crosses spatial and temporal boundaries. In this instance, the technology of transfer also involved translation based upon the direct encounter of an individual with other cultures. Fibonacci himself describes his personal experience, articulating in writing what he absorbed during his travels and exchanges within Arab and Islamic cultures.¹¹ This example provides us with a documented case of an identifiable individual who traveled in foreign lands, observed cultural practices, and then wrote down his observations and understanding in a book format, which powerfully and effectively served to transmit new knowledge from one culture to another. Indeed, today when one considers the means of transmission of mathematical knowledge, it is typical to consider the role of the individual, including personal observation and travel, as recorded in books as well as by oral transmission.¹²

These "technologies of transfer" were recognized in the fourteenth century by the Arab historian, essayist, and encyclopedist Ibn Khaldūn, who compiled an introduction to historical thought, *The Muqaddimah* (An Introduction to History), which explores processes of change over time in the political and social organization of humankind.¹³ In this extensive work, Ibn Khaldūn addresses the question of how knowledge is transferred among individuals, across generations, and to different cultures. He discusses several modes of the transfer of knowledge, including books, observation and travel, and instruction. To these he adds the crafts, recognizing the value of experiential learning.

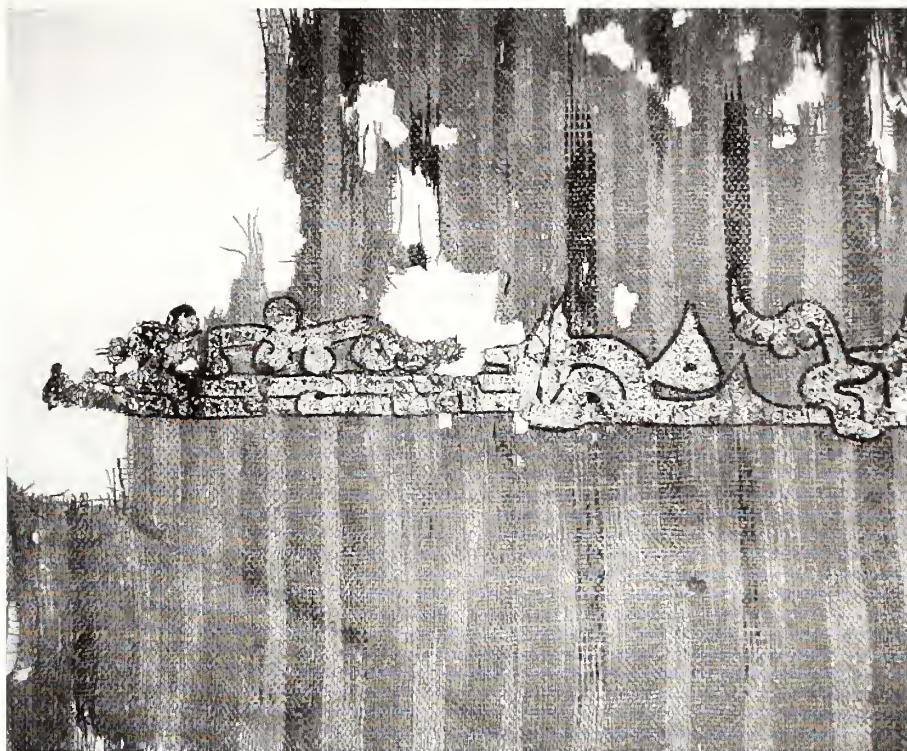
Ibn Khaldūn was himself a traveler and a critical observer. Born in Tunis in 1332, he traveled throughout the Islamic world, thinking everywhere he went, as reflected in his treatment of the large issues of history and process in *The Muqaddimah*. Writing about writing, Ibn Khaldūn highlights the production of books, which "preserve the things that are of concern to man and keep them from being forgotten."¹⁴ He also says that writing "enables the innermost thoughts of the soul to reach those who are far and absent." Writing enables the "intention (of one person) to be carried to distant places, and, thus, the needs (of that person) may be executed without his personally taking care of them. It enables people to become

2
 Extract from the Sine Tables
 composed by Ibn Yūnus. MS Berlin
 Staatsbibliothek, Ahlwardt 5752
 fols. 13v–14r (Lbg 1038) reproduced
 in J. L. Berggren, *Episodes in the
 Mathematics of Medieval Islam*
 (New York: Springer, 1986), pl. 5.1.

acquainted with science, learning, with the books of the ancients, and with the sciences and information written down by them.” Ibn Khaldūn then links book learning to another technology of transmission, that of instruction: he writes, “The transformation of writing in man from potentiality to actuality takes place through instruction.”¹⁵

This point brings us to another set of technologies by which knowledge is transmitted across cultures: various forms of instruction that take place through the interactions among individuals or groups. With the benefit of hindsight, and highlighting the contributions of the Greeks and Persians of pre-Islamic times, Ibn Khaldūn recounts several sources of learning and methods of instruction. Among the latter, he highlights the importance of hands-on exercises in addition to book learning, identifying crafts as a source for knowledge.¹⁶ He emphasizes that the individual human being cannot exist without the cooperation of others, for “to make all the things he needs, a man by himself would require longer than the time he can keep alive without them. The ability to think ... enables human beings to cooperate.” As for crafts, he says that “The mind does not cease transforming all kinds of [crafts] ... from potentiality into actuality through the gradual discovery of one thing after another, until they are perfect. This is achieved in the course of time and of generations.”¹⁷ While emphasizing that the crafts require teaching, he also notes that “the crafts and their habit always lead to the acquisition of scientific norms, which result from the habit. Therefore, any experience provides intelligence.”¹⁸ He argues that the crafts result from man’s natural ability to think and to determine outcomes, the causes and effects of reality.¹⁹

Other technologies of transfer of mathematical knowledge from the Indian subcontinent to the Islamic world, centered at Baghdād as the capital of the ‘Abbāsīd empire, may be enumerated based on available documentary sources.²⁰ In the middle of the eighth century A.D., Baghdād was founded as the capital of the ‘Abbāsīd empire and soon became a flourishing intellectual center under patronage of the ‘Abbāsīd caliph.²¹ Al-Manṣūr (reigned 754–75), the founder of Baghdād,



3

3
Cotton ikat textile fragment with Arabic inscriptions in gold outlined in ink, tenth century, Yemen (Full view, see fig. 6). Textile Museum 73.59, acquired by George Hewitt Myers in 1931.

received a delegation from Sindh among whom there was an Indian familiar with astronomy. This individual facilitated al-Fazārī's translation of a Sanskrit astronomical text. The result was *Zij al-Sindhind* (based on an Indian astronomical table), which contains astronomical traditions, including mathematical methods using the sine function.²² The use of the sine function is earliest attested in an Indian astronomical handbook of the fourth or fifth century, the *Surya Siddhānta*, written in Sanskrit verse.

The term *zij* refers to an astronomical table (fig. 2). According to J. L. Berggren, it is a Persian word taken into Arabic, which originally signified a "thread" or a "chord" and then a set of such threads "as in the warp of a fabric."²³ He relates by analogy, "astronomical tables, presenting the appearance of a whole set of parallel lines separating the columns, came to be known by the same word," an allusion that is visually apt (fig. 3) and relates to the discussion below.

Sindhind, similarly, is a perplexing term that may reflect local usage and common parlance. In a sense, *sindhind* may be considered a genre of Arab mathematical literature, but the word itself as used in Arabic is a toponym, combining geographic references to Sindh and Hind, vaguely referring to lands of the northwestern Indian subcontinent.²⁴ Aside from the *Sindhind* of al-Fazārī, many other astronomical texts were translated into Arabic under the patronage of al-Manṣūr and his successors; several were called *Sindhind*. The *Sindhind* of al-Khwārizmī would seem to have been constructed from direct observation of the stars. In the *Fihrist al-Nadīm* (A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture), which serves as a guide to what was known and read in tenth-century Baghdad, the entry for al-Khwārizmī, one of the "masters of the stars," states, "Both before and after [confirmation by observation], people relied upon his first and second astronomical tables known as the *Sindhind*."²⁵

Muḥammad ibn Musā' al-Khwārizmī (fl. 820) is best known for his work in Arabic that explains the Hindu method of calculation, *Kitāb Ḥisāb al-'Adad al-Hindī* (The Book of Addition and Subtraction according to Hindu Calculation), which introduced the decimal position system with ten ciphers, as developed by the Hindus. This book was the first arithmetical work in Arabic translated into Latin.²⁶ Although the book itself does not survive, not only do we have numerous references to it in contemporaneous sources but its significance is referred to also by Fibonacci more than three centuries later, confirming the notion that much knowledge was transferred by textual transmission.²⁷ Khwārizmī had also written a work called *Kitāb al-Jabr wa'l Muqābala* (Book of Restoring and Balancing), dedicated to al-Ma'mūn (reigned 813–33). The title could not be readily translated into Latin, so from it we have gained the word “algebra.” Today it is often referred to as the *Book of Restoring and Balancing*, which adequately conveys its approach to the development and treatment of equations. Khwārizmī is often considered to have evolved in his thinking on these matters, based upon influences that drew from both Babylonian and Hindu mathematical methods. In succeeding generations, Kushyār ibn Labbān (fl. 970) also wrote a treatise on Hindu reckoning—*Kitāb fī 'usūl ḥisāb al-Hind* (Principles of Hindu Reckoning).²⁸

From the perspective of reconstructing the transmission of knowledge, the curriculum of the *Fihrist al-Nādim* is one of the most important Arabic texts to survive. With a full enumeration of works circulating in the tenth century and giving summaries of contents as well as information about the authors, this is the best map we have by which to assess the intellectual horizons of the Islamic world at that time. Section 2 of chapter 7 provides accounts of scholars and the names of the books they composed, including “men of learning who were geometers, arithmeticians, musicians, calculators, astrologers, makers of instruments, and persons interested in mechanics and dynamics.”²⁹ Among those listed are Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius, and numerous others in the Greek tradition, as well as Ptolemy's *Al-Magest* (Geography).³⁰ Then are named several individuals who are given the epithet “the Indian” (Kankah, Judar, Sanjahil, and Naq) and others referred to as “scholars of India” (Bakihur [Bhāgahara], Rāha [Rājā], Sakah [Sāka], Dāhir [Dāhara], Ankū [Indu], Zinkal [Ranakāla], Araykal [Arikāla], Jabhar, Indā, and Jabārā [Jonar or Jitār]).³¹ Their works, for the most part, deal with the stars, or with medicine. The fact that these names have not, to my knowledge, yet been linked with known Indian mathematicians is less significant than the recognition in this tenth-century work of the direct influence of Indian thinkers within central Islamic lands.

Two great Islamic mathematical advances of the tenth century are considered to have built upon an understanding of Indian mathematics—the use of decimal

fractions and the further development of trigonometric functions. In the middle of the tenth century, Ahmad al-Uqlidīsī (fl. 950) used decimal fractions to solve many problems, such as finding the roots of numbers and expressing the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its radius.³² He also wrote about Hindu arithmetic. Earlier, Ṣamad ibn ‘Alī al-Yāhūdī abū al-Ṭayyib (fl. 820), a Jew who converted to Islam and served under the patronage of al-Ma’mūn in Baghdād, built the observatory. Among his works was also a book on Indian arithmetic.³³

While there is ample evidence for the direct influence of Indian mathematical thinking in Baghdād under the patronage of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate in the ninth and tenth centuries, there are several earlier points of contact that suggest intellectual exchange and development between India and lands to the west. Before the Arab conquest of Iran in the mid-seventh century, a research center existed at the town of Jundīshāpūr in western Iran, where it is thought that much knowledge of Indian mathematics had been gathered under the patronage of Sasanian kings.³⁴ The person credited with making the first reference to Hindu numerals outside of India is Bishop Severus Sebokht, who resided in Keneshra on the upper Euphrates River in the middle of the seventh century. He described the extraordinary possibilities of these numbers:

I will not say anything now of the science of the Hindus, who are not even Syrians, of their subtle discoveries in this science of astronomy, which are even more ingenious than those of the Greeks and Babylonians, and of the fluent method of their calculation, which surpasses words. I want to say only that it is done with nine signs. If those who believe that they have arrived at the limit of science because they speak Greek had known these things they would perhaps be convinced, even if a bit late, that there are others who know something, not only Greeks, but also men of a different language.³⁵

The date and location of this admonishment, during the time of ‘Umayyad rule in Damascus, suggests the possibility that Hindu numerals may have been transmitted to the Arabs through Syriac sources, which accounted for so much other mathematical knowledge transferred from the Greek corpus.³⁶

For earlier periods in the development of astronomical calculation, the influences of both Greece and India are often cited. Ptolemy’s *Al-Magest* of the mid-second century A.D. is thought to reflect the work of both Indian and Greek authors. According to David Pingree, the earliest manual in India to address mathematical astronomy, however, was dependent on earlier Mesopotamian sources, transmitted by Persians during the Achaemenid empire (sixth–fourth centuries B.C.). The

manual offers a method “for determining the (mean) times for performing those Vedic sacrifices which are bound to the seasons, to the months, or to a specific time of day,” based on the use of a water clock of a type known from Babylonian sources.³⁷ Pingree also refers to later Sanskrit texts that describe gnomons casting noontime shadows, which were computed using a Babylonian zigzag function, suggesting that the introduction of the gnomon to India may also have come from Mesopotamia.³⁸

Between the Hellenistic period and the fourteenth century A.D., and specifically at the height of Islamic hegemony throughout the Near East from the eighth to twelfth centuries, there is a large amount of evidence for the transmission of mathematical knowledge to central Islamic lands from the Indian subcontinent as well as through translations of ancient Greek and Hellenistic works.³⁹

The *Fihrist al-Nadīm* confirms our understanding of the role played by textual transmission in the transfer of knowledge across the Indian Ocean, and it also affirms the roles of firsthand experience through travel and observation. Book-learning was clearly revered, to judge from contemporaneous sources, but seminars also served as a forum for the development and spread of knowledge. Several ‘Abbāsīd caliphs endeavored to establish libraries in which all the knowledge of the world was gathered.⁴⁰ Harūn al-Rashīd (reigned 786–809) gathered works in Sanskrit, Persian, and Greek; subsequently the caliph al-Ma’mūn (reigned 813–33) established an advanced research institute called Bayt al-Hikma (House of Wisdom) that employed binders, translators, and copyists. Al-Ma’mūn also sent scholars on missions to collect works to translate into Arabic; one story relates the presence of an Indian delegation, including an astronomer, who was invited to the court in Baghdād, where the delegates met with Islamic scholars.⁴¹ It is possible that al-Khwārizmī was present at such a meeting.⁴² The sharing of experience and the generation of knowledge through seminars and conversations is at the heart of the work of architectural historian Alpay Özdural, who addressed the relationship of mathematical thinking to artisanal production, recognizing the involvement of mathematicians in the design of architectural monuments.⁴³ Such high-level meetings among the intellectual elite may have offered a standard forum for the exchange of knowledge. According to Özdural, there were meetings among mathematicians and artisans, conversational seminars at which the intellectual understanding of abstract concepts on the part of mathematicians may have been transferred to artisans, who put such ideas into practice. In one specific case, Özdural suggests that the mathematician Omar Khayyām may have been directly responsible for the design of the north dome of the *maṣjid-i jāmi’* in Isfahan.⁴⁴ This dome, unlike any other dome in Islamic architecture, makes visually explicit several of the proportional relationships on which Omar Khayyām

was working in a theoretical manner. The arguments put forward by Özdural offer potential support for the oral transmission of mathematical knowledge at the levels of both theoretical formulation and practical application by means of conversations, seminars, and discussions among mathematicians and artisans working together.

There are yet other possible means of transmission, not the least of which is the observation of nature itself and the construction of what has come to be called natural knowledge.⁴⁵ This process is akin to Ibn Khaldūn's explanation of experiential learning and to his understanding of how one arrives at the recognition of a scientific norm. If one considers, for example, what happens in the laying of bricks one by one in the construction of masonry, one may discover by doing, or by observation and analysis, the formulas by which a unitary process is at once systemic. Such is the origin of theory from practice, which may have contributed further in this period to the evolution of number theory and pattern theory from the observation of numbers and patterns.

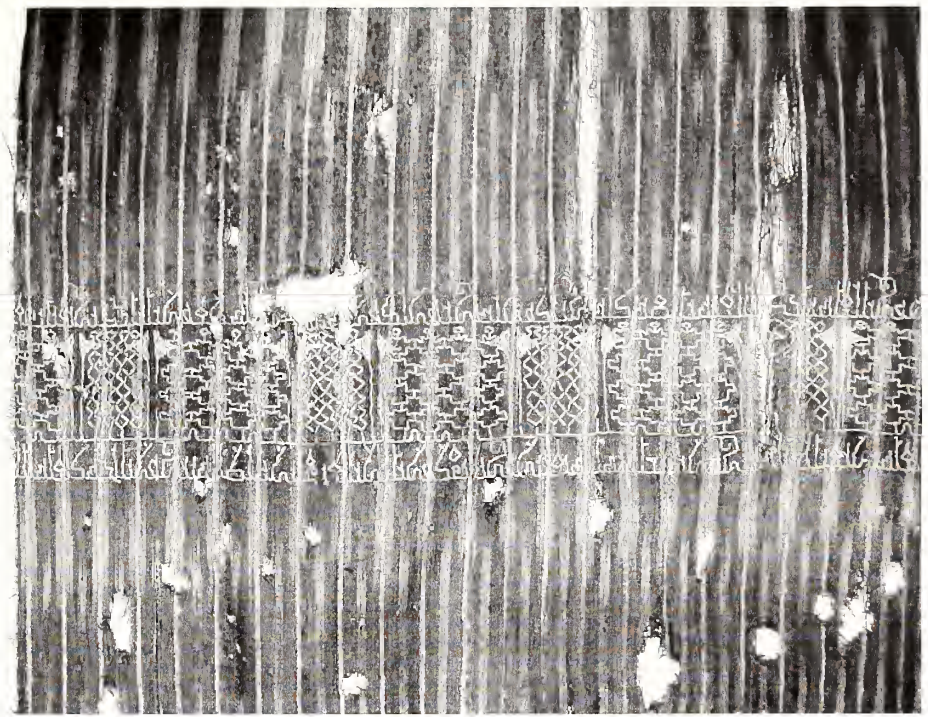
Textiles as a Technology of Transmission

There is an additional, potentially significant technology for the transmission of mathematical knowledge across time and space, one that has not to my knowledge been treated in this manner. It is the embodiment of mathematical knowledge in the physical structures of textiles and in the patterning of textiles. Both physical structures and patterning are technologies of transfer that are visual rather than verbal; they both involve structural dimensions and surface appearance. In general parlance, we do not often conceptualize the ontological distinctions between a book and its contents (or we take it for granted such that this difference is unarticulated); the same ontological distinctions may be pertinent to the consideration of textiles. Consider that a book is a physical object, but what it transmits has little if anything to do with the physical format of the codex itself. Likewise, consider that a textile is a physical object with a three-dimensional structure, but what it transmits may convey a different set of values than its physicality as a textile. Textiles, as a medium of transfer, have most often been considered in terms of their portability.⁴⁶ What is often cited when considering textiles as a means of transfer is the transmission of styles and the transfer of cultural forms of expression through designs and motifs. Historically, textiles have certainly served in this manner, and this significant aspect of their role in cultural transmission should not be underestimated. But at the same time, textiles may also have conveyed other information that is at once both tangible and abstract, concerning the relationship among number, shape, and the nature of space in the formal relationships of patterns that embody a unit and its iteration according to particular principles of organi-

zation. This information, conveyed within the textile medium, is distinct from the physical form of the textile itself and ontologically different from the style or content of its decoration. Just as a book is a “technology of transfer” of information, so may textiles have served in this manner apart from their physical or visual aspects. The term “embodiment” is intended to convey the separate identity or entity of patterns from physical aspects of the textile as well as from the technologies utilized for the formation of the textile, its structure, and its patterns. What I seek to emphasize is that the patterns that appear on a textile are ontologically distinct from the textile itself, even when they are a part of the textile’s structure. According to the paradigm I wish to develop, the textile serves as a medium to convey patterns and their embedded mathematical knowledge, thus serving as a technology of transfer. Textiles, through their patterns, “embody” mathematical knowledge. As such, textiles—in the plural—may have played a significant role in the transmission of mathematical knowledge and other cultural values across the Indian Ocean.

In looking at textiles, one may consider style and imagery and portability, as well as cultural meanings, but one also needs to consider several distinct technologies and processes that operate collectively and interact to produce a final product that may be transported. The technologies associated with textiles include the domestication of animals (for wool), cultivation of the silk worm (for silk), and horticultural activities pertaining to the cultivation of plants (for flax/linen, and for cotton, among other vegetal fibers suitable for textile production). They also entail methods of yarn preparation and the construction of fabric, dependent upon the technologies of weaving. Dyeing technologies rely upon an empirical familiarity with natural substances and their preparation and treatment to yield dyes.⁴⁷

To explore the possibilities of the kinds of knowledge or information that might be stored in a textile, I have somewhat arbitrarily selected a fragmentary textile from the collections of the Textile Museum (fig. 4) that fits broadly and specifically within the cultural transfers across the Indian Ocean. Attributed to Yemen in the tenth century, it shares several features that link the Indian subcontinent with the Islamic world: it is cotton, dyed using indigo, and patterned by a warp-resist method called *ikat*. The cotton warps of the textile are dyed in various colors using resist techniques before weaving; it was embroidered after weaving (see fig. 4). Among the colors is a range of blues characteristic of indigo and its normal variations that result from the strength of the dye solution, the length of time the yarns were submerged in the vat during the dye process, and the number of times the yarns were submerged in the dyebath. Variations also result from the variability of the oxidation process during drying and exposure



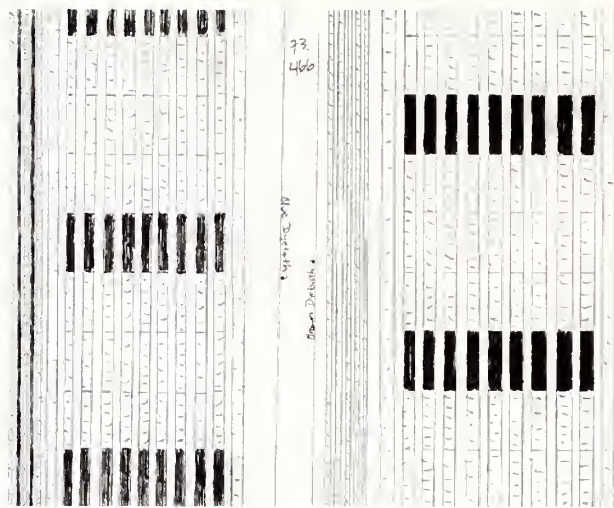
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4
Detail, embroidered cotton ikat
with Arabic inscriptions, tenth
century, Yemen. Textile Museum
73.494, acquired by George Hewitt
Myers in 1940.

to air after dyeing. Although fragmentary, this textile is indicative of several textile technologies (yarn preparation, the extraction of dyes from plant materials, indigo dyeing, resist-dyeing methods, weaving, embroidery) as well as the cultivation of cotton.⁴⁸

The textile under consideration (see fig. 4) has a striped appearance; it is woven with the simplest interlacing of warp and weft, referred to as plain weave.⁴⁹ Its visual aspect depends primarily upon two distinct categories of repeated designs. One set of patterns results from warp-resist dyeing methods before weaving; the other set of patterns was executed in embroidery after the fabric was woven.⁵⁰ The narrow chevrons and lozenges aligned vertically in a rhythmical arrangement give the appearance of stripes. This pattern was created by a selective warp-resist dyeing process executed before weaving took place. The warp yarns, once dyed, were arranged side-by-side when the loom was dressed to yield the resulting patterns of color after weaving was completed. The second set of patterns was achieved by means of embroidery. As seen here, the repeats of small units create tessellations, patterns composed of a single shape, which when repeated cover the plane with no gaps and no overlaps.⁵¹ These geometric patterns were embroidered with undyed cotton, offering a contrasting embellishment without color, which was added after weaving was complete. In addition to the embroidered patterns, there are two embroidered inscriptions written in Arabic, each an excerpt from the Qur'an (chap. 1, 112).⁵²

The warp-resist process yielding a pattern with variable blocks of color is worth exploring in greater detail. The selective binding and dyeing, combined with careful placement of dyed and resisted sections of yarns, result in a pattern of chevrons and lozenges. These rhythmic stripes that characterize Yemeni ikat textiles represent a high level of achievement of the dyer's art. The play of color results from selectively binding and dyeing the warp yarns prior to weaving; the bound sections



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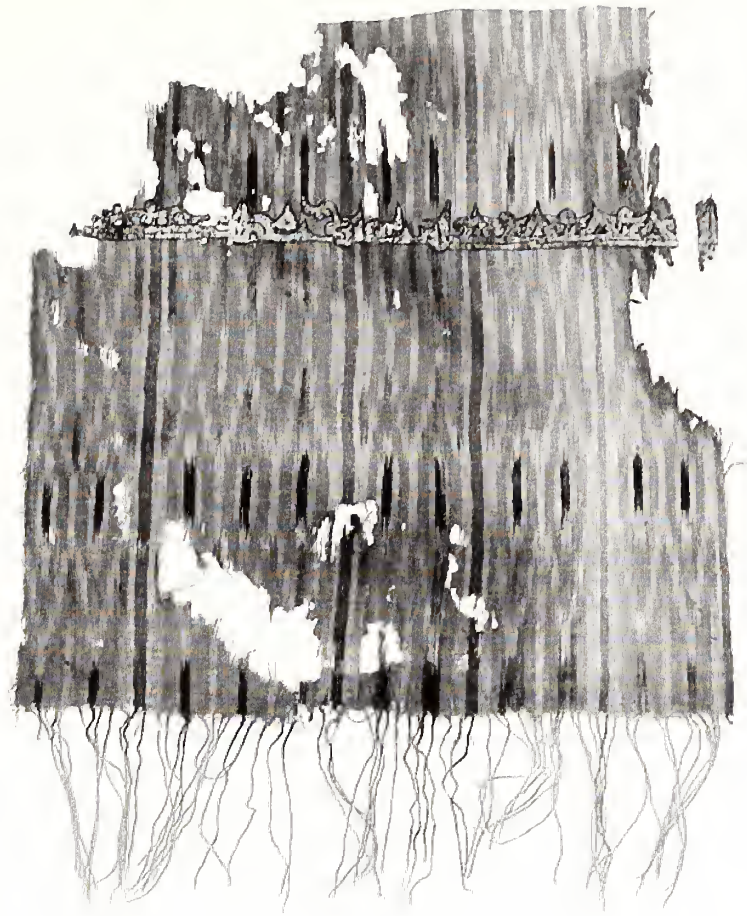
5
Diagram illustrating steps in the process of resist-dyeing: sequential binding of groups of warp yarns to resist the dye, one set of bindings for each color. Drawing by Erin Roberts.

resisted the dye. One method of binding utilized a standardized selective length of yarn; after dyeing, warps would have been positioned at different heights when dressed on the loom (fig. 5). Repeating the process of binding and dyeing would result in the observed color sequences of blues, yellow, and brown. The brown may have once been red, but analysis of this color has not proved conclusive. The white areas presumably would have remained bound, thereby resisting all colors of dye. Another method of binding would have segregated groups of warps much as they appear in the finished textile, dividing each stripe into smaller divisions and selectively binding and dyeing at differential heights.

From our vantage point today, if we look critically at the arrangements of forms, we may identify in each pattern a relationship to number, as well as to single units that are repeated according to particular algorithms to create specific, intentional patterns to fill the plane—conceptually filling space in two dimensions, as perceived visually. Yet the textile itself was executed in three dimensions, relying upon the interlacing of warp and weft, each element spun to form a yarn before its manipulation in the process of weaving. The patterns themselves are finite, repeated in a manner that may imply infinite extent, yet they are arbitrarily cut off to fill the field or to fit within borders or not repeated beyond a particular specific extent.

By such an analysis, we may relate the patterns on this textile to concepts and modes of abstract thinking that pertain to number, shape and the nature of space.⁵³ In this manner, our viewing of the textile allows us to relate tangible aspects of the patterns to intangible mathematical concepts. Such visual thinking actually relates to philosophical and mathematical ways of thinking that can be documented among the widespread peregrinations that define a global history of mathematical thought as it developed over more than two thousand years from Babylonian, Greek, and Indian origins to the Islamic world and the Latin West.

This textile is part of a fairly large group of similar textiles (fig. 6; see also fig. 3), woven in plain weave, patterned by warp-resist processes using indigo, bearing Arabic inscriptions in gold leaf and ink or embroidered, attributed to Yemen in the tenth century. This fragment and others of its kind are found in museums throughout the world; they seem to have been purchased from dealers in Egypt



6

6

Full view of fig. 3.

in the first half of the twentieth century. Examples are present in the collections of the Textile Museum in Washington, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, Kelsey Museum in Ann Arbor, and elsewhere. The Yemeni attribution hinges in part upon an inscription that appears on one fragment in the Islamic Museum in Cairo, which bears the statement “woven in San’a.”⁵⁴

This group of textiles is unique within the Islamic world. Many physical aspects of these textiles suggest links to traditions often considered more familiar across the Indian Ocean.⁵⁵ Relational aspects with textile traditions of the Indian subcontinent have to do with both materials and technologies as well as with style. Such features as the use of cotton fiber for the yarns, the use of indigo as a basis for color, and the decoration of striped patterns effected through a warp-resist process are all aspects of textiles often associated with the Indian subcontinent.⁵⁶ Yet the nature of the links with regard to this group of textiles remains somewhat elusive and inconclusive.

These textiles represent early examples of the technique today called ikat, a Malay word generally attributed to its use in Indonesia. But *‘aqada* is an Arab Semitic root for the verb, “to tie” or “to bind.” It is possible that Arab traders introduced ikat-dyeing techniques to Southeast Asia as early as the eighth century.⁵⁷ Medieval Islamic sources refer to madder (Arabic, *fuwwa* [*Rubia tinctorum*]), indigo (Arabic, *nīla* [*Indigofer* sp.]), and a yellow dyestuff (Arabic, *wars* [*Mem-*

ecylon tinctorum]), exported from Aden and Yemen.⁵⁸ Since these sources of color were readily available locally, it is likely they were used for these textiles; indigo dyeing is still practiced in Yemen today.⁵⁹

The designs on these textile are generally examined from the perspectives of textile technologies (warp-resist patterning, embroidery) or epigraphy.⁶⁰ Another approach to these patterns, however, would encompass the mathematical aspects of what they present by way of structure and pattern, exploring the impact that such patterns might have had either upon the generation of mathematical thinking or upon the cultural transmission of mathematical knowledge from India to the Islamic world and beyond.

Clearly, to achieve the repeated patterns of chevrons and lozenges in stripes, counting was necessary; to form the discrete groups by color, division was required. The mirror repetition across a vertical axis required halving a group; the stepped appearance also depended upon divisions of the warps. Once an algorithm was established, the unit so determined could be iterated a sufficient number of times to complete the full patterned area of a complete width of cloth. As with any pattern, a unit was determined along with a method of iteration. For the embroidered patterns, similarly, a unit was determined, its reiteration forming a tessellation. In each case, the repetition of the design unit depended upon a particular algorithm for the pattern to emerge. Conceptually, such pattern-making could go on forever; in real space, however, it is bounded by the spatiality of the textile itself, if not arbitrarily bounded by borders. Patterns in textiles imply infinity, yet are executed with boundaries that serve as limits to their extent. In this manner, two-dimensional patterns (even if, as in the case of ikat and embroidery, they are three-dimensional in structure) play with space in two dimensions and relate to a conceptual understanding of two-dimensional space. The patterns result from counting and repeating sequences of actions, acted upon objects. In the case of ikat, the objects are the individual dyes and the warp yarns before weaving; in the case of embroidery, the objects are the embroidery thread and the fabric. The visual aspect of the completed patterns preserves the sequence of operations of their creation; the warps are countable; the interactive movement of the embroidery thread through time and space is observable.⁶¹

The question is whether such mathematical aspects of patterns and pattern-making were or were not consciously understood by either contemporaneous mathematicians or by artisans engaged in the processes of pattern-making. We can look to architecture for comparable evidence that patterns were held as a high cultural value within the central Islamic lands by the eleventh century. Lisa Golombek has advanced the notion that by this time there was a conscious "textile aesthetic."⁶² She attributes the prevalence of interlace, as well overall patterning in

architecture and the decorative treatment of surfaces, to a “textile mentality” that is reflected in “bookbindings, wood-carving, architectural faience, and Koran pages” that “all look like carpets.” Golombek presents a working hypothesis, which is followed by numerous scholars of Islamic art history, that “textiles in Islamic society fulfilled far more than the functions normally expected of them in other societies.” And she ascribes many characteristics of Islamic art to what she hesitantly calls an “obsession with textiles.”⁶³ But the same evidence may be adduced in support of a “pattern aesthetic” having nothing directly to do with textiles.⁶⁴ To what extent can we know whether this appreciation of patterns was an applied mathematical understanding of the spatial dimension, or a visual expression from which mathematical understanding was derived?

To address this question, a cursory look at the contemporaneous Islamic cultural context in the ‘Abbāsīd empire reveals a distinction between theoretical mathematics and practical applications of mathematics. Practical mathematics pertained to land surveying and civil engineering, determination of times of daily prayer and *qibla* orientation. It also pertained to calculating divisions of inheritance. But during the same period, theoretical considerations were beginning to address the formulation of algebra and the extensions of mathematics of the Late Antique world to quadratic and cubic equations and their practical applications in art and architecture. To what extent might we be able to discern paradigm shifts from the transmission of such knowledge? To what extent might we judge that theoretical formulation may have in fact derived from works of art and architecture? Or that technological developments prefigured or postfigured intellectual advances in theoretical or abstract thinking? Can we look at an object, such as a patterned textile, and hope to determine what might have happened earlier, or what might have happened afterward in terms of contemporaneous intellectual developments?

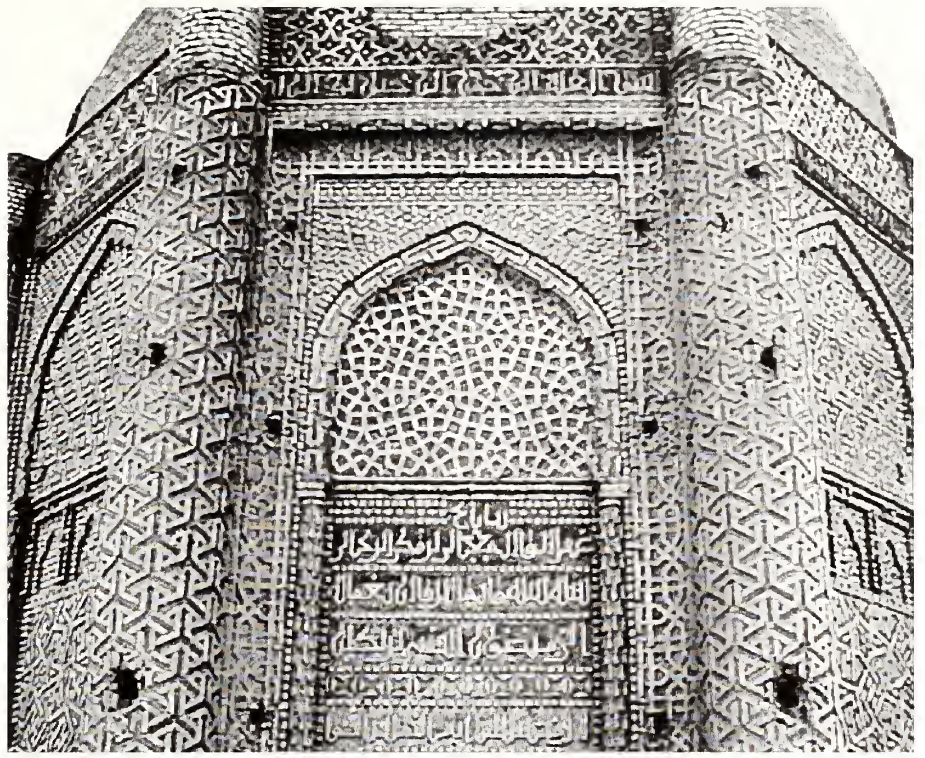
The nexus of intersections between art and mathematics, though often present, is difficult to situate. One recognizable exception is the development of perspective in the Italian Renaissance of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when both the mathematics and artistic applications were explored simultaneously, as articulated in the treatises of Leonardo da Vinci, Leone Battista Alberti, and Albrecht Dürer. These men were theoreticians as well as painters, sculptors, and draftsmen—contemporaries of Luca Pacioli, who was a teacher of Leonardo da Vinci.⁶⁵ In this unique set of historical circumstances, experimentation and empirical studies led directly to theoretical understanding and its further application in the arts.

For tenth- and eleventh-century Baghdād and the further reaches of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate and its rival caliphate in Fāṭimid Egypt, emergent questions

focus on whether and how the knowledge of pattern-making that is so evident in both architectural decoration and textiles represented advancements in mathematical knowledge and the understanding of two-dimensional space.⁶⁶ Whether and how such knowledge of patterns was shared among cultures to the east, west, and north of the Indian Ocean remains a subject for future investigation. For now, it is sufficient to describe the extent to which we know the striped textiles of Yemen were famous throughout Islamic lands. As is well known today, Arab and Persian geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries described in fair detail the goods traded in many cities, and they give a sense of the character of many ports, listing resources and their products. The striped cloths of Yemen, referred to by several names, were sought far and wide throughout central Islamic lands.⁶⁷ But there is no direct link to identify the striped ikat cotton textiles known in museum collections today to these textual references.

Yet to look at the textiles themselves reveals additional prospective links between art of the physical object and mathematics. The layering of patterns upon patterns, as remarked above, is significant. The embroidery represents a process embarked upon after the textile was woven, whereas the variegated striped pattern with chevrons and lozenges results from warp-resist dyeing processes that took place prior to weaving. In its finished appearance, then, this textile bears marks or patterns that are distinguished from one another temporally in the construction of the object, and they are distinguished from one another spatially by the repetition of different design elements, although both are present, visually and conceptually, within the space occupied by the physical object.

We may also look to architecture in which the concepts of unit and repeat are equally apt. In both architecture and textiles, the processes of construction of both structure and design constitute a system or systems that are at once unitary and systemic. In arts and architecture of the Islamic world, patterned surfaces become particularly significant in the ninth and tenth centuries and continue to be of primary visual importance through the fifteenth century and later. Several specific examples may suffice to provide a general appreciation of the high cultural value placed on patterns in architecture throughout the Islamic world in the tenth through twelfth centuries. The tomb of the Sāmānids in Bukhārā of the tenth century is often considered the earliest monument to utilize an overall patterning determined by the placement of bricks.⁶⁸ In the eleventh-century tomb towers of Kharraqān in western Iran (fig. 7), more than a hundred patterns executed in cut brick combine to cover every surface of the structure beneath the domes but for the bands of inscription, which are also executed in cut brick.⁶⁹ Tomb monuments in the following century introduce the use of glazed ceramic mosaic tile in the execution of geometric patterns, as for example the tombs at Maragha also in western



7

7
Brick tomb tower, eleventh century,
Kharraqān, Iran. Photograph
courtesy Ann C. Gunter.

Iran.⁷⁰ Farther east, the stellated three-dimensional structure of the minaret of Mas'ūd of Ghazna is covered with panels of geometric ornament, combined with floriated Kufic inscriptions, and related by its all over geometric patterning to the minarets of Kalayān, Damghān, and Jām of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁷¹ The Quṭb Minār in Delhi of the twelfth century continues to advance an aesthetic that is geometrically based in its three-dimensional form.⁷²

In all of these examples, whether the patterning is executed in brick, glazed ceramic, tile, or a textile medium, the various processes by which designs are manipulated to form patterns are constrained by the laws of symmetry.⁷³ In each instance, the algorithmic repeat of a design to cover the plane is dependent upon the relationship of number to shape and the nature of two-dimensional space. To explore the phenomenon of pattern-making in arts and architecture of the Islamic world in the ninth and tenth centuries leads to the speculation that within this time frame there were new empirical discoveries about the nature of two-dimensional space as articulated through patterns that led to theoretical formulations concerning two-dimensional space.⁷⁴ It is conceivable that such a discovery relied upon a new synthesis of Greek geometry and Indian arithmetic, both of which were in evidence at the court of Baghdād by the time of al-Khwārizmi. One might thus interpret the extraordinary proliferation of patterns and pattern-making in all media as derivative of this new, or renewed, understanding of the plane in the tenth century that reverberated throughout the arts in the Near East and India during the following centuries.⁷⁵

Kūshyār ibn Labbān conveniently provides an enumeration of the mathematical concerns of his time. His categories include the four arithmetic operations (addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division), squares and square roots, cubes and cube roots, halving and doubling, and numeration.⁷⁶ Each of these

mathematical processes finds visual expression in the patterning of textiles. Further, they relate to the processes of pattern-making in a variety of media that are at once unitary and systemic by virtue of the fact that a predetermined unit is repeated according to at least one organizing principle. Within any given pattern in the plane, the numerical relationships among the units repeated are also expressed geometrically in the relationship of shapes, relating an understanding of geometry of the time to the emerging understanding of algebra in the work of al-Khwārizmī. The patterning that we see in architectural ornament, and that in textiles as well as in other media, might well reflect the development of mathematical thinking of this era, yet this connection remains speculative at this time.

Within the works of mathematicians of the Islamic world, numerous subjects are broached, cumulatively addressing the practical concerns of land surveying and the divisions of inheritance as well as astronomical calculation and astrological interpretations. The abstract concept of number itself is also explored. In a philosophical vein, Al-Fārābī, who studied music as well as mathematics, distinguishes in his *Iḥsā' al-'ulūm* (Enumeration of the Sciences) between two sciences of arithmetic—practical arithmetic and theoretical arithmetic:

Practical arithmetic inquires into numbers insofar as the numbers are fixed to things numbered, i.e. bodies and other things whose enumeration it is necessary to have, like men, horses, dīnārs, dīrḥams, or other things possessed of number. This is the arithmetic that the people use in the commercial transactions of the market and the city. Theoretical arithmetic inquires into numbers in the abstract insofar as they are separated in the mind from bodies and everything else which is numbered by them.... And it is this latter arithmetic which investigates numbers in an independent manner (i.e., in the abstract) with regard to 1) everything which happens to them in their simple essences without mutually comparing them, for example: their being even or odd, and 2) everything which happens to them when they are mutually compared, for example: their being equal; or one being more than another (i.e., their being unequal); or one number being a part or parts of another number, or double it, or equal to it with the addition of a part or parts; or like numbers being proportional or not being proportional, similar or dissimilar, commensurable or incommensurable. Furthermore, theoretical arithmetic inquires into what happens to numbers upon addition and their resulting sum, their subtraction and resulting difference, their multiplication, and their division. This is like numbers being squared, or representing surfaces or solids, or being perfect or imperfect. Thus theoretical arithmetic investigates all of these things and whatever

happens to numbers when they are mutually compared. It teaches how to find [unknown] numbers from known ones, and, in short, every way of finding numbers.⁷⁷

Similarly, Nāṣir Khusrau distinguishes two kinds of matter, one absolute and the other relative: “The relative is like wood to a chair; that is, wood which is prepared and arranged to form a chair.”⁷⁸ The absolute matter is intelligible, but not perceptible without form; he relates matter to length, width, and depth. When prime matter accepts length, width, and depth, it takes on a form in which the absolute matter resides.⁷⁹

Even more precise documentation with respect to textiles is broached in Indian philosophic texts of the tenth century in which distinctions arise between matter and substrate.⁸⁰ The question pertains to the color of a multicolored textile, distinguishing color as ontologically separate from the textile itself. Variegated and striped textiles are ontologically distinguished from the colors they bear.

Conclusions

This inquiry into prospective technologies of transfer and cultural transmission across the Indian Ocean, particularly with reference to mathematical knowledge, offers an initial attempt to distinguish an ontology of pattern that is distinct from an ontology of textiles. As such, it raises several questions to which there are not yet definitive answers. The ikat textiles, found in Egypt but presumed to be from Yemen, selected as examples seek conclusive confirmation as to actual origins and a factual spatial and temporal placement. But the larger conceptual proposal of an ontology of pattern, distinct from the category of a textile itself, raises potentially significant issues with respect to the transmission of mathematical knowledge across the Indian Ocean and beyond.

To consider overall repeat patterns in textiles is to consider space-filling curves in mathematics long before these were categorized within the scope of Western mathematics. Such patterns are typical in physical time-space in the designs of woven textiles from West Africa east to India, Borneo, and the islands of the Indonesian archipelago, spanning Africa, the Near East, the Indian subcontinent, and Southeast Asia. It is tempting to propose that such patterns reflect a historical mathematical knowledge, the origins of which are today shrouded in lost memory that pertains to the expansion of trade routes in the eighth through tenth centuries, coincident in time with Islamic developments in the understanding of two-dimensional space. The historical validity of such a proposal—suggesting the spread of mathematically based patterns through the medium of textiles—must await further study along the outlines of research suggested here.

NOTES

1. Fibonacci, Fibonacci's "*Liber Abaci*": A Translation into Modern English of Leonardo Pisano's Book of Calculation, trans. Laurence E. Sigler, Sources and Studies in the History of Mathematics and Physical Sciences (New York: Springer, 2002).
2. Sigler, introduction to Fibonacci, *Liber Abaci*, 3–4; Fibonacci, *Liber Abaci*, 15.
3. Fibonacci, *Liber Abaci*, 21–22.
4. These were initially discussed by al-Khwārizmī and later by Kūshyār ibn Labbān, whose works are cited by J. L. Berggren, *Episodes in the Mathematics of Medieval Islam* (New York: Springer, 1986), 6–9, 31–36.
5. Carol Bier, "Textiles and Society," in *Woven from the Soul, Spun from the Heart: Textile Arts of Safavid and Qajar Iran (16th–19th Centuries)*, ed. Carol Bier (Washington, D.C.: Textile Museum, 1987), 1.
6. Irene Emery, *The Primary Structures of Fabrics* (Washington, D.C.: Textile Museum, 1980), xi, xv.
7. Fibonacci, *Liber Abaci*, 17.
8. Berggren, *Episodes in Mathematics*, 7.
9. The woodcut of *Arithmetica* is often reproduced. See, for example, Carl B. Boyer, *A History of Mathematics*, rev. Uta C. Merzbach, 2nd ed. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1991), 253.
10. See, for example, Victor J. Katz, *A History of Mathematics: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Reading, Mass., and Menlo Park, Calif.: Addison-Wesley, 1998), 230–32; or Claire L. Parkinson, ed., *Breakthroughs: A Chronology of Great Achievements in Science and Mathematics, 1200–1930* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1985), 1.
11. Fibonacci, *Liber Abaci*, 15–16.
12. Leigh N. Wood, "Communicating Mathematics across Culture and Time," in *Mathematics across Cultures: The History of Non-Western Mathematics*, ed. Helaine Selin (Dordrecht, Boston and London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), 1–12.
13. Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, ed. N. J. Dawood, Bollingen Series (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).
14. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 319.
15. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 327.
16. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 314–15.
17. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 314.
18. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 331.
19. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 319–21.
20. A summary of such sources is presented in Berggren, *Episodes in Mathematics*, 2–10.
21. Jacob Lassner, *The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1970); Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900).
22. Berggren, *Episodes in Mathematics*, 2.
23. Berggren, *Episodes in Mathematics*, 132.
24. See Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, pt. 4 (1872; reprint, Beirut: Librarie du Liban, 1968), 1443; Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1966), 331.
25. Al-Nadīm, *The "Fihrist" of al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, ed. and trans. Bayard Dodge (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 652.
26. Berggren, *Episodes in Mathematics*, 7.
27. Fibonacci, *Liber Abaci*, 631, n. 7, 8. See also Wood, "Communicating Mathematics across Culture and Time," 10–11.
28. Kūshyār ibn Labbān, *Principles of Hindu Reckoning*, trans. and ed. Martin Levey and Marvin Petruck (Madison and Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965).
29. Al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 634.
30. Al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 634–40.
31. Al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 644–45.

32. Berggren, *Episodes in Mathematics*, 7.
33. Al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 652–53.
34. This center is referred to, for example, in Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Science: An Illustrated Study* (London: World of Islam Festival, 1976), 11.
35. Quoted in Berggren, *Episodes in Mathematics*, 30, 166.
36. Berggren, *Episodes in Mathematics*, 166. But compare Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 20–22.
37. David Pingree, “The Mesopotamian Origin of Early Indian Mathematical Astronomy,” *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 4 (1973): 1–12, quoted in Pingree, “Legacies in Astronomy and Celestial Omens,” in *The Legacy of Mesopotamia*, ed. Stephanie Dalley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 130, n. 77.
38. Pingree, “Legacies in Astronomy and Celestial Omens,” 135–36, also mentions the construction of Arabic compendia of astronomical tables (*zīj*es), which present descriptions of the Uighur calendar. These “indicate that the Uighurs ... also used the 248–day period for the moon,” but Pingree notes that it is not clear whether this is an influence absorbed from India or more directly from Mesopotamia.
39. See, for example, George Gheverghese Joseph, *The Crest of the Peacock: Non-European Roots of Mathematics* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 215–348. Mathematical sciences in early Islam are also discussed by E. S. Kennedy, “The Exact Sciences in Iran under the Saljuqs and Mongols,” in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge: University Press, 1968), 659–79.
40. Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*.
41. Berggren, *Episodes in Mathematics*, 31.
42. Berggren, *Episodes in Mathematics*, 31.
43. Alpay Özdural’s works include the following articles: “Omar Khayyam, Mathematicians, and Conversazioni with Artisans,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 54.1 (March 1995): 54–71; “On Interlocking Similar or Corresponding Figures and Ornamental Patterns of Cubic Equations,” *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 191–211; “Mathematics and Arts: Connections between Theory and Practice in the Medieval Islamic World,” *Historia Mathematica* 27 (2000), 171–201; “The Use of Cubic Equations in Islamic Art and Architecture,” in *Nexus IV: Architecture and Mathematics*, ed. Kim Williams and Jose Francisco Rodrigues (Florence: Kim Williams Books, 2002), 165–79.
44. Özdural, “Omar Khayyam.”
45. Recent discussions of natural knowledge focus on the history of science. See Jan Golinski, *Making Natural Knowledge: Constructivism and the History of Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); John V. Pickstone, *Ways of Knowing: A New History of Science, Technology, and Medicine* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000). Neither book considers, however, the embodiment of knowledge in crafted products or crafts as a source of knowledge. A poetic description of the ontology of natural knowledge surviving from classical Islamic times is the story of Hayy ibn Yaqzān, related (differently) by Avicenna and by Ibn Tūfayl. See Ibn Tūfayl, *Ibn Tufayl’s Hayy ibn Yaqzān: A Philosophical Tale Translated with Introduction and Notes*, ed. Lenn Evan Goodman (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1972).
46. See, for example, Lisa Golombek, “The Draped Universe of Islam,” in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, ed. Priscilla Soucek (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1988), 25–49; Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*, Bollingen Series 35.38 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 119–54.
47. For an overview of diverse perspectives on textiles of ancient Mesopotamia, see Carol Bier, “Textile Arts in Ancient Western Asia,” in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Jack M. Sasson and Karen Robinson (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1995), 1567–88.
48. See Carol Bier, *A Calligrapher’s Art: Inscribed Cotton Ikat from Yemen*, exhibition brochure (Washington, D.C.: Textile Museum, 2001).
49. The Yemeni ikats tend to be balanced plain weave or warp predominant; see Emery, *Primary Structures*, 76, fig. 85, 86.
50. The first published description of the fabric appears in Ernst Kühnel and Louisa Bellinger, *Catalogue of Dated Tiraz Fabrics: Umayyad, Abbasid, Fatimid* (Washington, D.C.: Textile Museum, 1952), 89–90, with parallels cited.
51. Basic definitions of grids and tessellations, discussed in relation to Oriental carpets and Islamic art, appear in Carol Bier, “Symmetry and Pattern: The Art of Oriental Carpets,” <http://mathforum.org/geometry/rugs/symmetry/grids.html> (accessed May 14, 2004).
52. Kühnel and Bellinger, *Dated Tiraz*, 89.
53. See Carol Bier, “Number, Shape and the Nature of Space: An Inquiry into the Meaning of Geometry in Islamic Art,” in *How to Talk about Religion*, ed. James Boyd White (South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 246–77.
54. Illustrated in Gaston Wiet, *Tissus et tapisseries du Musée Arabe du Caire* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1935) (repr. *Syria: revue d’art oriental et d’archéologie* 1935), 278–90, pl. 48, where it is incorrectly described as linen. The fragment is embroidered in a style similar to that illustrated here in figure 4, the Arabic inscription showing tall letters with triangular finials; the

- fragment inscribed "woven in San'a" also bears the name of the caliph al-Muqtādir and a date of 311 A.H./A.D. 923.
55. See, for example, Rosemary Crill, "Ikat in India and the Trade Westward," in *International "Ikat" Weaving Forum: Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia*, June 11–16, 1999 (Society Atelier Sarawak, [2000]), 1–7; Crill, *Indian Ikat Textiles* (London: Victoria and Albert Publications, 1998).
 56. For an illustration, see Benoy K. Behl, *The Ajanta Caves: Ancient Paintings of Buddhist India* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), esp. 82, 83, 85, 87–96.
 57. Carl Johan Lamm, *Cotton in Mediaeval Textiles of the Near East* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1937), 144.
 58. R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles: Materials for a History up to the Mongol Conquest* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1972), 131–32.
 59. See Jenny Balfour, *Indigo in the Arab World* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1997); Balfour-Paul, *Indigo* (London: British Museum Press, 1998).
 60. See for example, Kühnel and Bellinger, *Dated Tiraz*, which treats of structures, techniques, and inscriptions; Alfred Bühler, *Ikat Batik Plangi*, vol. 3 (Basel: Pharos-Verlag H. Schwabe, 1972), which explores decorative processes; Sheila Blair, "Legibility versus Decoration in Islamic Epigraphy: The Case of Interlacing," in *World Art: Themes of Unity in Diversity*, ed. Irving Lavin, Acts of the 26th International Congress of the History of Art (Pittsburgh: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), 329–34, which addresses issues of epigraphy.
 61. For a similar relationship between patterns and pattern-making in pile carpets, see Carol Bier, "Choices and Constraints: Pattern Formation in Oriental Carpets," in Proceedings of the 2nd International Katachi U Symmetry Symposium, Tsukuba, 1999, *Forma* (Journal of the Society for Science on Form, Japan) 15.2 (2000): 127–32.
 62. Golombek, "Draped Universe of Islam," 25–49.
 63. Golombek, "Draped Universe of Islam," 36, 25.
 64. See Carol Bier, "Geometry and the Interpretation of Meaning: Two Monuments in Iran," in *Bridges: Mathematical Connections in Art, Music, and Science*, conference proceedings, July 2002, ed. Reza Sarhangi (Winfield, Kans.: Bridges Conference, 2002), 67–78. See also Grabar, *Mediation of Ornament*; Bier, review of *Mediation of Ornament*, by Grabar, *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 28.1 (1994): 28–30.
 65. Useful summaries of the relationship of artistic work and mathematical theory are provided under the entries for "Albrecht Dürer, III. Theoretical writings," "Leonardo da Vinci, III. Theory," and "Luca Pacioli" in *The Grove Dictionary of Art Online*, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.groveart.com> (accessed June 10, 2003). For a welcome revisionist approach, advocating acknowledgment of strong Arab influence and numerous contributions to science in the Renaissance, see George Saliba, "Whose Science Is Arabic Science in Renaissance Europe?" at <http://www.columbia.edu/~gas1/project/visions/case1/sci.1.html> (accessed May 14, 2004).
 66. An initial inquiry into this dimension is addressed in Bier, "Number, Shape and the Nature of Space."
 67. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 123–34.
 68. Illustrated in Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair, *Islamic Arts, Arts and Ideas* (London: Phaidon, 1997), pl. 84.
 69. David Stronach and T. Cuyler Young Jr., "Three Seljuk Tomb Towers," *Iran* 4 (1966): 1–20; Bier, "Geometry and the Interpretation of Meaning;" for color illustrations, see S. P. Seherr-Thoss and H. C. Seherr-Thoss, *Design and Color in Islamic Architecture* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972), pls. 17–26.
 70. Illustrated in Seherr-Thoss and Seherr-Thoss, *Design and Color*, 30–36.
 71. Illustrated in Richard Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar, and Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, *Islamic Art and Architecture, 650–1250* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), figs. 231–34.
 72. Illustrated in Bloom and Blair, *Islamic Arts*, pl. 80.
 73. For discussion of symmetry and pattern in relation to Islamic arts, see Bier, "Symmetry and Pattern."
 74. Bier, "Number, Shape, and the Nature of Space."
 75. Alternative explanations for the dramatic proliferation of geometric forms have been offered by Gülrü Necipoğlu, *The Topkapi Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Trust Publications, 1995); Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001); J. M. Rogers, "The 11th Century: A Turning Point in the Architecture of the Mashriq?" in *Islamic Civilization, 950–1150*, Papers on Islamic History III, ed. D. S. Richards (Oxford: Cassirer, 1973), 211–49.
 76. Kūshyār ibn Labbān, *Principles of Hindu Reckoning*, 34–35.
 77. Al-Fārābī, quoted in Kūshyār ibn Labbān, *Principles of Hindu Reckoning*, x.
 78. Nāṣir Khusrau, *Knowledge and Liberation: A Treatise on Philosophical Theology*, ed. and trans. Faquir M. Hunzai (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998): 56. See also note 80 below.
 79. Nāṣir Khusrau, *Knowledge and Liberation*, 57.
 80. Phyllis Granoff, "Luxury Goods and Intellectual History: The Case of Printed and Woven Multicolored Cloth in Medieval India," in this volume, 157.

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35

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CONTENTS

- 6 ILLUSTRATED BOOKS MAY BE HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH
A New Reading of the Arabic Reception and Rendition of the *Materia Medica*
of Dioscorides
George Saliba, Columbia University and Linda Komaroff,
Los Angeles County Museum of Art
- 67 PLURALISM OF STYLES IN SIXTH-CENTURY CHINA
A Reaffirmation of Indian Models
Angela Howard, Rutgers University
- 96 IMPERIAL PORTRAITURE AS SYMBOL OF POLITICAL LEGITIMACY
A New Study in the *Portraits of Successive Emperors*
Ning Qiang, Connecticut College
- 129 HU ZHENGYAN
Fashioning Biography
Suzanne E. Wright, The University of Tennessee
- 155 THE WORLD'S A STAGE
The Theatricality of Chen Hongshou's Figure Painting
Shi-yee Liu, Metropolitan Museum of Art
- 192 GORYEO BUDDHIST PAINTING IN AN INTERREGIONAL CONTEXT
Yukio Lippit, Harvard University
- BOOK REVIEWS
- 233 *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field*, edited by Joshua S. Mostow,
Norman Bryson, and Maribeth Graybill
The Artist as Professional in Japan, edited by Melinda Takeuchi
Morgan Pitelka, Occidental College
- 243 *Shahnama: The Visual Language of the Persian Book of Kings*,
edited by Robert Hillenbrand
David J. Roxburgh, Harvard University
- 247 *Elegant Debts: The Social Art of Wen Zhengmin*, by Craig Clunas
Susan E. Nelson, Indiana University

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الصف الرابع الذي قال له الموس موسى قال له ورق شبيه
 بورق الاخر غير انه قريب الشغل من ورق يقله الجمفا الا انه اذق
 منه واشدا سندان وله قضبان اربعة او خمسة يخرجها من اصيل

صوله
 الرابع



واحد طولها خم من شبر ذاق بلو من لبن وله رائحة شبيهة براس
 الشبت ومركانه موضوع في رؤوس وجهه هذا النبات
 تنقل مع انتقال الشمس ولذلك سمي بالموسقويون ومعناه

ILLUSTRATED BOOKS MAY BE HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH

A New Reading of the Arabic Reception and Rendition of the Materia Medica of Dioscorides

Abstract

One of the most important of ancient Greek texts on pharmacology was unquestionably the herbal composed by Dioscorides (first century CE), commonly known as the *Materia Medica*, which continued for centuries to exert an enormous influence on medical knowledge in general, and on pharmacological literature in particular. This article details the history of the Dioscorides text after it was appropriated by Islamic civilization in the first half of the ninth century. It specifically emphasizes the dissemination and adaptation of this important work as reflected not only by the text but also by its illustrations. Close comparison of the texts of surviving illustrated manuscripts reveals significant variations in both content and images, providing the basis for reconstructing aspects of the process by which this key work was transmitted and transformed in the medieval Islamic world.

THE HERBAL COMPOSED BY DIOSCORIDES (first century CE), commonly known as the *Materia Medica*, was undoubtedly one of the most important, if not *the* most important, of ancient Greek texts on pharmacology. Not only was it readily appreciated and applied by physicians who were the immediate successors of Dioscorides, but it also continued for centuries to exert an enormous influence on medical knowledge in general, and on pharmacological literature in particular, transcending cultural and linguistic boundaries.

The continuing importance of this text beyond the heyday of classical culture, and well into the Byzantine period, is demonstrated by the well-known and lavishly illustrated sixth-century manuscript preserved in Vienna's National Library.¹ This sumptuous codex was commissioned for Anicia Juliana, the daughter of the Byzantine emperor Flavius Anicius Olybrius (r. 472). Probably produced in Constantinople around 512 or just thereafter, the manuscript in its present form includes a rearrangement of the original work of Dioscorides along with the works of other herbalists and physicians of the classical Greek period.² This reconfiguration and supplementation of Dioscorides' work would recur with some frequency when the text entered the Islamic world. Indeed, the very empirical nature and organization of the Dioscorides text, covering the preparation, properties, and effectiveness of mostly plant-based remedies, readily lent itself to being updated, revised, and expanded by subsequent generations.

The present article details the fortunes of the Dioscorides text after it crossed the borders of Greek civilization in the first half of the ninth century and was appropriated by the then new Islamic civilization. It specifically emphasizes the dissemination and adaptation of this important work as reflected not only by the

¹ *Physician and Attendant with Heliotrope*, page from the 1224 Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper, 33 x 24.9 cm. Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., purchase (F1938.1r).

text but also by its illustrations. Illustrated manuscripts of the work of Dioscorides form a particularly interesting chapter in the history of Islamic culture, especially visual culture, because text and image together embody the process of transmission and transformation. Although the illustrations themselves have frequently formed the focus of scholarly studies, these have invariably presumed the immutability of the Dioscorides text and usually made no attempt to examine the text itself. Before turning to the illustrations, primarily of plants but also more rarely of humans and animals, we will first consider the history and evolution of the Arabic text.

Arabic Translations of the *Materia Medica*

The *Materia Medica*'s somewhat complicated journey from Greek to Arabic is integral to understanding the history of this work in an Islamic setting. In the latter part of the eighth and early part of the ninth century, and for reasons we need not pursue here,³ the still young Islamic civilization came to recognize the importance of the knowledge preserved in Greek texts on science and philosophy, and in particular the significance of the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides. Not surprisingly, the first individuals to have the Dioscorides text translated were those who could best benefit by its knowledge, namely physicians. Indeed, the medieval sources tell us that the earliest translation of the text was made for Bakhtīshū' b. Jibrā'il (d. 870), a one-time chief physician of the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–861), and was rendered by the most famous translator of the day, Ḥunain b. Ishāq (d. 873). But the same sources also note that the translation was done from Greek into Syriac, which was still the language of most physicians of the Abbasid empire, and who may have attempted to keep such knowledge to themselves in a language only they could understand and control. But social pressures and the competition at the court of al-Mutawakkil⁴ required that another translation be made into Arabic, this time for a high officer of the court—Muḥammad b. Mūsā.⁵

The Arabic translation was undertaken by an associate of Ḥunain known as Iṣṭifān b. Bāsīl (Stephanos son of Basilius, ca. 860), who apparently worked under Ḥunain's supervision and whose Arabic evidently was not as good as that of Ḥunain.⁶ The medieval Arabic sources report that the translation was made directly from Greek into Arabic. We are told that Ḥunain reviewed the completed translation and that the final product was authorized (*ajāzaha*) by him.⁷ Of course Ḥunain's earlier translation into Syriac must have helped him to control the fresh translation given his previous experience with the original language of the text. Some sources even say that he translated some of the chapters himself, while Iṣṭifān translated the others.⁸ The same medieval sources also tell us that Iṣṭifān's translation did not include all the Greek names of the plants because he was not

familiar with the Arabic equivalents for certain plant names. His solution was to leave the names he did not know in the original Greek, which he simply transliterated into Arabic characters, in the hope that someone else would come along after him to identify the appropriate Arabic plant names. Some of those transliterations are still evident in surviving copies of this early translation as well as in the folk pharmacological literature up to the present day.

With the considerable authority of Ḥunain behind it, and in spite of the limited skill but apparent honesty of Isṭifān, this translation became the most authoritative version and was never superseded throughout the entire medieval Islamic period. The only other Arabic translation that might have competed with it dates to the thirteenth century, and was produced in the district of Diyārbakir, in southeastern Turkey. It was accomplished by one Abū Sālim al-Maṭī, whom we know only by name. Maṭī's translation was deemed so inferior and below the acceptable standards, however, that it was rejected by its erstwhile patron the Artūqid ruler Najm al-Dīn,⁹ whose cousin Fakhr al-Dīn had initially commissioned it. Moreover, this Abū Sālim seems to have translated the text from the Syriac version instead of from the Greek, probably using Ḥunain's ninth-century translation, and the result was a text twice removed from the original. It is thus not surprising that this translation was found to be unacceptable, and no trace of it seems to have survived. We shall return later on to refute the modern suggestion that this translation is preserved in two manuscripts now kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (arabe 4947) and at the Topkapı Palace Library in Istanbul (Ahmet III, 2127).

A slightly better translation, but again using the Syriac base, was completed a few years later for the same patron, Najm al-Dīn, by a far more accomplished translator named Mihrān b. Maṣṣūr, of whom very little is known.¹⁰ All that we know of him comes from the introduction to his new translation, which as far as can be currently ascertained has survived in three copies.¹¹ In it he describes the circumstances of this translation, and its essential features and details of the account of Maṭī's translation which we just noted. Although the Arabic of Mihrān's text is slightly better than that of Isṭifān on purely linguistic grounds,¹² there is little chance that Mihrān's translation could ever have competed with the authoritative text of Isṭifān on medical grounds.¹³

The sources assert that there was a third attempt to produce another Arabic translation, this time in al-Andalus, during the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (912–961). According to those reports a beautifully illustrated Greek text of Dioscorides, probably something akin to the Anicia text mentioned above, was sent as a gift from the Byzantine emperor Romanus I (*sic*)¹⁴ to the Andalusian 'Abd al-Raḥmān around the year 948. But as there was no one in

Cordova who could read Greek, the text was left untranslated until the same Byzantine emperor came to the rescue by sending a priest named Nicholas to assist. Still, the production of a full translation was beyond the capabilities of the Andalusian court, and the sources agree that no such translation was ever produced, although much progress was made in understanding the text for practical use.¹⁵

In sum, this is the extent of all reports in the medieval sources regarding the translation of the *Materia Medica* into Arabic. From then on, and once it was made available in Arabic, the story might have been straightforward were it not for the other complications that beset this text now clothed in its new Arabic garb. Much of what follows is devoted to a detailed discussion of those complications and a critical analysis of the surviving Arabic manuscripts attributed to Dioscorides. We attempt to follow the fate of this magisterial text and use it as an example that could help shed light on the manner in which illustrated scientific texts functioned in an Islamic context once they had already crossed cultural and linguistic borders.

After classifying the surviving manuscripts as illustrated texts and non-illustrated ones, we will ascertain which are technically translations and which are reworkings by demonstrating the status of the text under consideration in terms of its medical benefits. We then try to establish the relationships between the surviving and accessible manuscripts by selecting specific entries for particular plants and comparing the contents of those entries across all surviving manuscripts, to gain a deeper appreciation of how the language varies from one text to another. We conclude the study of the text by subjecting to some extra scrutiny one of the most important versions of this text, the oldest surviving Arabic “translation,” the so-called Leiden Dioscorides, to determine the nature of its relationship to the text produced by Iṣṭifān-Ḥunain in the mid-ninth century, thus simultaneously demonstrating the manner in which this early text itself was most probably produced. Finally, we consider the illustrations themselves, especially the relationship between word and image, but also the possible context of and motivation for such imagery above and beyond the requirements of the accompanying text.

The Surviving Manuscripts of Arabic Dioscorides

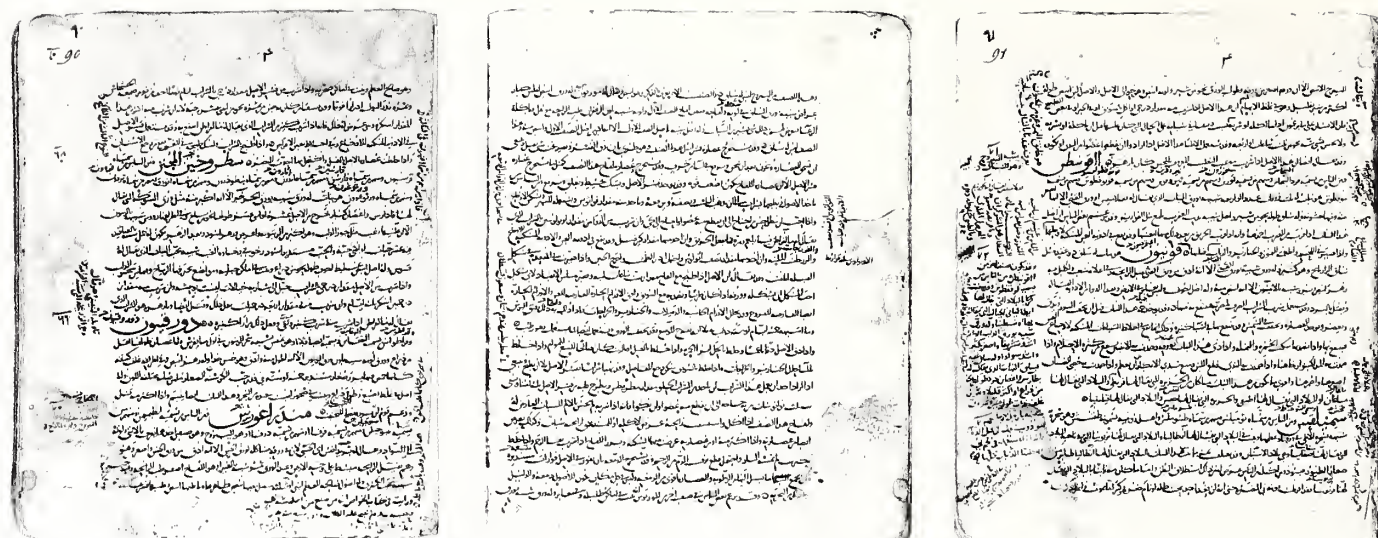
Compared with the translation process, the surviving manuscripts of the *Materia Medica* reflect an even more complicated reality. First, the manuscripts are scattered throughout the world, and because nearly all of them are illustrated they are generally treated as works of art, making them far less accessible than many other types of scientific manuscripts.¹⁶ By extension, most of those who have studied the Arabic manuscripts of Dioscorides have been almost exclusively interested in their illustrations—their sources of inspiration, and their style and affiliation with

other manuscript illustrations.¹⁷ Very little if any attention was paid to the actual language of the texts, thus propagating an assumption that all the Dioscorides manuscripts were essentially the same, with more to be gained by investigating variations among their illustrations in isolation from their associated text.

The facts, however, contradict this supposition. Indeed, even a cursory investigation of the texts immediately reveals that they represent a remarkable variety among themselves, so much so that it would be hard to articulate a comprehensive statement describing which of the many surviving manuscripts represents the original translation of Dioscorides. The detailed account given in medieval sources about the various translations would imply that we would encounter in the manuscript tradition only copies of the translations of Iṣṭifān or of Mihrān. So why are there more? Were there other translations that we still do not know about? Are the medieval sources themselves silent about such translations, or was it by accident that some were neither known nor recorded by these sources? Or were there fresh Arabic compositions of herbals, in the manner of Dioscorides and produced during the heyday of Islamic civilization, that have not been identified so far, which could have come to be confused with the text of Dioscorides? All such questions were never asked, although presumably they might have been if a critical edition of this text had ever been produced.

Instead, we have the edition of Dubler and Terés, which was based on three major manuscripts: one is preserved in the Madrid National Library, arabe 5006 (used as the base manuscript for the edition); the second is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, arabe 2849; and the last is the incomplete manuscript of the Escorial Library, arabe 845.¹⁸ None contains any illustrations whatsoever, a critical fact whose significance will be clarified below.

Internal evidence from the Madrid and BnF manuscripts, and another in Oxford, clearly indicates that they were copies of the well-known translation of Iṣṭifān already mentioned. We shall return to the marginalia of the BnF manuscript to contest this assertion. But for now we should draw attention to the fact that all medieval reports concerning this famous ninth-century translation are completely silent about the mechanism of the translation itself. For example, not a single word was said about the illustrations or how they were treated in the translation process. Indeed, we do not know whether the original Greek text from which Iṣṭifān worked even contained illustrations. As already mentioned, the Greek copy that was sent by the Byzantine emperor to 'Abd al-Raḥmān of Andalus included fabulous illustrations, as Ibn Juljul (d. 994) noted in his book on the *Explanation of the Simple Drugs from the Book of Dioscorides*, which survives only in fragments but was later quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (d. 1270).¹⁹ But we have also seen that the Andalusian copy appears never to have been translated, while we do not know if its illustrations



2A-C

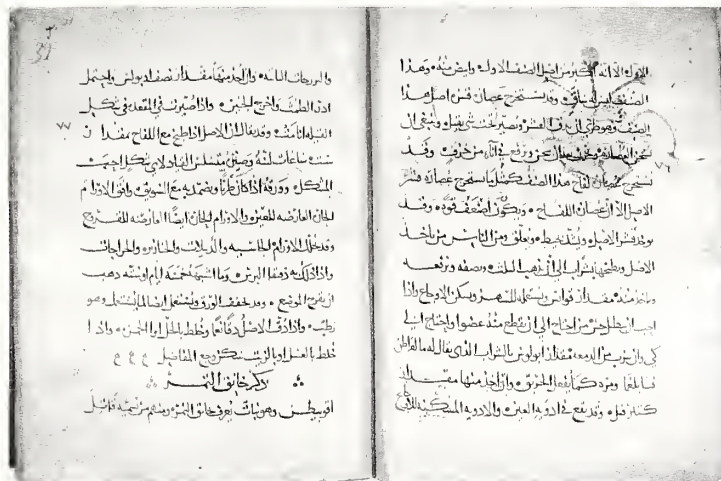
2A-C
Text of Mandrake plant, from
Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, BnF
arabe 2849. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque
nationale de France, Paris.

were ever copied. What is certain is that the three surviving and “complete” copies of the *Istifān* translation were all produced without illustrations per se.

All other copies of the so-called Arabic Dioscorides so far examined are illustrated, and they have also been classified as copies of the *Istifān* or the *Mihrān* translations. There thus appears to be a real problem in trying to explain the existence of illustrations in one copy and the lack of such illustrations in another.

More serious problems began to emerge when we examined the illustrated and non-illustrated copies for specific entries. We found that some of the texts that were included in the non-illustrated copies were missing completely and systematically from some of the illustrated ones. On the other hand, there were some illustrated manuscripts that included some, but not all, of the missing text. Moreover, the “preserved” texts in those particular manuscripts differed significantly from both the illustrated and the non-illustrated ones. In other words, once we began to consider the illustrated manuscripts as a subgroup in and of themselves we found significant differences among them, differences too great to be explained as scribal variations of the type usually found among copies of the same text, as is the case with the non-illustrated ones.

This cursory collation of various copies of the surviving Arabic versions of the Dioscorides text clearly reveals that they represent a variety of texts and cannot be simply lumped together as different copies of the same *Istifān* or *Mihrān* translation. Equally clearly, a serious critical edition of the Arabic text of Dioscorides, one that would be much more comprehensive than the text edited by Dubler and Terés, is ultimately necessary to build the stemma for the existing manuscripts and shed light on their inner relationships. But for our present purposes, and since some critical copies of the Arabic Dioscorides remain inaccessible, the next best plan was the more limited project of collating the entries for a specific plant from among all existing manuscripts in the hope that this collation would produce some systematic results that should eventually aid in the final critical edition still to be undertaken at some future time. For purposes of comparison we elected to use the non-illustrated BnF 2849, dated AH 616/1219 CE, as a base reference; it is comprised of the traditional five books on plants plus two further books on



3A, B

3A, B

Text of Mandrake plant, from Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, Aya Sofya 3703. Courtesy of the Suleimaniye Library, Istanbul.

toxicology which may or may not be the work of Dioscorides. For the plant, we selected the Mandrake.

In choosing the text of so well-known and legendary a plant as the Mandrake—indeed, Dioscorides is depicted giving instruction on this plant in both the previously noted Byzantine manuscript in Vienna and an Arabic manuscript in Istanbul, Ahmet III, 2127, discussed below—we expected to be able to locate the greatest number of examples among the manuscripts available to us. The only risk we would encounter was that most of the preserved manuscripts, like so many illustrated Islamic manuscripts, are no longer complete, but vandalized and partially dismembered for the sake of their paintings. Fortunately, the entry on the Mandrake plant was preserved in almost all of them. Even when it was missing in part, enough critical material remained to allow us to draw some important and preliminary conclusions.

Collating the Various Copies

A comparison of the text of the Mandrake plant found in the non-illustrated manuscript BnF 2849, fol. 90rff. (figs. 2a–c) with that found in one of the most extensively illustrated manuscripts—Istanbul, Suleimaniye Library 3703, to be discussed more fully below, fol. 37vff. (figs. 3a, b)—yielded some startling results.

First, there were minor variations between the two texts toward the beginning, the kind of variations one may usually encounter between two copies of the same manuscript, but at times including variations in full sentences that suggest later additions or lapses on the part of one of the scribes. Second, the two texts had variations that looked like misreadings of the originals, but not in the same places, thus suggesting that they were neither copies of one another nor copies of the same earlier copy. Finally, and most startling of all, the text of the illustrated manuscript simply ended in the midst of a description of the effects of the Mandrake plant, omitting a full page of text.

By examining the contents of the missing part, one might postulate that the omitted portion dealt with what today we might call the plant's side-effects. But in fact it leaves out a critical warning enunciated in the last sentence of the non-illustrated text that the plant could be poisonous (here using the Persian word *bāzahr*,²⁰ poison). Having noted that the illustrated text lacks this crucial piece of information—the danger of poisoning to the unsuspecting person who might use the plant—we concluded that the illustrated manuscript, however beautiful, could thus be hazardous to its user's health (hence the title of this article). This situation also raises questions about the readers or consumers for whom the illustrated herbals were produced and how they were to be used, which will be considered below.

But to gain a better appreciation of the variations between the two manuscripts and graphically to illustrate their extent and nature, it was necessary to place the two texts side by side. Appendix, Table 1 shows the minor variations in the first portion (underlined in both manuscripts) and the missing section in the illustrated manuscript in the latter portion of the text.

Identical results were obtained when the same non-illustrated text of the BnF 2849 manuscript was compared with that of the illustrated Bodleian Library, Arab. d. 138, which shares the same text for the Mandrake plant with the Istanbul Aya Sofya 3703 manuscript. Appendix, Table 2 demonstrates the common identity of the two illustrated texts, thus revealing their shared difference with the non-illustrated text of BnF 2849.

Similarly, the text of the illustrated Bologna University manuscript no. 2954, although missing a significant section of the text of the Mandrake plant (judging from a microfilm copy), has the same text as the other illustrated manuscripts Aya Sofya 3703 and Bodleian Arab. d. 138. Appendix, Table 3 demonstrates the common identity of those texts despite the missing section and minor scribal variations.

To confirm the similarity between this group of illustrated manuscripts another plant entry was selected as a kind of control, one for which the Bologna manuscript preserved a full text. Appendix, Table 4 compares all the texts for the plant Skilletikon (*acetum Scillae* squill vinegar, V, 17), in the three illustrated manu-

scripts with the text of the non-illustrated manuscripts of Madrid Arab. 5006 and BnF arabe 2849. The common identity of the illustrated texts is quite obvious and needs no further comment. Yet we should note that here, too, the illustrated manuscripts lack texts that are clearly found in the non-illustrated ones. At first glance this might suggest that the illustrated manuscripts sacrificed text to accommodate the paintings. As we shall see, however, there may be other, more cogent reasons for this systematic elision of certain portions of the text from the illustrated manuscripts.

A *taḥrīr* (Redaction) of the Arabic Dioscorides Text or the Lost Maṭī Translation?

Of special concern to this study are two other illustrated manuscripts: BnF arabe 4947 and Istanbul Ahmet III, 2127, which are indeed copies of the same exemplar, both of which include a text of the Mandrake plant. Appendix, Table 5 demonstrates the relationship between the text preserved in one of them (Istanbul Ahmet III, 2127, fol. 208vff., and by extension that of BnF arabe 4947), with the same text we saw previously in BnF arabe 2849, fol. 90rff. Here, too, the result was startling. Although these two manuscripts are illustrated, they contained a text remarkably dissimilar to the other illustrated manuscripts and most definitely different from the text preserved in the non-illustrated text of BnF arabe 2849. Indeed, anyone reading the two texts, placed side by side in table 5, could easily conclude that one of them, that of Istanbul Ahmet III, 2127 and by extension BnF arabe 4947, is a reworked text of the one preserved in the much more verbose text of BnF arabe 2849; yet it is certainly based on it. The only conclusion to be drawn at this stage is that the text preserved in these two illustrated manuscripts is indeed a new production and cannot be simply classified as an Arabic translation of the *Materia Medica* in the same sense that the texts of BnF arabe 2849, Hyde 34, and Madrid 5006 can be thus designated.

From a different perspective, and within the larger general context of Arabic science, this last example presents a genre of writing which is not at all unusual. One finds it in other scientific texts of the period, as in the works of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274), for example, that were called *taḥrīr* (Redaction), as in his *taḥrīr al-majisī* (Redaction of the *Almagest*), *taḥrīr Uqlidis* (Redaction of Euclid's [*Elements*]), etc., which represent a similar phenomenon of reworked texts. By analogy one can say that the Arabic Dioscorides text now preserved in two manuscript copies—one in Istanbul, Ahmet III, 2127, and the other in BnF arabe 4947—is in fact a *taḥrīr* (Redaction) of the text preserved in BnF arabe 2849, Madrid 5006, and Bodleian Hyde 34, and thus should more properly be called a redaction of the Arabic Dioscorides and not an Arabic translation of the *Materia Medica* per se.

In his study of the Leiden manuscript of Arabic Dioscorides, Mahmoud Sadek had proposed that this particular manuscript—Ahmet III, 2127, and its sibling in BnF arabe 4947—may have been copies of the now-lost translation of Sālim al-Maṭī mentioned above.²¹ He based this suggestion on his observation that the Arabic language used in the text of these two manuscripts was less classical than that of the other texts and thus could possibly be the result of the poor translation that we know Sālim al-Maṭī produced.

A close reading of the texts under comparison, however, provides significant evidence contrary to this suggestion. First, a careful comparison of the language of the text, here placed next to the text in Iṣṭifān's translation, demonstrates an affiliation typical of the kind commonly found when one of the texts is a re-edited version of the other. For example, sentences were shortened, expressions were stylistically improved, and the like. Second, we already know from Mihrān's statement that the earlier translation of Sālim al-Maṭī was rather below standard, not even pleasing the patron who initially commissioned it, thus providing Mihrān with the opportunity to produce another more eloquent version. Third, the kind of Arabic used in this *taḥrīr* is in fact more classical than Sadek realized. Indeed the words underlined by Sadek as colloquial are all to be found in classical dictionaries and should not be taken as an indication of the lower status of the language.²² Some of the words underscored by Sadek and signaled as colloquial terms or vulgarisms are rather misreadings by Sadek, and when one refers to the manuscripts themselves one can find all those terms in the most classical of dictionaries. This fact should testify to their authenticity and the author's full control of the language. Furthermore, the section of the text pertaining to the Mandrake plant, excerpted below, includes such high classical expressions as "*al-unthā aswad al-awraq laṭīfuḥā*" (the female is dark and fine leafed), and "*al-dhakarū abyāḍu al-awraqi 'arīḍuḥā, kabīruḥā, amlasuḥā*" (the male is white, flat, large, smooth leafed). Their use indicates sophisticated grammatical constructions that the colloquial language could never have contemplated. Finally, the medieval author's application of such words as *muta'arfija* (close to the ground) betrays a lexical command belonging only to one who had fully mastered the Arabic language. So on this evidence alone it may be concluded that the text could not have been a copy of the translation of Maṭī which we know to have been sub-standard.

Our study made no attempt to compare the texts of the manuscripts purporting to be copies of the same Iṣṭifān translation with those of the Mihrān translation, since the results would have been too obvious to teach us anything we did not already know. Mihrān's translation identifies itself as a translation from an original Syriac and not a Greek text, thus a translation twice removed, as was noted previously and should clearly differ from that of Iṣṭifān. Nevertheless, and for the

benefit of the curious reader, Appendix, Table 6 compares one copy of the Mihrān text, now preserved in New York Public Library, Persian 39, with that of Istanbul Ahmet III, 2127, in order to hit two birds with one stone. First, the table clearly demonstrates that we are dealing with two texts that are remarkably different from one another, and which cannot be linguistically related to the same textual tradition. Second, as already stated, the text of Ahmet III, 2127 was in fact a *taḥrīr* of the Iṣṭifān translation and should not be confused with the translation itself. But an attentive reading of the two texts, transcribed in table 6, can also demonstrate that as a redaction it was not even based on the text of Mihrān and thus should naturally differ from it. Furthermore, a close study of the two texts demonstrates that the author of this *taḥrīr* did not even follow the models that we know from other *taḥrīrs*, such as Ṭūsī's *taḥrīr* of Ptolemy's *Almagest*. To illustrate the last point, in the case of Ṭūsī we know that he took two earlier translations of the *Almagest*—one that was completed by al-Ḥajjāj b. Maṭar (ca. 829) and the other by Ishāq b. Ḥunain (d. 910)—and after reading both texts produced a redaction transparently based on both texts and yet different from either of them. In the case of the author of Ahmet III, 2127, we can easily determine that he did not even use Mihrān's translation, as there is no echo of this translation in the final *taḥrīr* version.

The Leiden Manuscript of Dioscorides, Leiden Or. 289

The last illustrated manuscript to be considered in this context is the one now preserved in Leiden, purported to be a copy of Arabic Dioscorides. The manuscript itself was the subject of a book-length study by Sadek, and his conclusions need not be repeated here.²³ Its text was produced by al-Ḥusain b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusain b. Khurshīd al-Ṭabarī al-Nātilī, known as Abū 'Abdallah al-Nātilī.²⁴ This al-Nātilī may very well have been the teacher of Ibn Sīnā, already mentioned in the latter's autobiography, which was later quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a.²⁵

The manuscript is dated AH 475/1083 CE, but the colophon claims that it was originally composed by al-Nātilī in the year AH 380/990 CE, which fits very well with the Nātilī who was Ibn Sīnā's teacher. Moreover, the colophon of the preface also states that the manuscript was completed by the hand of al-Nātilī himself, and that, significantly, the drawings were also executed by him "*wa-hādhihī al-naskha kulluhā bi-khaṭṭī wa-taṣwīr yadī*." Since the copy was completed in 1083, from the autograph of the author himself, one can assume that we have here a rare glimpse of an eleventh-century transmission of drawings as well as a highly original scientific text.

Nātilī states up front that he was producing an *iṣlāḥ* (Rectification) of the text of Dioscorides, and also declares that the copy he had used for the purpose had four books in the translation of Ḥunain and the rest in the translation of Iṣṭifān.

This information is extremely useful, for it could explain some of the marginalia of the other manuscripts or the contents of others, as we shall soon see. The term *iṣlāḥ* in this period is also known from other scientific sources such as in *iṣlāḥ kitāb Ṭisīqlāwus fī al-maṭālī* by the philosopher al-Kindī (d. 870), *iṣlāḥ al-majisī* of Jābir b. Aflaḥ of Andalusia (first half of the twelfth century), and *iṣlāḥ kitāb al-makhrūṭāt* by Abū Jaʿfar al-Khāzin (first half of the tenth century). In all instances it meant a reworking of the original text, with the revising author giving himself the freedom to add, subtract, rephrase, and sometimes produce new material not included in the original. The result could scarcely still be called a production of the original author. In this instance, Sadek has already established that al-Nātili had included some 108 plants that were not found in the two earlier extant Byzantine manuscripts nor survived even in any other Greek manuscript.²⁶

When we compared the same text of the Mandrake plant preserved in the Leiden manuscript with the text preserved in the non-illustrated text in BnF arabe 2849, for example, it was natural to find the telltale signs of an *iṣlāḥ*, where the language of the original was manipulated at several places. Appendix, Table 7 compares the text as it now exists in the Leiden manuscript and the non-illustrated text of the Iṣṭifān translation preserved in BnF arabe 2849. The underlined words and phrases on both sides of the table reveal the extent to which the text has been reworked in this *iṣlāḥ*.

And yet, despite the fact that this manuscript is illustrated, it is quite different from the other illustrated examples discussed thus far. The Leiden text, although modified and rectified, is still “complete,” unlike the other texts we have encountered among the illustrated manuscripts. In our idiom, it need not be considered hazardous to one’s health, for all the medical information is preserved and was simply recast.

Were There Independent Iṣṭifān and/or Ḥunain Translations?

Based on Nātili’s remark that he worked from a manuscript partly translated by Iṣṭifān and partly translated by Ḥunain, one could question whether there ever was a manuscript tradition that could easily distinguish between the portions that were translated by those two famous translators. And if there were, which portions were from the pen of Iṣṭifān and which from the pen of Ḥunain? With the data at hand, it is very difficult to determine. Yet there is enough evidence to suggest that at one point there may have existed two separate translations, one made by Iṣṭifān and the other by Ḥunain. The evidence also confirms that one final version was produced: Madrid 5006, BnF arabe 2849, and Bodleian Hyde 34, which state that they were translations of Iṣṭifān and that they were revised and authorized by Ḥunain.

But by reviewing the evidence carefully it is still possible to suggest that there were two independent translations, one by Ḥunain and the other by Isṭifān, and that those copies survived even after the collaborative version was produced. At this point, we can only cite some of the evidence for the existence of those two earlier versions by Isṭifān and Ḥunain.

Beginning with a detailed examination of BnF arabe 2849, which claims to be the translation of Isṭifān and the correction of Ḥunain,²⁷ one finds several marginal notes obviously inserted by a later reader that relate the text of the manuscript to a work that was produced by Isṭifān and another produced by Ḥunain, and indicating that both texts were themselves independent of this manuscript. Here we will cite just a few examples of those marginal notes referring to the earlier translations, starting with only two examples that characterize a work by Isṭifān as being different from the text in the Paris BnF manuscript.

First, and in a rather detailed marginalia on fol. 55r, next to the entry for the plant *Isatis Agria*, II, 185, (wild Indigo or Woad),²⁸ the note says: “Isṭifān mentioned that it eradicates all varieties of skin spots (*bahaq*), the white as well as the reddish black, especially if it is mixed with honey and applied to the body in the sun. It cures completely [if] the spots were in their beginning ... many ancient physicians have used it.”²⁹ Second, the marginal note next to the entry for the plant *Eupatorion* (*Agrimonia eupatoria*, L.), IV, 41, which is also called Aghāfit, fol. 85v, says: “Isṭifān claimed that some people of the Jazīra refer to Aghāfit as vapors, but this is undoubtedly the well used Aghāfit.”³⁰ These and other similar notes speak explicitly of the opinion of Isṭifān as being different from the text preserved in the Paris BnF manuscript, which itself was supposed to be the translation of Isṭifān and the correction of Ḥunain. This in itself must mean that there was an independent text of Isṭifān different from the one that he produced jointly with Ḥunain.

Similar evidence also speaks to the existence of an independent work by Ḥunain. On fol. 59r, next to the plant *Eryngium campestre*, L.), III, 21, the marginal note says: “Ḥunain claims that this chard is the *qarṣ’ana*, and *qarṣ’ana* is a plant known as *tathniya*? in the district of Damascus.”³¹ On fol. 61v, next to the plant *Glechon* (wild mint), III, 31, which mentions a strange medical term called *Aṣḥadmus* (or *Aṣḥudmūs*), also glossed over the line with *Aṣquṣmūs*, there is the following marginal note: “Ḥunain said *Aṣquṣmūs* is a corruption in the motion of the muscle when expanding and contracting.”³² If the manuscript preserved as BnF arabe 2849 was a copy of the Isṭifān-Ḥunain translation, why would it be glossed by a later reader as being different from what “Isṭifān or Ḥunain claimed or said” if he were not comparing it with an independent text that could be attributed to Isṭifān or Ḥunain?

This type of evidence may indeed confirm the existence of such independent works attributed to Ḥunain or Iṣṭifān. But Ibrāhīm Ibn Mrād's work on Ibn al-Bayṭār's (d. 1248) commentary on the text of Dioscorides offers a better solution. Since Ibn al-Bayṭār also makes references to such independent works of Ḥunain and Iṣṭifān while he himself was commenting on the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides that was supposed to have been translated by those two, Ibn Mrād has suggested that Ibn al-Bayṭār may have been referring to the translations that were made by them of the work of Galen on simple drugs, and that those translations may very well have been used to gloss their joint translation of Dioscorides.³³

This may most likely be the case, but only critical editions of the text of Dioscorides as well as the pharmacological works of Galen that were translated into Arabic could eventually yield a definitive answer. At this point, we can only say that this evidence must be taken into consideration in discussing the intricacies of the Arabic translations of the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides.

To add to the complexity, we now turn briefly to another problematic illustrated manuscript in Istanbul, Suleimaniye 3704. Appendix, Table 8, where we have transcribed the text for the cardamom plant, I, 6, from both the Istanbul 3704 and the BnF arabe 2849 manuscripts, demonstrates the problematic nature of the former manuscript. This specific entry has an odd feature repeated throughout the Istanbul 3704 manuscript: it has separate entries marked as belonging to Iṣṭifān, and at times similar distinct entries marked as being those of Ḥunain (both starting with *qāla* or *qawl* or some such designation to indicate that the following material was derived from a work of Iṣṭifān or Ḥunain). The text itself, while similar to the standard Iṣṭifān-Ḥunain text preserved in the BnF arabe 2849 manuscript, nevertheless exhibits remarkable differences that single it out as being in a class by itself. Thus far no other Dioscorides text seems to use this type of specific language.³⁴

The Illustrated Versus the Non-illustrated Manuscripts

The remarkable differences between the illustrated group of manuscripts and the non-illustrated ones have now been established. We noted, for example, that large portions of the text were at times deleted entirely from the illustrated manuscripts, giving rise to the only partially facetious title of this paper. But we still do not know the real motivation for this mysterious phenomenon. One important clue that may help us understand its origins comes from a copyist's note on the title page of the non-illustrated manuscript of BnF arabe 2849.

As we have already seen, the title page of this book identifies it as The Book of Dioscorides of 'Ainzarba On the Nature of Medical Treatment, translated by Iṣṭifān, and corrected by Abū Zayd Ḥunain b. Iṣḥāq of Baghdad for Muḥammad

b. Mūsā. The note goes on to say:³⁵ “Was copied through the care of the esteemed master, the great commander, the distinguished Ispahsalār, the vigilant frontier guardian, the best of the [leaders] of pilgrims to the two holy places, champion of religion, the one relied upon by kings and sultans, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ya‘qūb al-Malikī al-Mu‘azzamī, may God preserve his days. This book contains the book of Dioscorides of ‘Ainzarba, without the pictures of plants, trees, animals, and minerals, for all of those were recorded in a separate book all by themselves, in order to facilitate access to them for those who wish to do so. Whoever needs to know something of that sort should refer to that other book which includes all the pictures of plants, [trees], animals, and minerals, and where next to each picture there was a brief and succinct mention of the name of the plant, its strength, and some of its effects. God, whose help is sought, is the one who grants success.”³⁶

This note had a dual purpose: To identify the patron for whom the book was prepared, and to clarify why the book was produced without integrated illustrations. We should focus on the second purpose, for it offers a highly plausible explanation for the differences between the illustrated and non-illustrated manuscripts. Before doing so, however, a remark should be made about the patron himself in order to locate the culture and circumstances of the book.³⁷

According to Şafadī (ca. 1363),³⁸ Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ya‘qūb al-Malikī al-Mu‘azzamī, was a long-serving governor of Damascus, who was born in Mosul. He held office under two Ayyubid monarchs, al-Malik al-‘Ādil, Sayf al-Dīn (r. 1196–1218) and al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam (governor of Damascus himself, 1201–18, and ruler, 1218–27),³⁹ and died in the year AH 623/1226 CE at the age of eighty. Şafadī goes on to say that he ruled rather fairly and had but one fault: that he would jail people and forget about them.

This information clearly indicates that patronage of such works could come from the lower echelons of the ruling elite, not necessarily from the highest authority. This was also the case when the first translations of this book in the ninth century were patronized by a chief physician, first for the Syriac translation, and then by the companion of the caliph, for the Arabic one, and not by the caliph himself. Such evidence recurs; indeed, much of it exists for the ninth century. A notable example is the patronage of the *Almagest* translation by the vizier Ismā‘il b. Bulbul, which was executed by Ishāq the son of the famous translator Ḥunain. We must therefore begin to rethink the function of patronage in Islamic society in order to understand why such individuals would feel the need to patronize very highly specialized intellectual activities.

We return to the highly significant second portion of the note. Focusing on the clear distinction between the two genres of books relating to Dioscorides,

one of them without any illustration as in the manuscript preserved in BnF arabe 2849 and the other briefly described as containing the illustrations but also including such information as the “name of the plant, its strength, and some of its effects” we must disagree with Oleg Grabar about the interpretation of this remark. Grabar thought that it may very well be the “earliest medieval occurrence of a volume of plates separated from a volume of text, the last step, so to speak, in the ‘emancipation’ of images connected with books.”⁴⁰ This is clearly not the case, as the copyist’s note specifically indicates that the volume of illustrations also contained text with the “name of the plant, its strength, and some of its effects.” Perhaps the author of the remark in BnF arabe 2849 wanted to lead us to just that type of manuscript we have already located among the surviving codices: those illustrated books whose emphasis is on the paintings and where the text is brief, containing only what the author considered to be the essentials, omitting such text blocks as the ones we have already noted, including some that one might deem crucial to anyone using the manuscript for actual pharmacological purposes.

Text and Image: Aya Sofya 3703

Now that we have a better idea of the nature of the Arabic texts that accompany the illustrated manuscripts, what if any light does this shed on the making of such illustrated manuscripts and on the images themselves? We will focus here on a previously noted manuscript—the codex in Istanbul, Aya Sofya 3703, dated AH 621/1224 CE, from which some thirty illustrations were removed probably around the beginning of the twentieth century and are now dispersed among a number of public and private collections.⁴¹ The latter include paintings depicting complex, figured scenes rich with details drawn from contemporary life and thus far unique to this example.⁴²

Along with illustrations in the more famous manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt* in Paris (BnF arabe 5847) and St. Petersburg (Russian Academy of Sciences, S. 23)⁴³ with which they have a clear familial relationship, the paintings from Aya Sofya 3703 are well known because of the extraordinary variety and realism of their imagery.⁴⁴ As a consequence, the paintings from the Aya Sofya 3703, which are an important resource for understanding the tradition of manuscript illustration in pre-Mongol times, have frequently been the focus of art-historical studies which comment upon their inappropriateness to the Dioscorides text but do not examine the text itself.⁴⁵ This apparent disconnect between the study of image and text, unfortunately not unusual in the traditional scholarship on early Islamic manuscript illustration, is magnified in instances such as this in which the manuscript has been partially dismembered and its paintings dispersed.

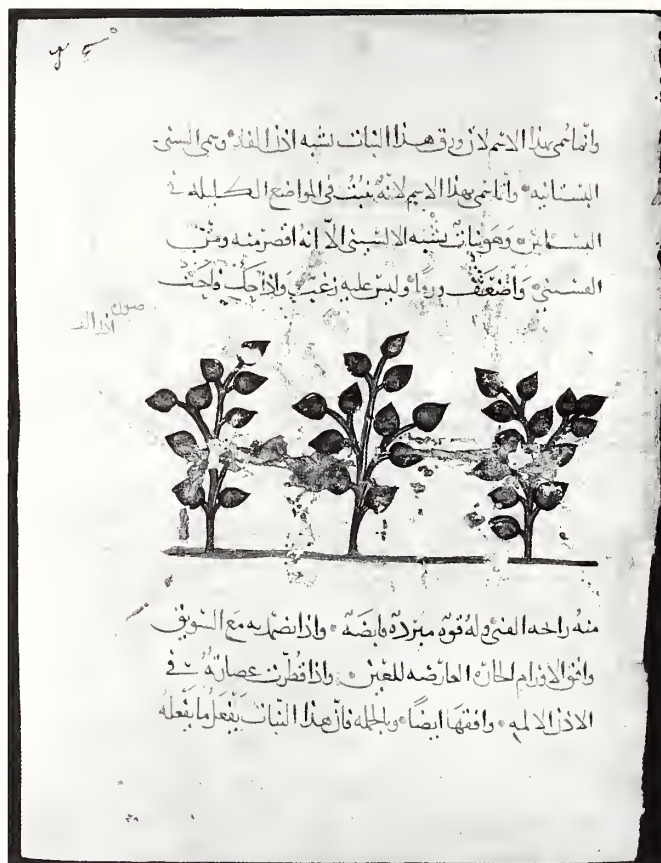
Aya Sofya 3703

This section will consider the figurative paintings from Aya Sofya 3703 from a new perspective: namely, these illustrations are entirely appropriate to the nature if not the letter of the text that they accompany, and both text and illustrations go well beyond the model of the Greek original.⁴⁶ We then focus on the paintings within the context of several closely related illustrated manuscripts from the first half of the thirteenth century and other contemporaneous works to elucidate perhaps a common impetus behind the production of such illustrated luxury codices.

Even before the removal of some thirty of its illustrations, Aya Sofya 3703 was probably in an incomplete state. There is no title page; the text begins, without preamble, with the fourth *maqālat* or Book 4 of Dioscorides.⁴⁷ The manuscript comprises Books 4–7; the two latter books, on toxicology, are attributed to (though not necessarily the work of) Dioscorides.⁴⁸ It is impossible to say whether the volume was planned as a truncated version of the text or if Books 1–3 were removed or bound as a separate volume. Book 4 is preceded by a kind of frontispiece, once badly abraded and now entirely repainted, perhaps depicting an apothecary shop.⁴⁹ We shall return shortly to the Aya Sofya 3703 frontispiece and its relation to the manuscript. Interestingly, the previously mentioned illustrated Arabic Dioscorides in the Bodleian Library (Ms. Arab. d. 138), dated AH 637/1239–40 CE, includes at present Books 3–5, while its Book 3 is preceded by an author portrait of the Greek physician.⁵⁰

The manuscript contains 155 folios each measuring 33.2 by 25.1 cm.⁵¹ There are today 143 illustrations preserved in the Istanbul manuscript, for a projected total of 174. The original manuscript was therefore extensively illustrated at a rate of slightly less than one for every two pages.⁵² Its text (thirteen lines per page) was written in a clear *naskh* in brown ink, with headings, captions, some marginal notes, and the like, in red ink. Curiously, the text of some of the detached pages is written in a crisp black ink, yet in the same hand, raising the question whether some pages were “freshened up” after their removal.⁵³ It appears that the text was transcribed first with spaces left for the illustrations, whose paint occasionally partially covers the text, and most of which are accompanied by captions that seem to be contemporary with the text.⁵⁴ Like the frontispiece, many of the illustrations are heavily abraded, which perhaps explains why even more pages were not removed from the manuscript. The manuscript preserves a colophon (fol. 155r), which states that it was copied by ‘Abdallah ibn al-Faḍl in Rajab 621 AH/July–August 1224 CE.

Aya Sofya 3703 first became widely known to Western scholars through the great exhibition of Islamic art in Munich in 1910, which included the illustrated pages that had been removed from the manuscript. These pages were then in the possession of the Swedish collector Fredrik Martin, who also helped to organize



4A

4

Page from the 1224 Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper, 32.6 x 25 cm. Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Friends of the Fogg Museum Fund (1971.95.1)

4A

Mouse's Ear (recto)

the Munich exhibition and contributed to its catalogue.⁵⁵ Since then these paintings and to a lesser extent their parent manuscript have been frequently published, most recently by Alain Touwaide, who attempted to reunite the majority of the paintings in a four-volume, lavishly illustrated work, which focuses on the illustrations while virtually ignoring their text.⁵⁶ In fact, despite the frequency with which the illustrations have been studied and published, we are not aware of any previous analysis of the accompanying text and its place within the complex history of the Arabic *Materia Medica*. Many of the figured illustrations were removed from Books 6 and 7, on toxicology and not plants—so neither text nor illustrations would have had specific prototypes within the late antique or Byzantine tradition while they were rarely illustrated in the expanded Arabic texts.⁵⁷

Text and Associated Illustrations

What follows in this section represents a sampling from what will someday, ideally, encompass the entire text.⁵⁸ A few examples may suffice to give an idea of the nature of the text in relation to the illustrations.

The text of a page pertaining to the Heliotrope (see fig. 1) now in the Freer Gallery of Art, the fourth in the group of the species under discussion,⁵⁹ coincides with the edition of Dubler and Terés (Book 4, Chapter 115) and can therefore be considered as the work of Dioscorides.⁶⁰ As is typical, there is a general description of the central features of the plant and the illustration—a tall plant with four bulbous fruits growing from a leafy stalk with a yellow and black-speckled root spreading outward on either side—includes certain basic characteristics (e.g., the



4 B

4B

Water Moss (verso)

fruit growing like little heads at the top of the stalk, although it would certainly never help a novice to recognize this plant in nature).⁶¹ On either side of the plant, standing on its outstretched roots, are two figures, representing standard types that recur in many of the illustrations. At the right is a white-bearded physician wearing a hooded cloak and a full-length robe, and on the left is his assistant with black beard, long black braid and clothed in a short tunic and leggings; the latter cuts the stalk of the plant with a long knife. Neither physician nor assistant is mentioned in the text, which indicates that when mixed with wine the plant can assist those bitten by poisonous snakes. The logic of including such figures will be discussed shortly.

While part of the text of another page (now at Harvard University Art Museums⁶²) is identical to Dubler and Terés Book 4, Chapter 72,⁶³ pertaining to a type of water moss or algae-like plant, the section that follows it and the one that precedes it—on a variety of plants known as a “mouse’s ear”—are so far unknown in the traditions of Arabic Dioscorides and instead represent a new text (figs. 4a, b). The picture associated with the “mouse’s ear” depicts a rather generic-looking row of three leafy plants that seem generally to coincide with the text.⁶⁴ For the water-based plant, the illustration again broadly reflects the text; the water is depicted by a blue band with wavy parallel lines (a standard convention repeated elsewhere in the manuscript), and circumscribed by a strip of green marked by concentric semicircles and perhaps intended to represent moss or algae.⁶⁵

A page housed in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C., from a section discussing a grape-derived medicament that can cure bladder stones and

وَالسُّوَالِ الْأَيْفَعَةُ فِي مَا لَا يَدْرِي بِقَطْرَةٍ وَلَوْ لَحَفَتْهُ إِذْ عَقِدَتْهُ نَوَاقِعُ لَيْلِيَّةٍ ثَنَاتِهِ
بِحَصَانَتِهِ يُسْقَاهُ مِنْهُ بِشَرَابٍ مُوَبَّرٍ لِحَارِ الْأَطْلَمِيَّةِ وَقَدْ طَلَبَهُ بِعَسَلِ
الْمَوْضِعِ يَنْظُرُونَ وَصِفَعَهُ إِذْ لَطَبَتْ بَنَ كَلْشَا الشَّعْرِ إِذَا دَسَّ بِهِ وَزَيْمَادُ الْوَرْدِ جُوفِ



وَالْهَصَانَةُ الْأَخْطَطِيَّةُ نَوَاقِعُ لِلْفَرْجِ فِي إِنْ يَزُولُ الْمَوَاسِيرُ الْبَاطِنَةُ
الْجَالِ الْأَطْلَمِيَّةُ الْمَادِرُ وَخَلَوْفُ وَرْدٍ وَتَعْقِبُهُ ع
ذَكَرَ امَّاوِيَّ الْعَرَبِيَّ ع

5

5

A Physician Treats a Blindfolded Man, page from the 1224 Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper, 33.1 x 24.3 cm. Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; purchase, Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler (S1986.97a).

mange, and can make hair grow, appears to be a reworking of Book 5, Chapters 2–3, of Arabic Dioscorides, while the section that follows, covering the same entries as would be appropriate to the standard contents of Book 5, Chapters 4–5, on the flowering wild vine, introduces an entirely new text.⁶⁶ It states: “If soaked in water, and with the water that is distilled from the hearts of the grape (*jafna*) and thickened (by boiling) it would help those who have kidney stones by clearing it if it were drunk in a syrup. It also cures white spots (*hizāz*, head scurfs) and scabs (*jarab*) if smeared. It is also said that it could be smeared after cleaning the spot with Natron and its gum. If it is mixed with oil it increases hair, if it is smeared with it together with the ashes of vine twigs. If mixed with vinegar the juice would be beneficial for scars that appear on the body and for apparent hemorrhoids. [It suits] the liver if mixed with ash and vinegar and... and rose paste and is bandaged with it.”

Though novel, the text nonetheless does not elucidate the precise significance of the accompanying illustration (fig. 5).⁶⁷ It depicts a simplified, box-like interior setting, outlined in red, which serves as a framework for the figures. At the top, the architecture is distinguished by a roof of colorful, imbricated panels while below is a pair of stylized columns whose capitals curve upward almost organically and which seem to support a downward hanging textile that helps to divide the space between the figures. At the right is the white-bearded, cloaked physician seated on



الذي يكون فيه الخلط بعسل وطلاء به
 في اوجاعه
 من ذلك كون سحر الحصر من قبل الحوض ينبغي ان يوضع قبل الحصر الشاليد

6

6
 The Preparation of Medicine from
 the Flower of the Wild Vine, page
 from the 1224 Dioscorides, *De*
Materia Medica. Opaque watercolor,
 ink, and gold on paper, 33.1 x 23.2
 cm. Courtesy of the Freer Gallery
 of Art, Smithsonian Institution,
 Washington, D.C., purchase
 (F1932.22v).

a stool before a table with medical implements, and at left are two figures seated on the ground: a blindfolded young man behind whom sits a partially nude, large-bellied man holding a fan. It is unclear whether one or both of these figures are intended to represent the afflicted.⁶⁸

The page that immediately follows the Sackler folio is also in Washington, D.C., in the Freer Gallery of Art (fig. 6).⁶⁹ This page continues the subject matter of Book 5, 4–5, as per Arabic Dioscorides, but the text is once again quite different.⁷⁰ It states: "...if it is drunk. It stops diarrhea and headache, if mixed with vinegar and rose paste and used as a bandage. [For] whoever has an ulcer on his gums or on his abdomen, then you should mix it with honey, myrrh, and saffron, and smear it. It would cure it. For eye swelling and for the stomach that has a fever it should be mixed with flour and syrup and bandaged with it. And that by burning it (?) on pottery. And it is used as eye kohl for eye pain, and pain of the fingers and splits that occur on them by mixing it with honey and smearing it." The associated painting represents an exterior scene. The landscape, defined by a grassy ground line, is divided in two by a large leafy tree laden with red fruit and whose bark is curiously rendered as a series of almost bone-like irregular rectangles marked by highlights and shadows. At the left, seated on a stool, the white-bearded and cloaked physician confers with a princely patient sitting cross-legged on a throne,

فَاذْهَبَا الْعَصِيرَ نَضَفَهُ هَذَا الشَّرَابُ مُوَافِقٌ لِمَجْعِ الْمَلَقِ وَالْجَنْبِ وَالْبَيْضِ
وَالْأَسْزِ وَالرَّائِفِ وَلَمْزِهِ لَمْزِ غَلِيظٍ فَحَلِّدْ بَعْضُ الْوَلَوْنِ وَلَمْزُ الشَّيْءِ مَر



وَلَيْسَتْ لَهُ غَالِبَةٌ مُوَافِقٌ لِلثَّانِيَةِ وَالْكَلامُ ع ع ع
صَنَعْدُ شَرَابٍ لِلزَّامِ وَالسَّعَالِ
وَوَزْنُ الْبَطْنِ وَاسْتَرْخَا الْمَعْدَنَ خَدَّرَ رُجْ أَوْقِيهِ وَأَصُولُ شَرْبِ أَوْقِيهِ
وَقَلْنَا لِنَجْرُجْ شَرْبِ أَوْقِيهِ دَقَقَهُ جَمِيعًا وَارْبَطَهُ خَرْقَةً وَاجْعَلْهُ فِي لَبَنٍ فَاسْتَطَابَ شَرَابُ
طَبِيبٍ ذَلِكَ ثَلَاثَةَ أَيَّامٍ تَرُصُّهُ وَارْفَعَهُ فِي أَيَّامٍ طَبِيبٍ اشْرَبْ مِنْهُ بَعْدَ الْعِشَاءِ

7

7

Preparation of Medicine from Honey,
page from the 1224 Dioscorides, *De*
Materia Medica. Opaque watercolor,
ink, and gold on paper, 33.2 x 24.8
cm. Courtesy of the Metropolitan
Museum of Art, New York (13.152.6).

while at the right the black-bearded assistant prepares the medicament by stirring a large globular vessel mounted on a stand. This depiction enriches rather than specifically illustrates the text.

On another page, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the subject matter of the text is equivalent to Dubler and Terés Book 5, Chapter 40,⁷¹ on the manufacture of a beverage as a curative for cold, coughing, swelling of the belly and diarrhea. However, this does not appear to be Arabic Dioscorides but rather something new.⁷² It provides a recipe for a therapeutic syrup: "Take one quarter ounce (*mithqāl*) of myrrh and one eighth *sūs* stalks, one quarter and one eighth (i.e., 3/8) of white pepper. Pound all of that and wrap them in a piece of cloth and split it into three portions of good syrup. Leave it for three days, then strain it and place it in a clean vessel and drink it after supper." The related illustration (fig. 7) is set in a landscape marked by the standard grassy ground line and framed on either side by a leafy, fruit-bearing tree whose trunk is rendered in the same peculiar manner as in the preceding painting (see fig. 6). The trees curve inward, drawing the eye to the center of the composition and a tall tripod supporting a strainer above a large vessel. To the left of the tripod is a storage jar; to the right is the physician, or perhaps his assistant, who is seated on a stool working with a mortar and pestle. The composition reflects the general details of the text.

On still another page in the Freer Gallery of Art (fig. 8), the upper portion of the text, on the medicinal use of clay to be dug from a mine beneath the earth, is illustrated by two men digging in a clay pit (clearly above ground to judge by the framing plants and the grassy ground line that continues around the golden-col-

لما سافر اوجس وهو الطين المحتوم

هذه نبتة تخرج من عادي دابة تحت الارض اذا شرب الحن



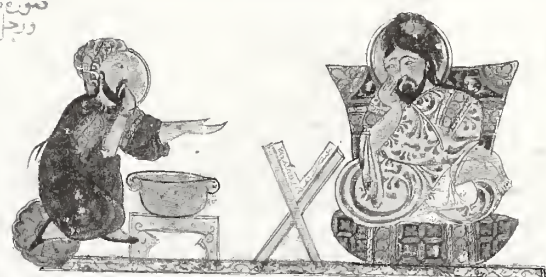
له قوة ضد الادوية القاتلة

حلفس وهو القلقنت

مؤثر خير الاول ولكنه رطب فيعقد من الروح والماء هو من حن
الاول ولكنه رطب وهو لئذ اصناف منها يقطر ما ينجف مثل الملح
وذلك يكون قبيح ومعادل الحن ومنه ما يخرج في معادل الخرج
منها ما يصير جماً مثل الملح ويكون صنف اخر في ارضات يابسة مثل هذا

سيدنا فاذ فعلت ما سنه من ربح الربح من ربح

مور طبيب
وجلس



دواءه بسببنا والسور ذريع كور وفلفل دجيز

مع شرايب او بلحمار يربى بالكله مع خبر شرايب

من شرب نيق

يعتضه شرايب الزل ودواءه مثل

والبر نافع له والقي مؤانق واكثر علاجه

من شرب طيبابونا وادخله اصفر

او من ربح الحن

8

8

Two Men Obtaining Lemnian Clay, page from the 1224 Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*. Opaque watercolor and ink on paper, 33.1 x 24.6 cm. Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., purchase (F1932.21V).

9

A Physician and an Ill Man, page from the 1224 Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*. Opaque watercolor and ink on paper, 33 x 25.6 cm. Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; purchase, Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler (S1986.98a).

9

ored pit). The text is similar but not identical to Dubler and Terés Book 5, Chapter 79, of Arabic Dioscorides, while the section that follows once more introduces new material.⁷³

A page from Book 6, Chapter 28, on poisons, in Washington's Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (fig. 9), diverges sharply from Arabic Dioscorides; indeed, the revisions take enormous liberties with the text, which specifically pertains to lead poisoning.⁷⁴ The illustration, set in an undefined interior, shows a man with turban, black beard and long black braid seated on a red-patterned pillow with another similar pillow at his back; before him on a stand or *rahle* is an open book inscribed along the edges.⁷⁵ At the left is another black-bearded and turbaned man, though less splendidly attired, seated on a smaller, round red cushion before a large golden basin on a low table. The caption at the upper left reads "picture of a doctor (*ṭabīb*) and an ill man." Although it is not entirely clear, it seems likely that the figure seated at the right, consulting the open book, is the physician. This is a generic illustration that does not appear to coincide with either of the cures detailed in the adjacent text.

To summarize, what we have noted so far among the texts associated with these illustrated pages from the Aya Sofya 3703 codex is a combination of 1) Arabic Dioscorides, 2) reworked or emended Dioscorides, and 3) something quite novel. These few examples suggest that this is a new version of the text compiled, edited, and expanded by someone working within the same empirical genre of Dioscorides but with a different result and perhaps for a somewhat different purpose. We do not know when this text was first produced—possibly not much

لَيْسَتْ بِهَا الطَّعَامُ أَوْ مِنْ صَوَاتٍ قُوَّتُهُ خُلِّلَ وَصَفَتْهُ عِلْمًا هَذَا الصِّفَاءُ



وَمِنْهَا أَبُو حَزْرٍ
يُؤْخَذُ مِنَ الْعَسَلِ جُزْءٌ وَفِيهِ طَوْنَةٌ بِالْحَنَاءِ وَطَوْنَةٌ عِلْمًا الصِّفَاءُ إِلَى الذَّهَبِ
الْمَيْزِ تَنْزِيْعُهُ مَعَ مَعَ وَقَدْ يَكْتَفِي
قَالَ لَهُ أَبُو هَاجِرٍ هَذِهِ الصِّفَاءُ يُؤْخَذُ شَمْعُ الشَّهْدِ يُغْتَسَلُ
بِالْمَاءِ وَيُؤْخَذُ ذَلِكَ الْمَاءُ يُرْفَعُ هَ وَنَبِيْعِي إِذَا شَرِبَ هَذَا الشَّرَابَ أَنْ
يُصْرَفَ مِنَ النَّاسِ مَنْ يَطْخُدُ وَيَتَوَغَيَّرُ مَوَاقِفَ لِلرَّضِ لَكِنَّهُ مَا يَفِيهِ مِنْ

10

10

Preparing Medicine in a Pharmacy,
page from the 1224 Dioscorides, *De*
Materia Medica. Opaque watercolor,
ink, and gold on paper, 34.1 x 22.9
cm. Courtesy of the Metropolitan
Museum of Art, New York, Bequest
of Cora Timken Burnett (57.51.21).

before 1224 or perhaps considerably earlier. What is obvious is that it is a different work from the non-illustrated Arabic Dioscorides. This is not to suggest that the figured illustrations coincide with the text—as we have already indicated, that is not necessarily the case—only that the text is novel and therefore was in theory without prototypes, enabling the artist to produce illustrations at will. This novelty would not of course have provided the sole impetus. For that we will have to look elsewhere.

But first let us look at the best-known illustration from the Aya Sofya 3703 manuscript—the so-called pharmacy scene now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 10),⁷⁶ which is again from Book 5, Chapter 8—to get an idea of the possible relationship of text and image.⁷⁷ Here the text generally coincides with Arabic Dioscorides and describes a medication that can be used as a restorative for someone “who does not desire food, or the one whose strength is weakening. Its preparation is in this manner. One part of honey is taken and one part of spring water and they are mixed together with the honey and cooked in this manner until

two thirds are gone. Then they put it aside. One could make another syrup called Onomali (mulaum, also honey-wine mead) in this manner: Honey wax is taken and washed with water, and the water is taken away and kept. If this drink were ever drunk it should be evacuated. There are those who cook it, but it is not good for patients on account of the excess of wax dirt in it.”

The illustration depicts the interior of a two-storied structure, outlined in red, in which each of the floors is divided into three parts: a wider middle room with arched corners, with a narrower chamber (in which the corner arches are joined at the center) on either side. On the first floor the central room, buttressed by a pair of curtained balconies, contains a golden cauldron on an iron stand that spews flames. At the right, a black-bearded figure stirs the cauldron with one hand and holds a small golden vessel in his other hand. To the left of the cauldron is a young man seated on a stool. Above, on the second floor, a row of storage jars fills the center room. In the narrow chamber at the right a man stirs a large storage jar with a long staff while in the room at the left is a seated man.

The central portion of the painting perhaps depicts the act of cooking the honey mixture, as specified in the text, while the remainder of the illustration provides in great detail the context in which the medicament could be produced—a pharmacy. It is interesting to note that the very same section of the text in the previously noted and closely allied Bologna 2954 manuscript, dated AH 642/1244–45 CE, does not include any image for this entry;⁷⁸ indeed, Book 5 seems rarely to have been illustrated. Clearly the artist of the Aya Sofya 3703 codex was blazing a new path quite apart from the tradition of illustrated Arabic Dioscorides, regardless of which parts of the text adhered to the Dioscorides tradition and which were entirely new.

The novel figured scenes can be divided into two general but not mutually exclusive types: scenes of doing or making, and scenes of instruction or consultation. Both have prototypes within the late antique tradition in wall-painting, mosaics, and manuscript illustrations, and both were “translated” into the visual idiom of the Islamic world and recontextualized, often losing much of their former meaning.⁷⁹

But what does either type of scene have to do with the text of Aya Sofya 3703? Their relevance has to do with the patron or reader’s level of expectation and perhaps expertise. The pharmacy scene, for instance, represents a type of logical extension of the text that would easily be at home in our own time. We might compare, for instance, a modern-day and unrelated illustrated text on life sciences. There, for a section on man and nature pertaining to soil erosion, the authors or the editor have chosen a remarkable photograph, although the caption in the text makes no reference to its specific circumstances.⁸⁰



11

11

Arthur Rothstein, *Eroded Land on Tenant's Farm, Walker County, Alabama*, 1937. Collections of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (3820).

In fact, the photograph (fig. 11), entitled “Eroded Land on Tenant’s Farm, Walker County, Alabama,” was taken in 1937 for the Farm Security Administration, which employed such well-known photographers and artists as Walker Evans, Dorothea Lang, and Ben Shahn. This photograph was taken by the lesser-known Arthur Rothstein. The choice of this photo to accompany a text on soil erosion is obvious, but why not crop it to exclude the ramshackle building and the wistful boy? Perhaps because it contextualizes and amplifies the subject matter by depicting the human consequences, and the reader registers this far more acutely than if the image had been cropped.⁸¹

Aya Sofya 3703 in Context

We would submit that the patron of the Aya Sofya 3703 manuscript, who was likely not a health-care professional, or, given the text’s already noted crucial lacunae, certainly not one whose patients could expect first-rate care, nonetheless possessed a certain level of expectation and sophistication not all that different from our own when it came to such books. Several other closely related illustrated manuscripts from the first half of the thirteenth century further demonstrate this point. Most of these manuscripts, along with the illustrated pages removed from Aya Sofya 3703 were first grouped together on stylistic grounds over sixty years ago by the art historian Hugo Buchta, who was interested in the transference of traditions and culture between the medieval West and East.⁸² While much has since been written about late twelfth- and thirteenth-century illustrated manuscripts from northern and southern Iraq as well as Syria, this smaller group is still a coherent one and useful for our present purposes.⁸³ It is specifically associated with Baghdad, seat of the Abbasid caliphate and intellectual center of the Islamic world.⁸⁴

The earliest works belonging to this group, which help tie it to Baghdad, are two manuscripts of the *Kitāb al-bayṭara* (Book of farriery) by Ibn al-Aḥnaf, which were copied by the calligrapher ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibatallāh, the first in 1208–09 in Baghdad (Cairo, National Library, Khalil Agha 8f) and the second one year later,



12

12
Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*,
Suleimaniye Library, Istanbul,
Aya Sofya 3703, fol. 3v, copied by
'Abdallah ibn Faql, AH 621/1224
CE. Opaque watercolor and ink on
paper, 33 x 24 cm. Courtesy of the
Suleimaniye Library, Istanbul.



13

13
Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*,
Suleimaniye Library, Istanbul,
Aya Sofya 3703, fol. 10v, copied by
'Abdallah ibn Faql, AH 621/1224
CE. Opaque watercolor and ink on
paper, 33 x 24 cm. Courtesy of the
Suleimaniye Library, Istanbul.



14

14
Kitāb na't al-hayawān, British
Library, Or. 2784, fol. 228v. Opaque
watercolor and ink on paper, 23.5
x 16 cm. Courtesy of the British
Library, London.

also presumably in Baghdad (Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, Ahmet III, 2115). Although the numerous paintings with their spare yet controlled use of line readily express the intrinsic nature of the horses and perceptively depict the veterinary surgeons, assistants and grooms treating them, their precise utility with regard to the associated text is less clear.⁸⁵ They must have enriched the experience of reading the text and presumably satisfied the owner's expectation for images, which are stylistically allied with the Aya Sofya 3703 paintings in terms of their figural style; the black-bearded and turbaned grooms are depicted in a very similar manner to the physician's assistant, and both use a related grassy ground line sometimes with clusters of short leafy plants.

The other manuscripts belonging to this group represent a more mature style of painting that appeared, perhaps, shortly after 1220 in Baghdad, and continued there in succeeding decades. Among these and, perhaps most closely allied with Aya Sofya 3703 is the undated *Kitāb na't al-hayawān* (Book on the characteristics of animals), a composite text on animals and the medical properties of various parts of their bodies combining material derived from Ibn Bakhtishū' with a pseudo-Aristotelian work (British Library, Or. 2784).⁸⁶ Its close relationship to Aya Sofya 3703 is readily apparent in the use of the same standard figural types such as the physician; identical details such as the open book with inscribed edges set on a book-stand and the upright cushion supporting a seated figure; related compositional designs in which plants are used as framing devices or focal points; the parallel manner in which the ribs of certain animals are denoted as a series of curved lines; and the very same conventions for water and trees. Most of these common characteristics were already noted by Buchtal.⁸⁷ Moreover, while one text focuses on animals and the other on plants, many of their illustrations in which birds, insects (fig. 12), or animals disport among vegetation are virtually indistinguishable (compare figs. 13 and 14).⁸⁸ But even beyond the illustrations and their numerous analogies, the two texts share a comparable use and disposition of headings and captions, while they also employ paper of a very similar quality and type. Like



15

15

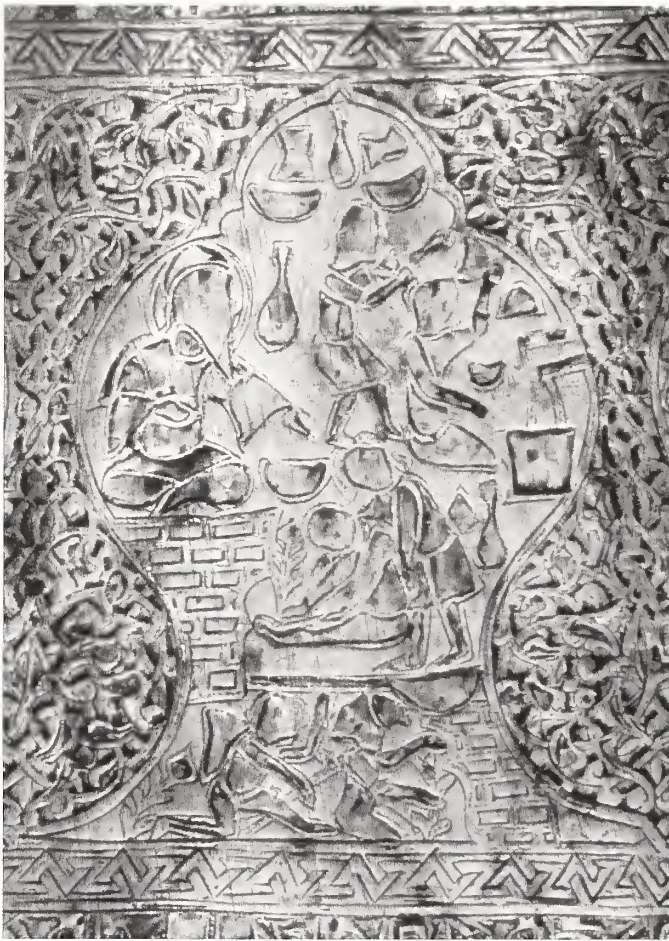
Maqāmāt, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, département des Manuscrits orientaux, ms. arabe 5847, fol. 33v, copied and illustrated by Yahya ibn Maḥmūd al-Wāsiṭī, AH 634/1236–37 CE. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Aya Sofya 3703, the British Library manuscript appears to be a remade text and so its illustrator likewise had the opportunity to devise new compositions or reinterpret existing ones.⁸⁹ The two manuscripts, which must be similar in date,⁹⁰ were undoubtedly derived from the same tradition and workshop, and likewise share a similar motivation to create compositional types—an impetus that is even more fully realized in the three manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt* belonging to this group.⁹¹

Among these three *Maqāmāt* manuscripts, probably the oldest datable is assigned to 1225–35 and attributable to Baghdad (St. Petersburg, Russian Academy of Sciences, S. 23), in part because of stylistic comparisons with the Aya Sofya 3703 and British Library manuscripts as well as with the closely related copy in Paris (BnF arabe 5847). The latter was written and illustrated in AH 634/1236–37 CE by Yahya ibn Maḥmūd al-Wāsiṭī, whose name suggests that he came from the town of Wāsiṭ south of Baghdad, while an inscription (fol. 164v) refers to the caliph al-Mustanṣir (r. 1226–42), both of which support an attribution to Baghdad. The third and probably latest manuscript of the trio (Istanbul, Suleimaniye Library, Esad Efendi 2961) is poorly preserved but equivalent to the other two in style and quality; it preserves an inscription (fol. 204r) in the name of the last Abbasid caliph, al-Mustaʿsim (r. 1242–58), which is the basis for its later date and ascription to Baghdad.⁹²

In all three manuscripts the numerous realistic and expressive illustrations are set in landscapes or within buildings or groups of tents often with dense crowds of people and filled with genre-like details that help transform the paintings into a pictorial narrative that seems to function almost independently of its text. The St. Petersburg and Paris manuscripts in particular share a number of features with Aya Sofya 3703. Their strong visual relationship is readily demonstrated, for example, in the use of single-story and especially two-story tripartite buildings outlined in red as in the 12th (fig. 15) and 39th *maqāmāt* in the Paris manuscript and the 29th *maqāma* in the St. Petersburg version,⁹³ and similarly the page from the Aya Sofya 3703 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (see fig. 10). On another level the seeming inappropriateness of the *maqāmāt* paintings, insofar as they illustrate a book whose focus is on linguistic dexterity⁹⁴ rather than narrative, can be likened to the complex and detailed scenes from the Aya Sofya 3703 manuscript, which visually amplify and contextualize a text whose subject matter and prose style would perhaps be somewhat uninspiring for the general reader. Although the *maqāmāt* illustrations are set in a carefully detailed physical reality based in contemporary life, while the settings of the paintings from Aya Sofya 3703 are often less fully defined, the manuscripts share a common impetus and clearly belong to the same visual genre. Furthermore, in all of these examples, the illustrations are not conditioned by their texts; rather, they may be a reflection of the milieu in which they were produced—one in which representational imagery emphasizing detailed scenes of daily life was commonplace at least at some levels of society.

In fact, a closely related phenomenon occurs in the contemporary medium of inlaid metalwork generally attributable to northern Iraq. For example, a candlestick in the Khalili Collection, London, which has lost most of its inlay, includes two relevant scenes (figs. 16–17): one depicts something analogous to the pharmacy scene from Aya Sofya 3703, now in the Metropolitan Museum Art (see fig. 10), and the other perhaps a school scene as might be found in either the Paris or the St. Petersburg *Maqāmāt*.⁹⁵ A connection between the thirteenth-century inlay workshops and contemporary manuscript illustrators has often been proposed, although the mechanics have never been defined and we do not propose to do so here.⁹⁶ We would simply state the obvious: that we are presumably dealing with a society—or some subset of society—well-accustomed to this type of imagery, which may perhaps be viewed as a reflection of popular culture. Perhaps significantly where the metalwork includes inscriptions pertaining to or providing the names of their patrons, these invariably seem to be members of the ruling elite such as Badr al-Dīn Lu’lu’, Zengid vizier (then atabeg of Mosul, for whom six such objects were made), while others were apparently made for export for members of the Ayyubid dynasty.⁹⁷



16

16

Scene in a pharmacy, detail on the base of candlestick. Brass inlaid with silver, h. 22 cm, diam. 34 cm (candlestick). Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London, MTW 1252, ©Nour Foundation.



17

17

School scene, detail on the base of candlestick. Brass inlaid with silver, h. 22, diam. 34 cm (candlestick). Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London, MTW 1252, ©Nour Foundation.

In considering the illustrated manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt*, Grabar posited that their illustration was part of a broader phenomenon in the development of representational imagery in the art of much of the Islamic world, beginning around the mid-twelfth century. He saw this phenomenon as being driven by the needs and tastes of the urban bourgeoisie.⁹⁸ Yet this interpretation is difficult to support if we look at the extremely limited evidence from the lands west of Iran. In terms of inlaid metalwork, as already indicated, the patrons appear to belong to the upper echelons of society, while for manuscripts, for example the previously noted Dioscorides in Paris, BnF arabe 2849, dated AH 616/1219 CE, which once included a second, illustrated volume, the patron — Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm — has been identified here as a governor of Damascus.⁹⁹

More recently, Jonathan Bloom has characterized the seemingly abrupt appearance in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century of manuscripts whose richly detailed illustrations were not dictated by the exigencies of their texts as representing the confluence of a number of factors, but most significantly the new availability of large sheets of high quality paper.¹⁰⁰ Baghdad, in particular, was well known for the fineness of its paper, a reputation that continued even beyond the Mongol conquest of that city in 1258.¹⁰¹ The availability of paper may have also helped in the transmission and translation of figures, themes, and compositions found in such seemingly disparate media as inlaid metalwork and manuscript illustration.¹⁰²

While we may never know precisely what caused or drove the phenomenon of figural imagery in thirteenth-century art ascribed to Iraq or Syria, including illustrated manuscripts, the copyist's note from BnF arabe 2849 provides us with important evidence for interest in and presumed taste for illustrated manuscripts. Indeed, the note stating that the Paris volume excluded "the pictures of plants, trees, animals, and minerals, for all of those were recorded in a separate book all by themselves, in order to facilitate access to them for those who wish to do so" clearly indicates an audience for the illustrated version, one that might preclude those interested in the text itself. Given the widespread availability of paper just noted, presumed double volume manuscripts of Arabic Dioscorides like BnF arabe 2849 seem less of an extravagance and more importantly may help to explain the extant illustrated manuscripts in the tradition of Arabic Dioscorides, such as Aya Sofya 3703. These illustrated manuscripts, with their non-standard texts, may have been similarly produced as part of a set along with a more extensive and non-illustrated text. One volume, like BnF arabe 2849, largely maintained the efficacy and the functionality of the original text while the other, like Aya Sofya 3703, was a new production reflecting the requirements and expectations of the contemporary society. This imputed audience was not one-dimensional, as indicated by a comparison between the illustrations of the Aya Sofya 3703 manuscript and later versions belonging to the same text-family (see table 3) as in Oxford (Bodleian Library, Arab. d. 138) dated 1239–40, and Bologna, dated 1244–45 (Bibliotheca Universitaria, Cod. arab. 2954), both of which exclude figures, with the exception of their author portraits.¹⁰³

Finally, if we return to the frontispiece of the Aya Sofya 3703 manuscript, we can perhaps gain a further sense of how the manuscript may have been perceived. As already indicated, the frontispiece is entirely repainted. It is today numbered as fol. 2v, and the text begins on fol. 3r, however, when we initially saw the manuscript in the summer of 1989 and subsequently obtained a microfilm, the frontispiece was fol. 2r while the beginning of the text (now missing) occupied fol. 2v. Whether Aya Sofya 3703 ever included Books 1–3, in this reconstruction, as preserved in the microfilm version, the frontispiece may have functioned somewhat like the author portraits that are found in a number of contemporary manuscripts of Arabic Dioscorides.

Although the Aya Sofya 3703 frontispiece is entirely repainted, the basic composition and its details remain the same as in our microfilm version.¹⁰⁴ It depicts an apothecary shop whose lower façade is defined by the same type of archway as in the previously noted illustration of a pharmacy scene now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (see fig. 10). Here, however, the architectural setting is further enhanced by elaborate brickwork. Two figures are seated just above the brickwork

and beneath each of the corner arches: at left a black-bearded and turbaned man, and at right a white-bearded figure. The brickwork is interrupted by a doorway within which stands another male figure clothed in a tunic and leggings who reaches up toward one of the objects hanging above his head. Still higher up are three rows with four niches each holding a container or vessel. Perhaps the older man at the right is the venerable physician and author, the other seated figure his patient or a student, and the standing figure his assistant.

Whether a frontispiece or a variant on the author portrait, the painting sets the stage for the illustrated text to follow. It also provides an interesting counterpoint to the well-known double-page author portrait in the Dioscorides manuscript dated AH 626/1229 CE in the Topkapı Palace Library (Ahmet III, 2127), which according to Richard Ettinghausen's masterful interpretation is a visualization of the process by which the text was transmitted to the Muslim world: here the classical author recognizes and receives the new Arabic Islamic version of his famous handbook.¹⁰⁵ By contrast, in the Aya Sofya 3703 frontispiece we have a fully transformed Dioscorides morphed into a Baghdad physician or pharmacist, who is now part and parcel of the Islamic urban milieu, depicted in his pharmacy, and surrounded by some of the ingredients and preparations elucidated in the accompanying text. This novel frontispiece visually prepares the reader or viewer of the manuscript for what will follow: the remade text is boldly introduced and cleverly conceptualized by a contemporary apothecary shop. Part of the reader's or viewer's delight in the Aya Sofya 3703 codex, as in the previously discussed illustrated *maqāmāt* manuscripts, must have been the magic of seeing their world reflected in the book's paintings.¹⁰⁶

But who would sponsor the production of a luxury codex such as Aya Sofya 3703, which nonetheless represents a rather specialized subject matter? Were such manuscripts intended for personal edification or as status symbols for the non-specialist's library (such as that of the governor of Damascus)? If the latter, who else might have had access to them?¹⁰⁷ Further and more detailed studies, including those involving texts and their relationship to their illustrations, may eventually allow a broader view of the medieval society that some have seen mirrored in these illustrations.

As more of these texts are read and studied for their own merits we may come to see that Islamic scholars were far more engaged not only with the process of translating and refining the knowledge of the classical world but in moving beyond it, and that this scholarship, both practical and esoteric, engendered an interest within the broader society to the extent that it was illustrated by a type of popular imagery drawn from contemporary life and reflected in other media. And maybe what we are hinting at here is a kind of democratization of knowledge. Perhaps

the illustrations from the Aya Sofya 3703 codex, depicting the setting if not the reality of the thirteenth-century Islamic world, alongside its remade text, already announce this.

Postscript

In view of what we now know about the relationship among the surviving Arabic texts that have usually been described as translations of the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides, it is important to raise the obvious question: Which text was the text of Dioscorides? Perhaps most pertinently, which surviving text represents the Arabic translation that was done by Iṣṭifān? Although most of the surviving texts claim that they were the translations of Iṣṭifān, we have also seen the remarkable differences among them, which should easily convince us not to take these claims too seriously.

The non-illustrated text now preserved in Paris BnF 2849, Bodelian Hyde 34, and Madrid 5006, despite the fact that the marginal remarks refer to opinions of Iṣṭifān or Ḥunain (as being derived from different independent texts by Iṣṭifān or Ḥunain), seems for the moment to be as close as we will get, under the circumstances, to the original text of Iṣṭifān. Notwithstanding the heroic efforts of Dubler and Terés, a better critical edition of those three manuscripts, taking into consideration the preserved fragments of the other texts in the illustrated manuscripts, should one day provide us, for the first time perhaps, with the closest text of Iṣṭifān's translation.

The other texts that are either a *taḥrīr* or an *iṣlāḥ* of the text of Dioscorides should never be confused with the original translations. They should instead be attributed to their authors as independent works using Dioscorides as a starting point, but adding remarks, plants, effects, and features derived from their own experience or tested during their medical careers, in much the same way as Ibn al-Bayṭār had done in the thirteenth century when he too had used the text of Dioscorides together with a host of other sources. The authors' names of the *taḥrīrs* and *iṣlāḥs* should be clearly identified, and their works and contributions appropriately credited.

A work such as that of Nātīlī, as preserved in the Leiden manuscript, and which claimed to be an *iṣlāḥ*, should indeed be treated as such. And when we fully understand its nature as an "independent" text, we can then explain the presence of the supplementary plants added to those contained in the original Greek texts, as was already noted by Sadek. But it would be equally important to determine Nātīlī's sources and why he felt the need for those additions. Furthermore, the text itself should be compared with an equally critically edited text of the original translation of Iṣṭifān to determine the extent to which Nātīlī contravened Iṣṭifān's text, so

as also to determine his attitude toward and critical opinion of the original. Only then can we begin to understand the meaning of the transmission of a specific text from one culture to another.

Our own conjectures notwithstanding, the circumstances and motivation for the production of the illustrated manuscripts are still far from clearly understood, especially given the remarkable variations among the illustrated manuscripts themselves both in text and images. Whether we can characterize their texts as the work of Dioscorides, the connection clearly remained, perhaps much the way Roget continues today to be associated with his now much expanded and revised Thesaurus. Indeed, four of the illustrated Arabic manuscripts include so-called “author portraits” depicting Dioscorides.¹⁰⁸

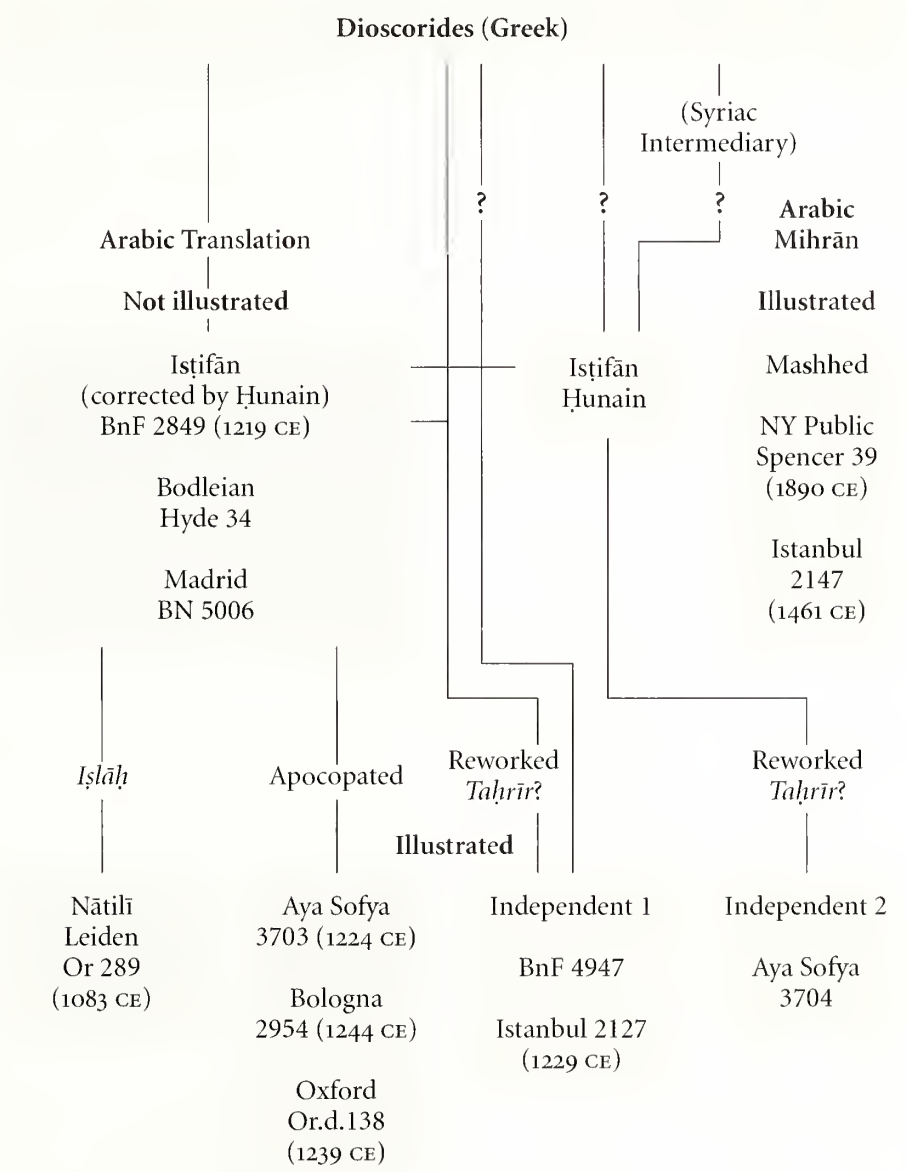
Lastly, we are far from understanding the steps that were taken at each juncture to transmit the illustrations from one generation of the text to the next, when the text was being translated or revised, whether in a *taḥrīr* or an *iṣlāḥ* version. Did the illustrator use the drawings of the original manuscript that he was translating (or that he was later copying after the text had been translated) as his guide to render his own illustrations, or did he create his own paintings with or without the input of his patron?

We do have some information on the latter question. In at least one clear instance, where the patron was a physician, we have an example of such cooperation with the illustrator, where the illustrator was ordered to produce paintings according to specific instructions from the physician. This may even explain some of the varieties we now note among the various surviving illustrations. This example is preserved in an account in the encyclopedic work of Ibn Abi Uṣaybi‘a,¹⁰⁹ in which he says:

Among the books of Rashīd al-Dīn b. al-Ṣūrī [d. 1. Rajab, 639 AH = 5 January 1242] there is a book on simple drugs. He started writing it during the reign of al-Malik al-Mu‘aẓẓam [r. 1218–1227] and named it after him. He detailed in it the simple drugs to a great extent, and mentioned as well drugs and benefits that he had introduced himself and which were not known to his predecessors. He would usually take along with him a painter (*muṣawwir*) who in turn would bring great varieties of paints and pigments. Rashīd al-Dīn b. al-Ṣūrī would then go to the locations where the plants grew, such as the Lebanese mountains and to other places which were known for particular plants. After verifying the plant and investigating it he would show it to the painter so that the latter could consider (*ya‘tabir*) its color, the size of its leaves, its branches, and its stem so that he could paint it accordingly and try his best to imitate it. Moreover, he followed a very useful method in

Schematic diagram demonstrating the relationships among the various Arabic versions of Dioscorides.

Relationships Among the Available Surviving Arabic Dioscorides Manuscripts



the painting of plants, in that he would show the plant to the painter at the time when it was still tender and growing, and would ask him to draw it. He would show it to him again when it became fully grown and its seeds began to appear, and ask him to draw it again. He would also show it to him when it was dried up and ask him to draw it once more. As a result, the reader of the book would see the same plant in the same way it would actually appear on the ground and would therefore make his identification of it more perfect, and his knowledge of it much more obvious.

Future work on the Arabic text of Dioscorides—and there is much to be done in that regard—will certainly need a clear map of the relationships among the surviving manuscripts of the sort produced in figure 18, which delineates the relationships among those manuscripts so far available, based on the comparative portions of the texts surveyed. As additional manuscripts become available they can be easily compared with the ones recorded here and related accordingly. All of this work is to prepare for an eventual critical edition of the original translation of Iṣṭifān and to furnish enough material for an eventual history of the transmission of this crucial pharmacological text as an example of the techniques that were used in that transmission. Lessons learned from this kind of research should also shed light on the transmission of other Greek scientific texts.

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APPENDIX TABLES

TABLE 1

Text of the Mandrake plant in BnF arabe 2849 and Aya Sofya 3703

TABLE 2

Text of the Mandrake plant in two illustrated manuscripts

TABLE 3

Comparison of the texts of Bologna 2954 and Aya Sofya 3703

TABLE 4

Comparison between the illustrated and non-illustrated manuscripts for the plant Skilletikon (*acetum scillae*)

TABLE 5

A comparison between the texts of Istanbul, Ahmet III, 2127 and BnF arabe 2849

TABLE 6

Comparison between Mihrān translation and Istanbul, Ahmet III, 2127

TABLE 7

Comparison between the Nātīlī text and that of Iṣṭifān, BnF arabe 2849

TABLE 8

Comparison between the text of Aya Sofya 3704 and BnF arabe 2849

TABLE 1 Text of the Mandrake plant in BnF arabe 2849 and Aya Sofya 3703

<p>مندراغورس [Aya Sofya 3703 fol. 37v] وهو اللّفّاح . ومن الناس من يسميه بنبوخيل ومنهم من يسميه قرقا ومنهم من يسميه ورقا . وهو اليبروح . وهو صنفين [كذا].</p> <p>احدهما يعرف بالانثى ولونه الى السواد ، ويقال له ثريداقيس اي الخسّي لان ورقه <u>مشاكل</u> لورق الخس إلا انه ادق من ورق الخس واصغر . وزهر [كذا: وهو] زهم ثقيل الرائحة ، وفيه حب شبيه بحب الكمثرى . وله اصول صالحة العظم ، اثنين او ثلاثة ، متصل بعضها ببعض ، ظاهرها اسود وباطنها ابيض ، وعليها قشر غليظ . وهذا الصنف من اليبروح ليس له ساق .</p> <p>[38]والصنف الآخر يعرف بالذكر وهو ابيض ويقال له موريون . وله ورق ابيض املس كبار عراض شبيه بورق السلق في <u>شكله</u> . ولفاحه <u>اضعف</u> من لفاح الصنف الاول ، ولونه شبيه بلون الزعفران ، طيب الرائحة مع ثقل ، ويأكله الرعاة فيعرض لهم من ذلك شيء يسير من السبات . وله اصل شبيه باصل الصنف [38] الاول الا انه اكبر من اصل الصنف الاول وابيض منه . وهذا الصنف ليس له ساق .</p> <p>وقد تستخرج عصارة قشر اصل هذا الصنف وهو طري بان يدق القشر ويصير تحت شيء ثقيل . وينبغي ان تسحق العصارة وتحرق بعد ان تتخن وترفع في اناء من خزف .</p> <p>وقد يستخرج عصارة لّفّاح هذا الصنف كمثّل ما تستخرج عصارة قشر الاصل الا ان عصارة اللّفّاح تكون اضعف قوة . وقد يؤخذ قشر الاصل ويشك بخيط ويعلق ويرفع . ومن الناس من يأخذ ويطبخها بشراب الى ان يذهب الثلث ويصفيه ويرفعه ويأخذ منه مقدار قواثوس ، ويستعمله للسهر وتسكين الاوجاع واذا احب ان يبطل حس من احتاج الى ان يقطع منه عضو او احتاج الى كي . وان شرب من <u>الدواء</u> مقدار <u>اويولوسين</u> بالشراب الذي يقال له مالقراطن قيا <u>يلغم</u> [كذا] ومرة كما يفعل الخربق .</p> <p>وان اخذ منها مقدار كثير قتل . وقد يقع في ادوية العين والادوية المسكنة للاوجاع [39]و<u>البرزجات الثابتة</u> . وان اخذ منها مقدار نصف ابولوس واحتمل ادر الطمث واخرج الجنين . واذا صيرت في المقعدة في شكل الفتيلة انامت . وقد يقال ان الاصل اذا طبخ مع <u>اللفّاح</u> [كذا: العاج] مقدار ست ساعات لينه وصيره سلس الانقياد لاي شكل احب المشكل .</p>	<p>مندراغورس [BnF arabe 2849 90] ومن الناس من يسميه انطيممين ، ومنهم من يسميه بنبوخيل ومنهم من يسميه قرقا ومنهم من يسميه درقا . وهو اليبروح . وهو صنفين [كذا].</p> <p>احدهما يعرف بالانثى ولونه الى السواد ، ويقال له ثريداقيس اي الخسّي لان في ورقه <u>مشاكل</u> لورق الخس ، إلا انه ادق من ورق الخس واصغر . وهو زهم ثقيل الرائحة ، <u>منسسط على وجه الارض</u> . <u>وعند الورق ثمر شبيه بالغيرا وهو اللّفّاح</u> ، اصفر طيب الرائحة ، وفيه حب شبيه بحب الكمثرى . وله اصول صالحة العظم ، اثنين او ثلاثة ، متصل بعضها ببعض ، ظاهرها اسود وباطنها ابيض ، وعليها قشر غليظ . [90ظ] وهذا الصنف من اليبروح ليس له ساق .</p> <p>والصنف الآخر يعرف بالذكر وهو ابيض ويقال له موريون ، وله ورق ابيض املس كبار عراض شبيه بورق السلق في <u>لونه</u> شكله : فوق السطر . ولفاحه <u>ضعف</u> لفاح الصنف الاول ، ولونه شبيه بلون الزعفران ، طيب الرائحة مع ثقل ، ويأكله الرعاة فيعرض لهم من ذلك شيء يسير من السبات . وله اصل شبيه باصل الصنف الاول الا انه اكبر من اصل الصنف الاول وابيض منه . وهذا الصنف ليس له ساق .</p> <p>وقد تستخرج عصارة قشر اصل هذا الصنف وهو طري بان يدق القشر ويصير تحت شيء ثقيل . وينبغي ان تسحق العصارة وتحرق بعد ان تتخن وترفع في انا [إناء] من خزف .</p> <p>وقد يستخرج عصارة لّفّاح هذا الصنف كمثّل ما تستخرج عصارة قشر الاصل الا ان عصارة اللّفّاح تكون اضعف قوة . وقد يؤخذ قشر الاصل ويشك بخيط ويعلق ويرفع . ومن الناس من يأخذ الاصول ويطبخها بشراب الى ان يذهب الثلث ويصفيه ويرفعه ويأخذ منه مقدار قواثوس ، ويستعمله للسهر وتسكين الاوجاع واذا احب ان يبطل حس من احتاج الى ان يقطع منه عضو او احتاج الى كي . وان شرب من <u>الدواء</u> مقدار <u>اويولوسين</u> بالشراب الذي يقال له مالقراطن قيا <u>يلغم</u> [كذا] ومرة كما يفعل الخربق .</p> <p>وان اخذ منها مقدار كثير قتل . وقد يقع في ادوية العين والادوية المسكنة للاوجاع <u>والفرزجات المنيّة</u> . وان اخذ منها مقدار نصف ابولوس واحتمل ادر الطمث واخرج الجنين . واذا صيرت في المقعدة في شكل الفتيلة انامت . وقد يقال ان الاصل اذا طبخ مع <u>العلاج</u> مقدار ست ساعات لينه وصيره سلس الانقياد لاي شكل احب المشكل <u>إن يشكله</u> .</p>
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TABLE 1 [continued]

<p>وورقه اذا كان طرياً وتضمد به مع السويق وافق الاورام الحارّة العارضة للعين والاورام الحارّة ايضا العارضة للقروح ، وقد يحلل الاورام الجاسية (٩) والدميلات والخنازير والخراجات . واذا <u>دلك به دقيقاً</u> البرش وما اشبهه خمسة ايام او ستة ذهب ان (كذا) يقرح الموضع . وقد يجفف الورق ويستعمل ايضاً لما يستعمل وهو رطب .</p>	<p>وورقه اذا كان طرياً وتضمد به مع السويق وافق الاورام الحارّة العارضة للعين والاورام الحارّة ايضا العارضة للقروح ، وقد يحلل الاورام الحاسية (٩) والدميلات والخنازير والخراجات . واذا <u>دلك دلياً رقيقاً</u> البرش وما اشبهه خمسة ايام او ستة ذهب به <u>يلا</u> ان يقرح الموضع . وقد يجفف الورق ويستعمل ايضاً لما يستعمل وهو رطب .</p>
<p>واذا دق الاصل دقاً ناعماً ، وخلط بالخل ابراً الحمرة ، واذا خلط بالعسل او بالزيت سكن وجع المفاصل .</p>	<p>واذا دق الاصل دقاً ناعماً ، وخلط بالخل ابراً الحمرة ، واذا خلط بالعسل او بالزيت <u>كان صالحاً للسعال الهوام</u> . واذا خلط بالماء <u>[بالماء] حلل الخنازير والخراجات</u> . واذا خلط بالسويق سكن وجع المفاصل .</p>
From here on the text is missing	
	<p>وقد يهيا شرباً بقشر الاصل بلا ان يطبخ ، وينبغي اذا اراد احد ان يعمل هذا الشراب ان ياخذ من الشراب الحلو مقدار مطريطس ويطرح عليه من قشر الاصل ثلثة امننا [كذا: أمناء] ، ويسقى منه ثلث قواثوسات من به حاجة الى ان يقطع منه عضو او ان يكوا [كذا] فانه اذا شربه لم يحس بالآلم للسبات العارض له .</p> <p>ولفاح هذا الصنف اذا اكل واستنشقت رائحته عرض لأكله او للمستنشق لرائحته سبات . وكذلك يعرض ايضا من عصارته . واذا اكثر منه او من عصارته عرضت منهما السكتة . وبزر اللفاح اذا شرب نقي [كذا: نقي] الرحم . واذا خلط بكبريت لم تمسه النار ، واحتمل قطع نزع الدم من الرحم . وقد تستخرج الدمعة بان يقرر في الاصل قوارات مستديرة وان يجمع ما يسيل اليها من الرطوبة . والعصارة اقوى من الدمعة . وليس في كل مكان يكون للاصول دمه . والدليل على ذلك من التجربة .</p> <p>وقد يزعم بعض الناس في صنف آخر من الموريون انه ينبت في اماكن ظليلة وفي مغاير ، وله ورق شبيه بورق [91و] اليبروح الابيض الا ان ورقه اصغر من ورقه وطول الورق نحو من شبر ، ولونه ابيض وهو حوالى الاصل . والاصل لين ابيض طوله اكثر من شبر بقليل ، وهو في غلظ الابهام . > ويقال < ان هذا الاصل اذا شرب منه مقدار دراهمي او اكل بالسويق او في الخبز او في بعض الطبخ فان الانسان على ما يزعمون اذا ما اكله او شربه في < شراب > يسيت ويبقا [كذا: يبقئ] في سباته على الحال التي كان عليها قبل ان ياكله او يشربه ولا يحس بشيء بته نحو من ثلث ساعات او اربعة . وقد يستعمل اطباء هذا الاصل اذا ارادوا ان يقطعوا عضواً من البدن او يكووه . وقد يقال ايضا ان هذا الاصل اذا شرب مع عنب الثعلب المعروف بالمجنن ، كان بازهر .</p>

TABLE 2 Text of the Mandrake plant in two illustrated manuscripts

مندراغورس [Bodleian Arab.d.138 و 120]	مندراغورس [Aya Sofya 3703 fol. 37v]
<p>وهو اللّاح . ومن الناس من يسميه بنبوخلين ومنهم من يسميه قرقا ومنهم من يسميه ورقا . وهو اليبروح . وهو صنفين [كذا]. احدهما يعرف بالانثى ولونه الى السواد ، ويقال له ثريدا [120ظ] قيس اي الخسي لان ورقه مشاكل لورق الخس إلا انه ادق من ورق الخس واصغر . وهو زهر ثقيل الرائحة ، وفيه حب شبيه بحب الكمثرى . وله اصول صالحة العظم ، اثنين او ثلاثة ، متصل بعضها ببعض ، ظاهرها اسود وباطنها ابيض ، وعليها قشر غليظ . وهذا الصنف من اليبروح ليس له ساق . والصنف الآخر يعرف بالذكر وهو ابيض ويقال له موريون ، وله ورق ابيض املس كبار عراض شبيه بورق السلق في شكله . ولفاحه اضعف من لفاح الصنف الاول ، ولونه شبيه بلون الزعفران ، طيب الرائحة مع ثقل ، ويأكله الرعاة فيعرض لهم من ذلك شيء يسير من السبات . وله اصل شبيه باصل الصنف الاول الا انه اكبر من اصل الصنف الاول وابيض منه . وهذا الصنف ليس له ساق .</p>	<p>وهو اللّاح . ومن الناس من يسميه بنبوخلين ومنهم من يسميه قرقا ومنهم من يسميه ورقا . وهو اليبروح . وهو صنفين [كذا]. احدهما يعرف بالانثى ولونه الى السواد ، ويقال له ثريدا اي الخسي لان ورقه مشاكل لورق الخس إلا انه ادق من ورق الخس واصغر . وزهر [كذا: وهو] زهر ثقيل الرائحة ، وفيه حب شبيه بحب الكمثرى . وله اصول صالحة العظم ، اثنين او ثلاثة ، متصل بعضها ببعض ، ظاهرها اسود وباطنها ابيض ، وعليها قشر غليظ . وهذا الصنف من اليبروح ليس له ساق . [38و]والصنف الآخر يعرف بالذكر وهو ابيض ويقال له موريون ، وله ورق ابيض املس كبار عراض شبيه بورق السلق في شكله . ولفاحه اضعف من لفاح الصنف الاول ، ولونه شبيه بلون الزعفران ، طيب الرائحة مع ثقل ، ويأكله الرعاة فيعرض لهم من ذلك شيء يسير من السبات . وله اصل شبيه باصل الصنف [38ظ] الاول الا انه اكبر من اصل الصنف الاول وابيض منه . وهذا الصنف ليس له ساق .</p>
<p>وقد تستخرج عصارة قشر اصل هذا الصنف وهو طري <u>ان</u> يدق القشر ويصير [121و] تحت شيء ثقيل . وينبغي ان تسحق العصارة وتخزن بعد ان تتخن وترفع في اناء من خزف . وقد يستخرج عصارة هذا النبات لفاح هذا الصنف كمثل ما تستخرج عصارة قشر الاصل الا ان عصارة اللّاح تكون اضعف قوة . وقد يؤخذ قشر الاصل ويشد بخيط ويعلق . ومن الناس من ياخذ الاصول ويطبخها بشراب الى ان يذهب الثلث ويصفيه ويرفعه وياخذ منه مقدار قواثوس ، ويستعمله للسهر وتسكين الاوجاع واذا احب ان يبطل حس من احتاج الى ان يقطع منه عضو او احتاج الى كي . وان شرب من الدمة مقدار اوبولوس بالشراب الذي يقال له مالقراطن قيا بلغمًا ومرة كما يفعل الخربق . وان اخذ منها مقدار كثير قتل . وقد يقع في ادوية العين والادوية المسكنة للاوجاع والبرزجات الثابتة . وان اخذ منها مقدار نصف ابولوس واحتمل ادر الطمث واخرج الجنين . واذا صيرت في المقعدة في شكل الفتيلة انامت . [121ظ] وقد يقال ان الاصل اذا طبخ مع العاج مقدار ست ساعات لينه وصيره سلس الانقياد لاي شكل احب المشكل .</p>	<p>وقد تستخرج عصارة قشر اصل هذا الصنف وهو طري <u>ان</u> يدق القشر ويصير تحت شيء ثقيل . وينبغي ان تسحق العصارة وتحرق بعد ان تتخن وترفع في اناء من خزف . وقد يستخرج عصارة لفاح هذا الصنف كمثل ما تستخرج عصارة قشر الاصل الا ان عصارة اللّاح تكون اضعف قوة . وقد يؤخذ قشر الاصل ويشد بخيط ويعلق . ومن الناس من ياخذ الاصول ويطبخها بشراب الى ان يذهب الثلث ويصفيه ويرفعه وياخذ منه مقدار قواثوس ، ويستعمله للسهر وتسكين الاوجاع واذا احب ان يبطل حس من احتاج الى ان يقطع منه عضو او احتاج الى كي . وان شرب من الدمة مقدار اوبولوس بالشراب الذي يقال له مالقراطن قيا بلغمًا ومرة كما يفعل الخربق . وان اخذ منها مقدار كثير قتل . وقد يقع في ادوية العين والادوية المسكنة للاوجاع [39و]والبرزجات الثابتة . وان اخذ منها مقدار نصف ابولوس واحتمل ادر الطمث واخرج الجنين . واذا صيرت في المقعدة في شكل الفتيلة انامت . وقد يقال ان الاصل اذا طبخ مع اللّاح [كذا: العاج] مقدار ست ساعات لينه وصيره سلس الانقياد لاي شكل احب المشكل .</p>

TABLE 2 [continued]

<p>وورقه اذا كان طرياً وتضمّد به مع السويق وافق الاورام الحارّة العارضة للعين والاورام الحارّة ايضا العارضة للقروح ، وقد يحلل الاورام الجاسية (٩) والدميلات والخنازير والخراجات . واذا دلك به <u>دقيقاً</u> البرش وما اشبهه خمسة ايام او ستة ذهب <u>به من</u> <u>غير</u> ان يقرح الموضع . وقد يجفف الورق ويستعمل ايضاً لما يستعمل <u>ايضاً</u> وهو رطب .</p> <p>واذا دق الاصل دقاً <u>ناعماً</u> ، وخلط بالخل ابراً الحمرة ، واذا خلط بالعسل او بالزيت سكن وجع المفاصل .</p> <p>From here on the text is missing</p>	<p>وورقه اذا كان طرياً وتضمّد به مع السويق وافق الاورام الحارّة العارضة للعين والاورام الحارّة ايضا العارضة للقروح ، وقد يحلل الاورام الجاسية (٩) والدميلات والخنازير والخراجات . واذا دلك به <u>دقيقاً</u> البرش وما اشبهه خمسة ايام او ستة ذهب ان (كذا) يقرح الموضع . وقد يجفف الورق ويستعمل ايضاً لما يستعمل وهو رطب .</p> <p>واذا دق الاصل دقاً <u>ناعماً</u> ، وخلط بالخل ابراً الحمرة ، واذا خلط بالعسل او بالزيت سكن وجع المفاصل .</p> <p>From here on the text is missing</p>
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TABLE 3 Comparison of the texts of Bologna 2954 and Aya Sofya 3703

[Aya Sofya 3703 fol. 37v مندراغورس]	[Bologna 2954 p. 172] مندراغورس]
وهو اللّفاح.	وهو اللّفاح.
ومن الناس من يسميه بنبوخلين ومنهم من يسميه قرقا ومنهم من يسميه ورقا . وهو البيروح . وهو صنفين [كذا].	ومن الناس من يسميه بنبوخلين ومنهم من يسميه قرقا ومنهم [من يسميه ورقا . وهو البيروح . وهو صنفين [كذا] احدهما يعرف بالانثى
احدهما يعرف بالانثى ولونه الى السواد ، ويقال له ثريداقيس اي الخسّي لان ورقه مشاكّل لورق الخس إلا انه اذق من ورق الخس واصغر . وزهر [كذا: وهو] زهم ثقيل الرائحة، وفيه حب شبيه بحب الكمثرى. وله اصول صالحة العظم ، اثنين او ثلاثة ، متصل بعضها ببعض ، ظاهرها اسود وباطنها ابيض ، وعليها قشر غليظ . وهذا الصنف من البيروح ليس له ساق .	Two manuscript pages missing, not photographed on microfilm, if they existed in Bologna in the first place.
[38و]والصنف الآخر يعرف بالذكر وهو ابيض ويقال له موريون، وله ورق ابيض املس كبار عراض شبيه بورق السلق في شكله . ولفاحه اضعف من لفاح الصنف الاول ، ولونه شبيه بلون الزعفران ، طيب الرائحة مع ثقل ، ويأكله الرعاة فيعرض لهم من ذلك شيئ يسير من السبات. وله اصل شبيه باصل الصنف [38ظ] الاول الا انه اكبر من اصل الصنف الاول وابيض منه . وهذا الصنف ليس له ساق .	
وقد تستخرج عصارة قشر اصل هذا الصنف وهو طري بان يدق القشر ويصير تحت شيء ثقيل. وينبغي ان تسحق العصارة وتحرق بعد ان تتخن وترفع في اناء من خزف . وقد يستخرج عصارة لّفاح هذا الصنف كمثّل ما تستخرج عصارة قشر الاصل الا ان عصارة اللّفاح تكون اضعف قوة . وقد يؤخذ قشر الاصل ويشك بخيط ويعلق ومن الناس من يأخذ الاصول ويطبخها بشراب الى ان يذهب الثلث ويصفيه ويرفعه ويأخذ منه مقدار قواثوس ، ويستعمله للسهر وتسكين الاوجاع واذا احب ان يبطل حس من احتاج الى ان يقطع منه عضو او احتاج الى كي . وان شرب من الدمعة مقدار اوبولوس بالشراب الذي يقال له مالقراطن قيا بلغمًا ومرة كما يفعل الخريق .	
وان اخذ منها مقدار كثير قتل . وقد يقع في ادوية العين والادوية المسكنة للاوجاع [39و]والبرزحات الثابتة . وان اخذ منها مقدار نصف ابولوس واحتمل ادر الطمث واخرج الجنين . واذا صبرت في المقعدة في شكل الفتيلة انامت . وقد يقال ان الاصل اذا طبخ مع اللّفاح [كذا: العاج] مقدار ست ساعات لينه وصيره سلس الانقياد لاي شكل احب المشكل.	

TABLE 3 [continued]

<p>وورقه اذا كان طرياً وتضمد به مع السويق وافق الاورام الحارّة العارضة للعين والاورام الحارّة ايضا العارضة للقروح ، وقد يحلل الاورام الجاسية (٩) والدمّيلات والخنازير والخراجات . واذا ذلك يه دقيقاً البرش وما اشبهه خمسة ايام او ستة ذهب ان (كذا) يقرح الموضع . وقد يجفف الورق ويستعمل ايضاً لما يستعمل وهو رطب .</p> <p>واذا دق الاصل دقاً ناعماً ، وخلط بالخل ابراً الحمرة ، واذا خلط بالعسل او بالزيت سكن وجع المفاصل .</p> <p>From here on the text is missing.</p>	<p>[p.175]والدمّيلات والخنازير والخراجات . واذا ذلك دلّكاً رقيقاً ازال البرش وما اشبهه خمسة ايام او ستة ذهب به <u>من غير</u> يقرح الموضع . وقد يجفف الورق ويستعمل ايضاً لما يستعمل وهو رطب .</p> <p>واذا دق الاصل دقاً ناعماً ، وخلط بالخل ابراً الحمرة ، واذا خلط بالعسل او بالزيت <u>كان صالحاً للسع الهوام</u> . <u>واذا خلط بالماء [بالماء]</u> <u>حلل الخنازير والخراجات</u> . <u>واذا خلط بالسويق سكن وجع المفاصل</u> .</p> <p>From here on the text is missing.</p>
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TABLE 4 Comparison between the illustrated and non-illustrated manuscripts for the plant Skilletikon (*acetum scillae*)

Bodleian Arab.d. 138, fol. 192v <u>سوللبيطقون اوكسس</u>	Bologna 2594, p. 273 <u>سوللبيطقون اوكسس</u>	Aya Sofya 3703 fol. 111r <u>ذكر خل العنصلان</u>	Dubler text, p. 384. Skilletikon, V 17 Acetum Scillae.Suleimaniye,3704, 91 <u>سقلبطقون اوكسس</u>
<p>وهو خل العنصلان صنعته على هذه الصفة. يؤخذ عنصل أبيض فينقاً ويقطع ويشد قطعة قطعة في خيط ويكون القطع متفرقة لئلا يماس بعضها بعضا ويجفف في الظل اربعين يوما ثم يؤخذ منه مقدار منّا ويلقا علي اثنا [sic] عشر قسطاً من خل ثقيف. ويوضع في الشمس ستين يوماً ويكون الانا الذي فيه الخل.</p>	<p>وهو خل العنصل صنعته على هذه الصفة. يؤخذ عنصل أبيض فينقاً ويقطع ويشد قطعة قطعة في خيط ويكون القطع متفرقة لئلا يماس بعضها بعضا ويجفف في الظل اربعين يوما ثم يؤخذ منه مقدار منّا ويلقا علي اثنا [sic] عشر قسطاً من خل ثقيف. ويوضع في الشمس ستين يوماً ويكون الانا الذي فيه الخل.</p>	<p>وهو خل العنصلان صنعته على هذه الصفة. يؤخذ عنصل أبيض فينقاً ويقطع ويشك قطعه في خيط ويكون القطع متفرق لئلا يماس بعضها بعضا ويجفف في ظل اربعين يوما ثم يؤخذ منه مقدار منّا ويلقا علي اثنا [sic] عشر قسطاً من خل ثقيف. ويوضع في الشمس ستين يوماً ويكون الانا الذي فيه الخل.</p>	<p>وهو خل العنصلان صنعته على هذه الصفة. يؤخذ عنصل أبيض فينقاً [فتيقاً] ويقطع ويشد قطعه في خيط ويكون القطع متفرقة لا يماس بعضها بعضا ويجفف في الظل اربعين يوما ثم يؤخذ منه مقدار منّ ويلقا عليه اثنا عشر قسطاً من خل ثقيف ويوضع في الشمس ستين يوماً ويكون الانا الذي فيه الخل</p>
<p>ويصفا ويرفع ومن الناس من يأخذ من العنصل منّا ويلقيه على خمسة اقساط من الخل. ومنهم من يأخذ العنصل فينقيه ولا يجففه ولكن يستعمله طريا ويأخذ منه مقدار منّا [sic] ويلقيه على الخل ويدعه ستة اشهر وخذ العنصل [193r] الذي يصنع على هذه الصفة هو اشد تقطيعاً من ساير خل العنصل.</p>	<p>ويصفا ويرفع ومن الناس من يأخذ من العنصل منّا ويلقيه على خمسة اقساط من الخل. ومنهم من يأخذ العنصل فينقيه ولا يجففه ولكن يستعمله طريا ويأخذ منه مقدار منّا [sic] ويلقيه على الخل ويدعه ستة اشهر وخذ العنصل الذي يصنع على هذه الصفة [274] هو اشد تقطيعاً من ساير خل العنصل.</p>	<p>ويصفا ويرفع ومن الناس من يأخذ [111v] من العنصل منّا ويلقيه على خمسة اقساط من الخل. ومنهم من يأخذ العنصل فينقيه ولا يجففه ولكن يستعمله طريا ويأخذ منه منّا ويلقيه على الخل ويدعه ستة اشهر وخذ العنصل الذي يصنع على هذه الجهة هو اشد تقطيعاً من ساير خل العنصل.</p>	<p>والعنصل مغطا ويستوثق في تغلبته. ثم يؤخذ العنصل فيعصر فاذا عصر رمي به ويؤخذ الخل فيصفا ويرفع ومن الناس من يأخذ من العنصل منّا ويلقيه على خمسة اقساط من الخل ومنهم من يأخذ العنصل فينقيه ولا يجففه ولكن يستعمله طريا ويأخذ منه مقدار منّا [sic] فيلقيه على الخل ويدعه ستة اشهر</p>
<p>وإذا تمضمض بخل العنصل شد اللثة المسترخية ويشد الاسنان المتحركة واذهب بنتن الفم. وإذا تحسى</p>	<p>وإذا تمضمض بخل العنصل شد اللثة المسترخية ويشد الاسنان المتحركة واذهب بنتن الفم. وإذا تحسى صلب العلق وخشن لحمه</p>	<p>وإذا تمضمض بخل العنصل شد اللثة المسترخية ويشد الاسنان المتحركة واذهب بنتن الفم. وإذا تحسى صلب الحلق وخشن لحمه</p>	<p>وخل العنصلان الذي يعمل على هذه الجهة هو اشد تقطيعاً من ساير خل العنصل.</p>
<p>صلب العلق وخشن لحمه وصفاً الصوت وقواه وقد يستعمل</p>	<p>لضعف المعدة ولرداء الهضم والسدد والمرض العارض من المرة</p>	<p>لضعف المعدة واداء الهضم والسدد والمرض العارض من المرة</p>	<p>الحلق وحسا لحمه وصلب الصوت وقواه</p>

TABLE 4 [continued]

<p>لضعف المعدة ولردأه الهضم والسدد والمرض العارض من المرة السودا الذي يقال له <u>مالنخوليا</u> والجنون والاختناق العارض من وجع الرحم ولورم الطحال ولعرق النسا وقد يقوي ايضا البدن الضعيف <u>ويفيد</u> الصحة ويحسن لونه ويلطف البصر واذا صب في الاذن نفع من ثقل السمع وبالجمله قد يوافق امراض الجوف.</p>	<p>السودا الذي يقال له <u>مالنخوليا</u> والجنون والاختناق العارض من وجع الرحم ولورم الطحال ولعرق النسا وقد يقوي ايضا البدن الضعيف <u>ويعيد</u> الصحة ويحسن لونه ويلطف البصر. واذا صب في الاذن نفع من ثقل السمع وبالجمله قد يوافق امراض الجوف.</p>	<p>وقد يستعمل لضعف المعدة ورد الهضم <u>والسدد</u> والمرض العارض من المرة السودا الذي يقال له <u>مالنخوليا</u> والجنون والاختناق العارض من وجع الرحم ولورم الطحال ولعرق النسا وقد يقوي ايضا البدن الضعيف <u>ويفيد</u> الصحة ويحسن لونه ويلطف البصر واذا صب في الاذن نفع من ثقل السمع وبالجمله قد يوافق امراض الجوف</p> <p><u>كلها ما خلا قرحة ان كانت في</u> <u>الجوف وينبغي ان يسقى على</u> <u>الريق ويسقى منه في اول ما</u> <u>يستعمله شي يسير ويزاد قليلا</u> <u>بعد قليل الى ان يبلغ مقدار</u> <u>قواثوسين ومن الناس من يسقى</u> <u>منه قواثوسين او اكثر.</u></p>
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TABLE 5 A comparison between the texts of Istanbul, Ahmet III, 2127 and BnF 2849

Istanbul, Topkapı, Ahmet III, 2127	مندراغورس [90 و BnF arabe 2849]
[208ظ]	
لفّاح. هو نوعان، ذكر وأنثى.	ومن الناس من يسميه انطيممين ، ومنهم من يسميه بنبوخيلين ومنهم من يسميه قرقا ومنهم من يسميه درقا . وهو اليروح . وهو صنفين [كذا].
فالأنثى أسود الأوراق لطيفها ، تشبه أوراق الخس ، زفرة الرائحة ، منبسطة على الأرض . وعلى جانب الأوراق تفّاح يشبه الغبيرا ، أصفر ، طيب الرائحة . وداخل التفّاح بزر يشبه الكمثرى . وله أصول كبار ، اثنان أو ثلاثة [ثلاثة] متعرجة ، خارجهما أسود ، وداخلهما أبيض ، وقشورهم غليظة ، وليس له قضيب ولا أغصان .	احدهما يعرف بالأنثى ولونه الى السواد ، ويقال له ثريداقيس اي الخسي لان في ورقه مشاكلة لورق الخس ، إلا انه اذق من ورق الخس واصغر . وهو زهم ثقيل الرائحة ، منبسط على وجه الارض . وعند الورق ثمر شبيه بالغبيرا وهو اللفّاح ، اصفر طيب الرائحة ، وفيه حب شبيه بحب الكمثرى . وله اصول صالحة العظم ، اثنان او ثلاثة ، متصل بعضها ببعض ، ظاهرها اسود وباطنها ابيض ، وعليها قشر غليظ . [90ظ] وهذا الصنف من اليروح ليس له ساق .
والذكر أبيض الأوراق عريضها كبيرها أملسها ، يشبه السلق . وتّفّاحه ضعفي الأول ، لونهم زعفراني ، ورائحتهم طيبة . ويأكله الرعاة فيسبتون .	والصنف الآخر يعرف بالذكر وهو ابيض ويقال له موريون ، وله ورق ابيض املس كبار عراض شبيه بورق السلق في لونه . ولفّاحه ضعف لفّاح الصنف الاول ، ولونه شبيه بلون الزعفران ، طيب الرائحة مع ثقل ، ويأكله الرعاة فيعرض لهم من ذلك شئ يسير من السبات . وله اصل شبيه باصل الصنف الاول الا انه اكبر من اصل الصنف الاول وابيض منه . وهذا الصنف ليس له ساق .
[209و] وأصله يشبه الأنثى ، لكنّه أبيض وأكبر [أكبر وأبيض: BnF 4947arabe] وليس له أغصان . ويعمل من أصوله الرطبة عصارة ، [عصارة [ت] أصوله الرطبة [م] وتعصر في إناء [كذا: إناء] فخار . ويعمل من تفّاحه عصارة كذلك . وقشوره المتخذة من أصله تقطع وتشك في خيط وتحفظ .	وقد تستخرج عصارة قشر اصل هذا الصنف وهو طري بان يدق القشر ويصير تحت شئ ثقيل . وينبغي ان تسحق العصارة وتحرق بعد ان تتخذ وترفع في إناء [إناء] من خزف . وقد يستخرج عصارة لفّاح هذا الصنف كمثل ما تستخرج عصارة قشر الاصل الا ان عصارة اللّفّاح تكون اضعف قوة . وقد يؤخذ قشر الاصل ويشك بخيط ويلقى ويرفع . ومن الناس من ياخذ الاصول ويطبخها بشراب الى ان يذهب الثلث ويصفيه ويرفعه وياخذ منه مقدار قواشوس ، ويستعمله للسهر وتسكين الاوجاع واذا احب ان يبطل حس من احتاج الى ان يقطع
وقوم يحفظوه إلى وقت الحاجة بأن يطبخوه بخمر ، ويغلوه حتى يذهب ثلثه ويصفّوه ويحفظوه . وينفع لمن به سهر مزمن وأوجاع قويّة ، شرباً [كذا] أوقية .	منه عضو او احتاج الى كي . وان شرب من الدواء مقدار اوبولوسين بالشراب الذي يقال له مالقراطن قياً بلغم [كذا] ومرة كما يفعل الخربق .
وإذا شرب من لبنه أوقية بما [كذا: بماء] العسل أسهل بلغمًا ومراراً كالخربق .	وان اخذ منها مقدار كثير قتل . وقد يقع في ادوية العين والادوية المسكنة للاوجاع والفرزجات الملينة . وان اخذ منها مقدار نصف ابولوس واحتمل ادر الطمث واخرج الجنين . واذا صيرت في المقعدة في شكل الفتيلة انامت . وقد يقال ان الاصل اذا طبخ مع
ويخلط في الأكحال المسكنة للأوجاع . ونصف مثقال إذا تحمّل به النسا [Ist: السنّا] أدّر طمّثهن وأحدر أجنتهن ونومهن .	العاج مقدار ست ساعات لينه وصيره سلس الانقياد لاي شكل احبّ المشكل ان يشكله .

<p>وأوراقه الرطبة نافعة لأوجاع العين الحارّة وأورامها وضماد الأورام القروح .</p> <p>وضماده مع دقيق الشعير للصلابات والخراجات والخنازير .</p> <p>وأصله مسحوقاً بالخل للحمرة ولنهش الهوام والخنازير والخراجات .</p> <p>ويسكن أوجاع المفاصل بالعسل والدهن .</p> <p>ويعمل من أصوله نبيذاً ينفع لمن يختن أو ينكوب .</p> <p>فإذا شرب منه فلا يشعر بألم وذلك لغوصانه [كذا] وتفاحه .</p> <p>أكله وشمه ينوم .</p> <p>وعصارته إذا أكثر من أكلها قطعت الصوت .</p> <p>وبزر اللّفاح ينق [كذا: ينقي] الرحم .</p> <p>وإذا تحمّل به مع كبريت ليس قد[ما: BnF arabe 4947] أدني من نار نفع نزف الدم الأحمر . ويؤخذ منه لبناً بأن تحفر عروقه ويجمع لبنها . وهذا اللبن أقوى من العصاره .</p> <p>وقال قوم إنّ منه نوع آخر ينبت في المواضع الكثيرة الأفياء [الأفياء] وفي المغارات . وأوراقه تشبه أوراق اليبروح الأبيض ولكنها أصغر وهم [209ظ] طوال كشبر ، وغلاظ كالكرّاث .</p> <p>وهذا النوع إذا شرب منه مثقال أو أكل مع سويق الشعير ولّد جنوناً . وأكله يسبب من وقت أكله وإلى أربع ساعات ، لا يحس بشيء أبداً . وهذا يستعمله الأطباء [الأطباء] لمن يريد الاختتان أو الكي . وقيل إنّ أصله هو الاطيذوطس ، وشربه أيضاً مع نوع من عنب الثعلب يؤلّد جنوناً .</p>	<p>وورقه إذا كان طرياً وتضمّد به مع السويق وافق الاورام الحارّة العارضة للعين والاورام الحارّة ايضاً العارضة للقروح ، وقد يحلل الاورام الحاسية (٩) والدّميلات والخنازير والخراجات . وإذا ذلك دلّكاً رقيقاً البرش وما اشبهه خمسة ايام او ستة ذهب به بلا ان يقرح الموضع . وقد يجفف الورق ويستعمل ايضاً لما يستعمل وهو رطب .</p> <p>وإذا دق الاصل دقاً ناعماً ، وخلط بالخل ابراً الحمرة ، وإذا خلط بالعسل او بالزيت كان صالحاً للسع الهوام . وإذا خلط بالماء [بالماء] حلل الخنازير والخراجات . وإذا خلط بالسويق سكن وجع المفاصل .</p> <p>وقد يهيئ شراباً بقشر الاصل بلا ان يطبخ ، وينبغي اذا اراد احد ان يعمل هذا الشراب ان ياخذ من الشراب الحلو مقدار مطريطس ويطرح عليه من قشر الاصل ثلثة امننا [كذا: أمنان] ، ويسقى منه ثلث قواثوسات من به حاجة الى ان يقطع منه عضو او ان يكون [كذا] فانه اذا شربه لم يحس بالالم للسبات العارض له .</p> <p>ولفاح هذا الصنف اذا اكل واستنشقت رائحته عرض لأكله او للمستنشق لرائحته سبات . وكذلك يعرض ايضاً من عصارته . وإذا أكثر منه او من عصارته عرضت منهما السكتة . وبزر اللّفاح اذا شرب نقى [كذا: نقى] الرحم .</p> <p>وإذا خلط بكبريت لم تمسه النار ، واحتمل قطع نزف الدم من الرحم . وقد تستخرج الدمعه بان يقور في الاصل قوارات مستديرة وان يجمع ما يسيل اليها من الرطوبة . والعصاره اقوى من الدمعه . وليس في كل مكان يكون للاصول دمعه . والدليل على ذلك من التجربة .</p> <p>وقد يزعم بعض الناس في صنف آخر من الموريون انه ينبت في اماكن ظليلة وفي مغاير ، وله ورق شبيه بورق [91و] اليبروح الابيض الا ان ورقه اصغر من ورقه وطول الورق نحو من شبر ، ولونه ابيض وهو حوالي الاصل . والاصل لين ابيض طوله اكثر من شبر بقليل ، وهو في غلظ الابهام . < ويقال > ان هذا الاصل اذا شرب منه مقدار دراهمي او اكل بالسويق او في الخبز او في بعض الطيبخ فان الانسان على ما يزعمون اذا ما اكله او شربه في > شراب < يسبب ويبقا [كذا: يبقى] في سباته على الحال التي كان عليها قبل ان ياكله او يشربه ولا يحس بشيء بتّة نحو من ثلث ساعات او اربعة . وقد يستعمل الاطباء هذا الاصل اذا ارادوا ان يقطعوا عضواً من البدن او يكووه . وقد يقال ايضاً ان هذا الاصل اذا شرب مع عنب الثعلب المعروف بالمجنن ، كان بازهر .</p>
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TABLE 6 Comparison between Mihrān translation and Istanbul, Ahmet III, 2127

Istanbul, Topkapı, Ahmet III, 2127 [ظ 208]	[نسخة مهران] ثمت نيويورك New York Public Library, Persian 39
<p>لفّاح. هو نوعان، ذكر وأنثى. فالأنثى أسود الأوراق لطيفها، يشبه أوراق الخس زفرة الرائحة، منبسطة على الأرض. وعلى جانب الأوراق تفّاح يشبه الغبير، أصفر، طيب الرائحة. وداخل التفّاح بزر يشبه الكمثرى. وله أصول كبار، اثنان أو ثلاثة [ثلاثة] متعرفجة، خارجهما أسود، وداخلهما أبيض، وقشورهم غليظة، وليس له قضيب ولا أغصان.</p>	<p>ماندراجوراس. هو اللفاح وقد يسمى البيروح. وقد يسمى باسماء كثيرة منها زارع المحنة. وهو نوعان: أحدهما يسمى البيروح الأنثى، وهو أسود اللون يسمى الخسي، وله ورق دقائق أصغر جداً من ورق الخس. وفيه زهرة وزفرة عظيمة الرائحة. يستلقي على الأرض وعلى جوانب ورقه تفّاح يشبه البذنج أصفر اللون طيب الريح وفي وسطه بزر يشبه بزر الكمثرى وله أصول كبار اثنان او ثلاثة ملتف بعضها ببعض سود الظاهر بيض الباطن غليظ القشر [القسر]. فأما ساق [كذا] فليس له.</p>
<p>والذكر أبيض الأوراق عريضها كبيرها أملسها، يشبه السلق. وتّفاحه ضعفي الأول، لونهم زعفراني، ورائحتهم طيبة. ويأكله الرعاة فيسبتون.</p>	<p>فأما النوع الآخر المسمى ذكراً هو أبيض يسمى أيضاً موديون، ورقه يميل إلى البياض، وهو أعرض وأعظم [ق 203و] من ورق النوع الأول ناعم الملمس مثل ورق السلق. فأما تفاحه فهو ضعف حجم الأول زعفراني اللون ناصعه وهو طيب الرائحة مع رزانة ما. وإذا أكله الرعاة نومهم.</p>
<p>[209و] وأصله يشبه الأنثى، لكنّه أبيض وأكبر وليس له أغصان. ويعمل من أصوله الرطبة عصاره، وتعصر في إناء [كذا: إناء] فخار. ويعمل من تفّاحه عصاره كذلك.</p>	<p>فأما أصله فيشبه النوع الذي تقدّمه بل هو أكبر وأشدّ بياضاً وليس هو بذى ساق. وقد يؤخذ من قشور أصله عصاره [كذا] وهي طرية إذا اعتصر بعد دقّه ووضع تحت اليد يحتاج أن يجمد ثم يسحق ويحفظ في أنية فخار. وقد يتخذ أيضاً عصاره تفاحه الذي صمق؟ ثمره كذلك بل هي أضعف.</p>
<p>وقشوره المتخذة من أصله تقطع وتتشك في خيط وتحفظ.</p>	<p>وأيضاً قشور أصله إذا قشرت وأخرزت في خيط وعلقت وحفظت إلى أن تدعو إليها حاجة استعملت كانت نافعة.</p>
<p>وقوم يحفظوه إلى وقت الحاجة بأن يطبخوه بخرم، ويغلوه حتّى يذهب ثلثه ويصفّوه ويحفظوه. وينفع لمن به سهر مزمن وأوجاع قويّة، شرباً [كذا] أوقية.</p>	<p>من الناس من يطبخ أصل اللفاح بالشراب حتى يبقى ثلثه ثم يصفى ويحفظ به لوقت الحاجة. ويستعملونه في باب الأرق والسهر والأوجاع الصعبة. الشربة منه مقدار فوانوس واحد، ويستعمله أيضاً من أراد تخدير حسه عندما يكوى [يكون] أو يحدد.</p>
<p>وإذا شرب من لبنه أوقية بما [كذا: بما] العسل أسهل بلغمًا ومرارًا كالخريق. ويخلط في الأكحال المسكنة للأوجاع.</p>	<p>فأما لبن اللفاح فإذا تناول منه أبولوين مع ماء العسل تقيء بلغمًا كثيراً ومرة فوق القيء كالحريق. فان استعمل أكثر من ابولوس واحد قتل. وقد يخلط في الأكحال والمصلحات؟ ليسكن الوجع، وفي الفرازح؟ الملسة [ظ 203] أيضاً. وإذا قُتل في صوفة منه ابولوس وعمل فرزجة؟ على الإنفراد وحده في الرحم أحدث الطمث وأسقط الأجنة. وإذا احتمل في المقعدة كالفتيلة جلب [حلب] النوم. وقيل [قبل] أن أصل اللفاح يلين العاج إذا طبخ معه ست ساعات فيجعله سهل الانقياد [الانقاد] لا تخاذ أي شكل أريد أن يعمل منه.</p>
<p>ونصف مثقال إذا تحمّل به النسا [كذا: النساء] أدّر طمّثهن وأحدر أجنتهن ونومهن. وقيل إنّه إذا طبخ ست ساعات مع عظم الفيل لينه وسهل العمل فيه.</p>	

<p>وأوراقه الرطبة نافعة لأوجاع العين الحارة وأورامها وضما الأورام القروح .</p> <p>وضماده مع دقيق الشعير للصلابات والخراجات والخنازير .</p> <p>وأصله مسحوقاً بالخل للحمرة ولنهش الهوام والخنازير والخراجات .</p> <p>ويسكن أوجاع المفاصل بالعسل والدهن .</p> <p>ويعمل من أصوله نبيذاً ينفع لمن يختن أو ينكبين .</p> <p>فإذا شرب منه فلا يشعر بألم وذلك لغوصانه [كذا] وتفاحه .</p> <p>أكله وشمه ينوم . وعصارته إذا أكثر من أكلها قطعت الصوت . ويزر اللفّاح ينق [كذا: ينقي] الرحم .</p> <p>وإذا تحمل به مع كبريت ليس قد أدني من نار نفع نزف الدم الأحمر . ويؤخذ منه لبناً بأن تحفر عروقه ويجمع لبنها .</p> <p>وهذا اللبن أقوى من العصاره .</p> <p>وقال قوم إن منه نوع آخر ينبت في المواضع الكثيرة الأفياء [الأفياء] وفي المغارات . وأوراقه تشبه أوراق اليبروح الأبيض ولكنها أصغر</p> <p>وهم [209ظ] طوال كشبر ، وغلاظ كالكرّاث .</p> <p>وهذا النوع إذا شرب منه مثقال أو أكل مع سويق الشعير ولّد جنوناً . وأكله يسبب من وقت أكله وإلى أربع ساعات ، لا يحس بشيء أبداً . وهذا يستعمله الأطباء [الأطباء] لمن يريد الاختتان أو الكي . وقيل إن أصله هو الاطيذوطس ، وشربه أيضاً مع نوع من عنب الثعلب يُولد جنوناً .</p>	<p>فأماً ورق اللفّاح الطري فيصلح أن يضمّد به الأورام الحارة الحادثة في العينين وللأورام الحادثة من الجراح إذا ضمّد به مع كسل ؟ الشعير وقد يحلل ويفقي ؟ كل أثر يحدث في ظاهر الجسد في مدّة خمسة أيام أو ستّة من غير أن يقرحه . وقد يجفف ورق اللفّاح ويحتفظ به لمثل هذا .</p> <p>فأماً أصل اللفّاح فقد يسحق أيضاً مع الخل [الخل كذا] ويلطخ به الورم المعروف بالماشرا فيبرئه ويزيله . وقد ينفع من لسع الهوام مع العسل أو مع الزيت .</p> <p>فأماً مسحوقاً بالماء فيحلّل الخنازير والجراحات ، ويسكن أوجاع المفاصل إذا ضمّدت به مع كسل الشعير . وقد يتخذ من قشور أصل اللفّاح نبيذاً من غير أن يطبخ ودال ؟ ... ينبغي أن يلقي في عصير العنب الحلو ثلثة أمان من قشور أصول اللفّاح ، ويعطى منه ثلث فواثوس لمن أراد أن يختن فإنه لا يحس بالألم ، أو لمن أراد أن يكوى [يكون] في موضع من جسده ، يورثه السبات فلا يحس .</p> <p>فأماً تفاحه المسمّى لفّاحاً فإنه إذا استنشق جلب السبات ، وكذلك فعل عصارته . فإن أكثر إنسان من أكل اللفّاح قطع صوته [204ظ] .</p> <p>فأماً الحب الذي يكون في وسط اللفّاح الذي هو ثمر اليبروح إذا شربته المرأة [الأمراه] نقي رحمها .</p> <p>وإذا عمل فرزجة مع كبريت لم يدين من النار فإنه يحبس سيلان الطمث الأحمر [الأحمر] . وقد يؤخذ منه لبن إذا أُحرق أصله وحفر تحته حفيرة تسيل إليها الرطوبة السائلة منه عند الحريق ، فيكون هذه [كذا] الرطوبة المسماة لبن اللفّاح أقوى فعلاً من عصارته . وليس في كل مكان يؤخذ في [كذا] أصله لبن ، بل يُخبر هذا بالتجربة .</p> <p>وقد زعم بعض الناس أنه قد يوجد نوع آخر من اللفّاح يسمّى مورتوس ، ينبت في البقاع الدائمة الظل وفي المغاير ، يشبه ورقه اللفّاح الأبيض بل هو أصغر مقدار [كذا] ، ويكون ارتفاعه مقدار شبر . وهو أبيض يستدير حوالي سوقه [كذا اقرأ ساقه] وهو أصل غضّ أبيض . وأطولّه أكبر من شبر قليلاً ، وغلظه كغلظ الكرّاث ، إذا شرب أصل هذا النوع مقدار درخمى منه أو أخذ مع ماء [ماء] الشعير مأكوله [كذا] أورث الجنون ، ويتم ؟ الذي يتناوله على الشكل الذي يكون قد أخذه فيه ، ويلبث من ساعة تناوله فيها حتى يأتي عليه ثلث أو أربع ساعات لا يحس بشيء بته . وقد يستعمل هذا الأطباء عند الختانة والكي . وقيل إن أصله معجون يكون إذا تناول [كذا] مع النوع من عنب الثعلب المورث للجنون . [كذا ينتهي النص]</p>
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TABLE 7 Comparison between the Nātīli text and that of Istifān, BnF arabe 2849

<p>مودروغوس [156 و Leiden]</p> <p>مودروغوس وهو اللّفّاح</p>	<p>مندراغورس [90 و BnF arabe 2849]</p>
<p>وقد يسميه بعض الناس انطيمين وآخرون يسمونه موفولن ومنهم من يسميه قيرقا اي اصله مهيج الحب . وهو اليبروح . وهو صنفان احدهما يعرف بالانثى ولونه الى السواد ما هو [كذا: مائل]</p> <p>ويقال له ثريداقيس اي الخسّي لان في ورقه مشاكلة لورق الخس ، إلا انه اذق منه واصغر . وهو زهم ثقيل الرائحة ، منبسط على وجه الارض . وعند الورق ثمر شبيه بالثفّاح ، اصفر طيب الرائحة ، وفيه حب شبيه بحب الكمثرى . وله اصول صالحة العظم ، اثنان او ثلاثة ، متصل بعضها ببعض ، ظاهرها اسود وباطنها ابيض ، وعليها قشر غليظ وله ساق .</p>	<p>ومن الناس من يسميه انطيمين ، ومنهم من يسميه بنبوخيلن ومنهم من يسميه قرقا ومنهم من يسميه درقا . وهو اليبروح . وهو صنفين [كذا] .</p> <p>احدهما يعرف بالانثى ولونه الى السواد ، ويقال له ثريداقيس اي الخسّي لان في ورقه مشاكلة لورق الخس ، إلا انه اذق من ورق الخس واصغر . وهو زهم ثقيل الرائحة ، منبسط على وجه الارض . وعند الورق ثمر شبيه بالغبيرا وهو اللفّاح ، اصفر طيب الرائحة ، وفيه حب شبيه بحب الكمثرى . وله اصول صالحة العظم ، اثنين او ثلاثة ، متصل بعضها ببعض ، ظاهرها اسود وباطنها ابيض ، وعليها قشر غليظ . [90 ظ] وهذا الصنف من اليبروح ليس له ساق .</p>
<p>[156 ظ] الصنف الذكر من اللّفّاح</p> <p>وبعض الناس يسميه موريون وله ورق ابيض املس كبار عراض شبيه بورق السلق . ولفاحه ضعف لفاح الصنف الاول ، ولونه شبيه بلون الزعفران ، طيب الرائحة مع ثقل ، وياكله الرعاة ويعرض لهم من ذلك سبات . وله اصل شبيه باصل الانثى الا انه اطول منه قليلاً وليس له ساق .</p>	<p>والصنف الآخر يعرف بالذكر وهو ابيض ويقال له موريون ، وله ورق ابيض املس كبار عراض شبيه بورق السلق في لونه . ولفاحه ضعف لفاح الصنف الاول ، ولونه شبيه بلون الزعفران ، طيب الرائحة مع ثقل ، وياكله الرعاة فيعرض لهم من ذلك شئ يسير من السبات . وله اصل شبيه باصل الصنف الاول الا انه اكبر من اصل الصنف الاول وابيض منه . وهذا الصنف ليس له ساق .</p>
<p>وقد تستخرج عصارة قشر اصل هذا الصنف وهو طري بان يدق ويصير تحت شئ ثقيل ، ويوضع في الشمس الى ان ينعد او يثخن ثم يرفع في انا [اناء] من خرف .</p> <p>وقد تستخرج عصارة ورقه ايضا مثل ما استخرج من القشر الا انه اضعف قوة . وقد يؤخذ قشر الاصل ويشك بخيط ويلق ويرفع . ومن الناس من ياخذ الاصول ويطبخها بالشراب الى ان يذهب الثلثان ويصفيه ويرفعه . ويؤخذ منه قواثوس ، ويسقى من به السهر وتسكين الالوجاع ويسقى من يحتاج ان يكوى او يخن حتى لا يحس بالوجع لانه ينعم ويسبت ويبرد الحس . وان شرب من دمعته يعني لينة مقدار ستة قراريط بماء العسل قباً بلغمًا ومرةً كما يقنى الخريق .</p>	<p>وقد تستخرج عصارة قشر اصل هذا الصنف وهو طري بان يدق القشر ويصير تحت شئ ثقيل . وينبغي ان تسحق العصارة وتحرق بعد ان تثخن وترفع في انا [إناء] من خرف .</p> <p>وقد يستخرج عصارة لفّاح هذا الصنف كمثّل ما تستخرج عصارة قشر الاصل الا ان عصارة اللّفّاح تكون اضعف قوة . وقد يؤخذ قشر الاصل ويشك بخيط ويلق ويرفع . ومن الناس من ياخذ الاصول ويطبخها بشراب الى ان يذهب الثلث ويصفيه ويرفعه وياخذ منه مقدار قواثوس ، ويستعمله للسهر وتسكين الالوجاع واذا احب ان يبطل حس من احتاج الى ان يقطع منه عضو او احتاج الى كي . وان شرب من الدواء مقدار اويولوسين بالشراب الذي يقال له مالقراطن قباً بلغم [كذا] ومرةً كما يفعل الخريق .</p>
<p>وان اخذ منها اكثر من ذلك قتل . وقد يجعل في ادوية العين وسائر الادوية المسكنة للالوجاع الشديدة والبرزجات [كذا] المليئة وان اخذ منها مقدار نصف انولوس وذلك [157 و] قيراط ونصف واحتمل بصوفة ادر الطمث واخرج الجنين . واذا صير في المقعدة في شكل الفتيلة انام . وقد يشفي من داء الفيل . وقد يقال ان اصله اذا طبخ مع العاج ست ساعات لينة وصيره سلس الانقياد لاي شكل احب المشكل ان يشكله .</p>	<p>وان اخذ منها مقدار كثير قتل . وقد يقع في ادوية العين والادوية المسكنة للالوجاع والفرزجات المليئة . وان اخذ منها مقدار نصف اويولوس واحتمل ادر الطمث واخرج الجنين . واذا صيرت في المقعدة في شكل الفتيلة انامت . وقد يقال ان الاصل اذا طبخ مع العاج مقدار ست ساعات لينة وصيره سلس الانقياد لاي شكل احب المشكل ان يشكله .</p>

وورقه ينفع من اورام العين وسائر القروح اذا ضمده مع الحنطانا ويحلل الورم الصلب والدميلة والخنزير والبشر واذا دلك به دلكاً رقيقاً البرش والكلف خمسة ايام او ستة اذهبه من غير ان يقرحه . وقد يجفف الورق ويستعمل ايضاً لما يستعمل وهو رطب .

واذا دق الاصل دقاً نعماً ، وخلط بالخل ابراً الحمرة ، واذا خلط بالعسل او بالزيت او الدهن نفع من لسع الهوام . واذا خلط بالماء [بالماء] حلل الخنازير والخراجات . واذا خلط بالسويق سكن وجع المفاصل .

وقد يعمل من قشوره شراب من غير ان يطبخ بان يؤخذ منه ثلاثة امانان ويصب عليه مكبال من الشراب الحلو ويسقى منه ثلث قونوسات من به ضرورة الى ان يقطع منه عضو او ان يكوى او يبط فانه اذا شربه لم يحس بالالام لما يعرض له من الخدور والسيات .

ولفاح هذا الصنف اذا اكل واستنشقت رائحته عرض لمستعمله سبات . وكذلك ايضا يعرض من عصارته . واذا اكثر منه او من عصارته عرضت من ذلك السكته . وبزر اللفاح اذا شرب نقى [كذا]: نقى] الرحم . واذا خلط بكبريت لم تمسه النار ، واحتمل قطع نزف الدم من الرحم . وقد تستخرج الدمعه [157ظ] بان يقور في الاصل قوارات مستديرة وان يجمع ما يجتمع فيها من الرطوبة . والعصارة اقوى من الدمعه . وليس في كل مكان يكون لاصوله دمعه والتجربة تدل على ذلك .

وقد زعم بعض الناس ان من اللفاح جنساً آخر ان ينبت في اماكن ظليلة له ورق شبيه بورق اللفاح يعني اليبروح الا انه اصغر من ورقه وطول الورق شبر ولونه ابيض وهو حوالي الارض . والاصل لين ابيض طوله ... شبر بقليل ، وهو في غلط الابهام . ان هذا الاصل اذا شرب منه مقدار دراهمي [متقال فوق السطر] او اكل بالسويق او الخبز او في بعض الطبخ خلط العقل واسبت من

ساعته ومكث على ذلك الحال ثلث ساعات او اربع لا يحس بشيء ولا يعقل . والاطباء يستعملون اصله اذا ارادوا ان يقطعوا عضواً من البدن او يكووه . وقد يقال إنه اذا شرب مع عنب الثعلب المجئن كان دواءً ؟ وبازهرها .

وورقه اذا كان طرياً وتضمده به مع السويق وافق الاورام الحارة العارضة للعين والاورام الحارة ايضا العارضة للقروح ، وقد يحلل الاورام الحاسية (٩) والدميلات والخنازير والخراجات . واذا دلك دلكاً رقيقاً البرش وما اشبهه خمسة ايام او ستة ذهب به بلا ان يقرح الموضوع . وقد يجفف الورق ويستعمل ايضاً لما يستعمل وهو رطب .

واذا دق الاصل دقاً ناعماً ، وخلط بالخل ابراً الحمرة ، واذا خلط بالعسل او بالزيت كان صالحاً للسع الهوام . واذا خلط بالماء [بالماء] حلل الخنازير والخراجات . واذا خلط بالسويق سكن وجع المفاصل .

وقد يهبأ شراً بقشر الاصل بلا ان يطبخ ، وينبغي اذا اراد احد ان يعمل هذا الشراب ان ياخذ من الشراب الحلو مقدار مطرطس ويطرح عليه من قشر الاصل ثلاثة امانات [كذا: امانان] ، ويسقى منه ثلث قونوسات من به حاجة الى ان يقطع منه عضو او ان يكو [كذا] فانه اذا شربه لم يحس بالالام للسبات العارض له .

ولفاح هذا الصنف اذا اكل واستنشقت رائحته عرض لاأكله او للمستنشق لرائحته سبات . وكذلك يعرض ايضا من عصارته . واذا اكثر منه او من عصارته عرضت منهما السكته . وبزر اللفاح اذا شرب نقى [كذا: نقى] الرحم . واذا خلط بكبريت لم تمسه النار ، واحتمل قطع نزف الدم من الرحم . وقد تستخرج الدمعه بان يقور في الاصل قوارات مستديرة وان يجمع ما يسيل منها من الرطوبة . والعصارة اقوى من الدمعه . وليس في كل مكان يكون لاصوله دمعه . والدليل على ذلك من التجربة .

وقد يزعم بعض الناس في صنف آخر من الموربون انه ينبت في اماكن ظليلة وفي مغاير ، وله ورق شبيه بورق [91و] السروح الابيض الا ان ورقه اصغر من ورقه وطول الورق نحو من شبر ، ولونه ابيض وهو حوالي الاصل . والاصل لين ابيض طوله اكثر من شبر بقليل ، وهو في غلط الابهام . > ويقال < ان هذا الاصل اذا شرب منه مقدار دراهمي او اكل بالسويق او في الخبز او في بعض الطبخ فان الانسان على ما يزعمون اذا ما اكله او شربه في > شراب < يسبت ويبقا [كذا: يبقى] في سباته على الحال التي كان عليها قبل ان ياكله او يشربه ولا يحس بشيء بته نحو من ثلث ساعات او اربعة . وقد يستعمل الاطباء هذا الاصل اذا ارادوا ان يقطعوا عضواً من البدن او يكووه . وقد يقال ايضا ان هذا الاصل اذا شرب مع عنب الثعلب المعروف بالمجنن ، كان بازهر .

TABLE 8 Comparison between the text of Aya Sofya 3704 and BnF arabe 2849

قرذا مومن BnF arabe 2849, 3v	قردمانا Aya Sofya 3704
<p>وهو القردمانا. الجيد منه ما يؤتا (sic) به من البلاد التي يقال لها قماغينا وأرمينية والبلاد التي يقال لها بسفورس. وقد يكون أيضاً ببلاد الهند وبلاد العرب. فاختر (sic) منه ما كان عسر الرض ممتلياً منضمّاً. فإن الذي منه على غير هذه الصفة مرذول. وما كان منه ساطع الرائحة طعمه حريف مع شيء من مرارة وقوته مسخنة. وإذا شرب بماء نفع من الصرع ومن السعال وعرق النساء والذين بهم الفالج من استرخاء ومن رض العضل والمغص ويخرج حب القرع. وإذا شرب بخمر وافق الذين بهم وجع الكلي والذين بهم عسر البول ومن لسعته عقرب، وبالجملّة لكل من لسعه شيء من ذوي السموم. وإذا شرب منه وزن درخمي مع قشر أصل الغار فإنه يفتت الحصا. وإذا دخن به الحوامل قتل الأجنّة. وإذا خلط بخل ولطخ به الجرب قلعه. وقد يعفص بعض الأدهان.</p>	<p>قردمانا، وهو بحرويا جبلي. أجود القردمانا ما كان ببلاد قوماغه وما كان بأرمينية وبسفورس. ويكون منه بالهند وأرابية. فاختر منه ما هو عسير الدق منشبك. وما لم يكن كذلك فليس فيه خير. وأجوده ما كان شديد الريح يلدغ اللسان وفيه شيء من مرارة، وقوته حارة. وإذا شربه من كان به وجع افولوموسيا (Sic, prob. Epilepsy) وهو الحيوان بماء شفاء باذن الله. وينفع من السعال ووجع الوركين والترهل والفتق والمغص وتشنج (sic) ويخرج حب القرع وعض السباع كلها ذات السموم إذا سقي مع أصل الغار وزن نواة ونصف. قول اصطفن فإذا تدخن به. قال اصطفن وحنين فتت حصي المثانة، ويخرج الولد من البطن. وإذا طلي به قلع الحكة، وكذلك إذا خلط معه خل وقد يخلط في كل دواء، ويقبض الجسد ويكفّه.</p>

NOTES

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1. There is much literature on this manuscript in particular, and on Dioscorides in general. A small selection should include Charles Singer, "The Herbal in Antiquity and Its Transmission to Later Ages," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 47 (1927): 1–52, despite its limitations regarding the Arabic Islamic tradition of this text. This weakness is now relatively remedied by reference to the work of Mahmoud M. Sadek, *The Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides* (Québec: Les Éditions du Sphinx, 1983). Ernst Grube, "Materialien zum Dioskorides Arabicus," in *Aus der Welt*

- der Islamischen Kunst: Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1959), 163–94. A working edition of the Arabic translation of the *Materia Medica* completed in the first half of the last century sheds much light on the ninth-century Arabic translation of this text: César E. Dubler and Elias Terés, *La 'Materia Medica' de Dioscórides* (Barcelona: Tipografia Emporium, 1952–57). The only English translation of this manuscript we know of is in *The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides*, translated by John Goodyer (1655) and edited by Robert T. Gunther (1933), published at Oxford, 1934. There is also a detailed modern study of Dioscorides that includes mention of the Anicia manuscript; see John Riddle, *Dioscorides on Pharmacy and Medicine* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 181ff. The most accessible facsimile reproduction of this manuscript is in Otto Mazal, *Der Wiener Dioskurides: Codex medicus Graecus 1 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 2 vols. (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1998–99), with commentary. The most modern complete German translation of the text of Dioscorides directly from the Greek is by Max Aufmesser, *Pedanius Dioscurides aus Anazarba*, *Altertumswissenschaftliche Texte und Studien* Bd. 37 (Hildesheim and New York: Olms-Weidmann, 2002), and the English translation by Lily Y. Beck, *Pedanius Dioscorides of Anazarbos*, *Altertumswissenschaftliche Texte und Studien* Bd. 38 (Hildesheim and New York: Olms-Weidmann, 2005).
2. For a discussion of this codex within a broad context see Minta Collins, *Medieval Herbals* (London: The British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2000), 39–50.

3. One of the present authors has already written about the subject. See George Saliba, *al-Fikr al-‘ilmī al-‘Arabī: nash’atuhu wa-taṭawwuruḥu* (Lebanon: Balamand, 1998); and in a general survey article in English by the same author, “The Development of Astronomy in Medieval Islamic Society,” *Arab Studies Quarterly* 4 (1982): 211–25, reprinted in George Saliba, *A History of Arabic Astronomy: Planetary Theories During the Golden Age of Islam* (New York: New York University Press, 1994). For a more recent treatment in greater detail, see George Saliba, *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2007).
4. For evidence of that competition, see George Saliba, “Competition and the Transmission of the Foreign Sciences: Ḥunayn at the Abbasid Court,” *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies* 2 (2000): 85–101.
5. This information comes from the title page of the Arabic Dioscorides manuscript now kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, BnF MS. arabe 2849, which says: “*Kitāb Diyāsqūrīdis al-ladhī min ‘Ayn Zarba fī hayūlā ‘ilāj al-ṭibb, tafsīr Iṣṭifān wa-īslāḥ abī Zayd Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq, li-Muḥammad ibn Mūsā.*” (The book of Dioscorides from Ainzarba on the nature of medical treatment, translated by Iṣṭifān and corrected by Ab-Zayd Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq, for Muḥammad b. Mūsā). From other sources we also know that this Muḥammad b. Mūsā patronized the translation of some seventy medical books of Galen by the same translator Ḥunayn. See Gotthelf Bergsträsser, ed. and trans., *Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen* (Leipzig: Kunde des Morgenlandes, 1925).
6. See the historical sources cited in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Muqaddimat kitāb al-ḥashā’ish wa-li-adwiya li-Diasqūrīdis* (Damascus: Arab Academy Publications, 1965).
7. See Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’a, ‘*Uyūn al-Anbā’ fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā’*, ed. August Müller (Königsberg, 1884), 2: 46–47.
8. See the testimony of the physician Nātīlī below, who had himself produced a Rectification (iṣlāḥ) of the text of Dioscorides, where he explicitly says that the copy he had at hand had some chapters translated by Ḥunayn and others translated by Iṣṭifān.
9. The Artuqid dynasty ruled over the Diyārbakir area from 1101–1409 CE. This particular patron who commissioned the translation was Najm al-Dīn Alpī I b. Temūr Tash (1154–1176 CE). See Munajjid, *Muqaddimat kitāb al-ḥashā’ish wa-ladwiya li-Diasqūrīdis*, and Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 194.
10. See Munajjid, *Muqaddimat kitāb al-ḥashā’ish wa-li-adwiya li-Diasqūrīdis*, and Ibrāhīm b. Mrād, *Dirāsāt fī al-Mu’jam al-‘Arabī* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1987), 227–70.
11. Those copies are now kept at the Ali Reza library in Mashhad; in Istanbul, Ahmet III, 2147; and in the New York Public Library, Persian (sic) Ms. 39, the last a direct copy from the Mashhad manuscript.
12. As was already claimed by Munajjid, *Muqaddimat kitāb al-ḥashā’ish wa-ladwiya li-Diasqūrīdis*, 17.
13. As was asserted by Ibn Mrād, *Dirāsāt fī al-Mu’jam al-‘Arabī*, 238. To buttress his claim, Ibn Mrād uses the fact that the major herbalists of the thirteenth century such as Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 1248) make no mention of this translation or of the earlier one by Maṭṭī. Instead, they consistently referred to Iṣṭifān’s translation.
14. For a discussion of the identity of this emperor, see Grube, “Materialien zum Dioskorides Arabicus,” 168 n. 28.
15. What seems to have happened is that the priest Nicholas helped the local doctors to identify enough plants so that they could use them in their daily practice, but there is no mention of a full fledged translation similar to the one undertaken in Baghdad a century or so earlier. The story of the passage of the transmission of the text of Dioscorides to al-Andalus was preserved in an account by Ibn Juljul (d. ca. 994 CE), one of the famous physicians and science historians of that region, and was in turn quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’a, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā’*, ed. N. Riḍā (Beirut, n.d.), 493–95. Ibn Juljul was also one of the early commentators on the text of Dioscorides, and the author of another book on the names of the plants that were missed by Dioscorides, thus inaugurating from the very beginning a tradition of original compositions that were based on but not limited to the material found in the *Materia Medica*.
16. So far it appears that only three of the surviving manuscripts are not illustrated, namely the one copy at Madrid National Library, No. 5006, one at Bibliothèque Nationale de France BnF arabe 2849, and the third at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Hyde 34. We are grateful to one of the journal’s reviewers who brought the last to our attention. Microfilms of those manuscripts presented no particular difficulty. The other manuscript copies which are all illustrated, presented the particular problems of acquisition, and continue to do so.
17. See, for example, Kurt Weitzmann, “The Greek Sources of Islamic Scientific

- Illustration,” in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, ed. George C. Miles (Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin, 1952), 244–66, and Sadek, *Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides*.
18. Dubler and Terés, ‘*Materia Medica*’ de *Dioscórides*.
 19. Ibn Abi Uṣaybi’a, ed. Müller, 2:47, and quoted in Munajjid, *Muqaddimat kitāb al-ḥashā’ish wa-ladwiya li-Diasqūridis*, 2–7.
 20. BnF, arabe 2849, fol. 91v, line 5.
 21. See Sadek, *Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides*.
 22. See Sadek, *Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides*, 43–44.
 23. See Sadek, *Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides*, and the review of this work by George Saliba, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107:2 (1987): 374–76.
 24. For a summary of the information on this Nātili, see Grube, “Materialien zum Dioskorides Arabicus,” 169 n. 37.
 25. Ibn Abi Uṣaybi’a, ‘*Uyūn al-Anbā’ fi Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā’*’, 437–38.
 26. Sadek, *Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides*, 206.
 27. This manuscript has been the subject of a note published by Oleg Grabar, “About An Arabic Dioskorides Manuscript,” in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. Doula Mouriki et al. (Princeton, N. J.: Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, 1995), 361–63.
 28. For this and for other identifications we have used the work of Albert Dietrich, *Die Dioskurides-Erklärung des Ibn al-Baiṭār*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, Nr. 191 (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991).
 29. The text says: “*dhakara Iṣṭifān annahu yaqla’ aṣnāf al-bahaq al-abyaḍ wa-l-aswad al-mā’ il ilā al-ḥumra wa-khāṣṣatan idhā khulīṭa bi-l-’asal wa-ṭuliya bi-hi al-badan fi al-shams abra’a bur’an tānman [idhā] kāna al-bahaq fi ibtidā’ ihi aw... wa-qad waqa’at bi-hi al-tajriba min kathīr min al-aṭibbā’.*”
 30. The note says: “*za’ama Iṣṭifān anna qawman min ahl al-jazīra yusammūn al-aghāfit al-abkhira. hādha huwa al-aghāfit al-musta’mal bi-lā shakk.*”
 31. The note says: “*za’ama Ḥunain anna hādha al-silq huwa al-qarṣa’ana, wa-l-qarṣa’ana nabātun ma’rūf bi-l-tathniya fi bilād dimashq.*”
 32. The text says: “*qāla Ḥunain Aṣqūsmūṣ fasād fi ḥarakat al-’aḍal fi al-inbisāt wa-l-inqibāḍ*” This text is apparently talking about Spasms. These are only few of several such marginal notes. A non-comprehensive survey revealed some more on the following folios: 54v, 58r, 59r (two references to Iṣṭifān, and once *za’ama Ḥunain*), 60r (twice also *za’ama Ḥunain*), 60v (*za’ama Iṣṭifān* and *za’ama Ḥunain*), 61v (*za’ama Iṣṭifān* and *qāla Ḥunain*), and others. Note that all those notes begin with such telling phrases as: “*za’ama Iṣṭifān or Ḥunain*” (Iṣṭifān or Ḥunain claimed), “*dhakara Iṣṭifān*” (Iṣṭifān mentioned) or “*qāla Iṣṭifān or ḥunain*” (Iṣṭifān or Ḥunain said).
 33. See Ibrāhīm Ibn Mrād, *Tafsīr Kitāb Diasqūridis: Commentaire de la “Materia Medica” de Dioscoride de Ab-Muḥammad ‘Abdullāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Bayṭār de Malaga (m.646 1248)* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1990), 80–81.
 34. It is also important to note that the material separated under the heading *qawl Iṣṭifān* in the Istanbul 3704 manuscript (see table 8) is in essence included in the regular entry for that plant in the standard Iṣṭifān-Ḥunain version, despite the remarkable variations in the language. But in BnF arabe 2849 there is no such formal separation of this material in a clearly marked section. Among other things, the statement about the use of the smoke of the plant to induce abortion, as a separate statement of Iṣṭifān is in fact included in the last sentence of the standard version preserved in BnF arabe 2849. There is no easy answer to the phenomenon of the Istanbul 3704 manuscript. One can only venture a guess that this manuscript represents a stage in the tradition where the manuscript was copied from a text that represented a reworking of a much earlier text. This early text must have first circulated as a combined translation of Iṣṭifān-Ḥunain to which was added, but with a much reworked language, separate translations of the two. Or the added material may have included translations from other Greek works such as the works of Galen, or fresh compositions that Iṣṭifān-Ḥunain may have produced on the basis of their own medical readings. The text now preserved in BnF arabe 2849 seems to be a synthesis of these earlier processes. And the one preserved in Istanbul 3704 is a remnant of an earlier version. Here again, a final answer to this question cannot be supplied as long as we lack a critical edition of this text where all those relationships could be explored further.
 35. Oleg Grabar attempted to make sense of this title page but instead left many problems unresolved. See Grabar, “An Arabic Dioskorides Manuscript,” 361–63.
 36. The full text of the note is the following:

مما عني باستنساخه المولى الأجل الأمير الكبير الأسفيسلار الأغر
الأخص المشاهد المرباط زين الحاج والحرمين مبارز الدين معتمد الملوك
والسلطين أبو ابراهيم بن موسى بن يعقوب الملكي المعظمي أدام الله
أيامه.
وهذا الكتاب جامع لكتاب ديسقوريدس العين زربي ، خلا صور النبات
والأشجار والحيوان والمعادن ، فإنها ذكرت جميعها في كتاب مفرد لها

ليسهل على من أراد أخذها . أمّا فمن أراد معرفة شيئاً من ذلك فعليه بالكتاب الآخر الجامع لجميع صور هذا الكتاب من النبات [والأشجار] والحيوان والمعادن . وقد ذكر فيه عند كل صورة منها اسمها وقوتها وبعض أفعالها بإيجاز واختصار ، والله الموفق وهو المستعان

37. Grabar, "An Arabic Dioskorides Manuscript," 362, noted that he regrettably failed to identify this patron in the secondary sources.
38. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfi bi-l-Wafayāt*, Bibliotheca Islamica (Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag, 1972), vol. 6f, 151–52, biography no: 2597.
39. For these dates see Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties*, 70.
40. Grabar, "An Arabic Dioskorides Manuscript," 363.
41. Hugo Buchtal, "Early Islamic Miniatures from Baghdad," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 5 (1942): 18–39, provides the earliest attempt to enumerate and locate the paintings removed from the manuscript (see pp. 21–28). Sadek, *Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides*, 14, supplies a comprehensive list of most related publications to which should be added Esin Atil, *Art of the Arab World* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1975), 89 n. 13, where she cites additional illustrations then preserved in the Sadrudīn Aga Khan Collection unknown to Buchtal. This has now been largely superseded by Alain Touwaide, *Farmacopea Araba Medievale Codice Ayasofia 3703*, 4 vols. (Milan: Antea edizioni, 1992).
42. Most of these manuscripts, regardless of the degree to which the text conforms to standard Arabic Dioscorides, are typically illustrated by plants which are rarely accompanied by a figure. A notable exception is the previously mentioned Leiden manuscript, studied by Sadek, *Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides*, which includes human and especially animal, and insect figures (e.g., figs. 2–3 and 34–54) and whose particular textual tradition has been discussed above. Though not well published, so far as we are aware, the Bologna manuscript, Ar. 2954, which as already indicated and documented in table 3 shares a familial relationship with Istanbul 3703, also includes some figures; e.g., see Touwaide, *Ayasofia 3703*, 1: 79–80, figs. 74–76. Similarly, the manuscript in the Museum of the Shrine at Mashhad, datable perhaps to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, whose figural illustrations may presage those of Istanbul 3703. See Weitzmann, "Greek Sources of Islamic Scientific Illustration," esp. 254–56. See also Florence Day, "Mesopotamian Manuscripts of Dioscorides," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 8.9 (1950): 271–80.
43. The most comprehensive study of these important manuscripts remains Oleg Grabar, *The Illustrations of the Maqamat* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), but see also Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Geneva: Skira, 1962), especially 104ff.
44. Illustrations from these manuscripts are often used in a variety of contexts; e.g., see Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, 168 n. 12.
45. E.g., Buchtal, "Early Islamic Miniatures from Baghdad," 28–33, who relied upon a Greek text in considering the illustrations, noting, "...a number of the miniatures have no bearing on the text at all." In the most comprehensive work to date (Touwaide, *Ayasofia 3703*), the author seems to have all but ignored the actual text that accompanies the paintings.
46. As suggested by Weitzmann, "Greek Sources of Islamic Scientific Illustration," 254–57, but without resorting to the text.
47. As already noted by Sadek, *Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides*, 14. Today, the text begins in the middle of chapter 1, Book 4; folio 2, which included the original frontispiece (fol. 2r) and the beginning of Book 4, chapter 1 (fol. 2v) was removed entirely perhaps some time in the early 1990s and was replaced with the repainted frontispiece as fol. 2v. The manuscript lacks an incipit. On fol. 1v, written in a more modern hand is an endowment note; it says that it was endowed by the sultan, son of a sultan... al-Ghazi Mahmud Khan, followed by the name of the person who wrote the endowment note "Ahmed Shaykhzadeh, inspector of the endowments of the two holy places."
48. See Sadek, *Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides*, 8–9.
49. First discussed by Grube, "Materialien zum Dioskorides Arabicus," 173 (illustrated on p. 171), but compare with Touwaide, *Ayasofia 3703*, vol. 1, where the repainted frontispiece is reproduced as part of the front matter. The repainted version, in fact a new page, is signed and dated in the lower right "Dr. A. Süheyl Ünver 1939," presumably Ahmed Süheyl Ünver (1898–1986), a professor in the medical school, Istanbul University, who also gave classes in miniature painting at the art school of the Topkapı Palace Museum. How his painting came to replace the original folio in this manuscript is unknown to the authors.
50. See Linda Komaroff in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, ed. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 433.
51. The text is bound together with Ḥunain b. Iṣḥāq's work on viniculture, so that the folio count is often and erroneously given as the amount for the entire manuscript.

For example, Atil, *Art of the Arab World*, 53, says 202 folios, although in fact the complete folio count today is 204.

52. Furthermore, the illustrator even included several very generalized depictions in the section on minerals, e.g., fol. 119r, which is meant to represent copper oxide, as noted on the following folio.
53. See, for example, Atil, *Art of the Arab World*, compare figs. 19–20 with 23–24. The manuscript in Istanbul is today in very poor condition, many of the pages suffering from what appears to be water damage.
54. The manuscript's pages measure 33.1 x 25.1 cm, but the illustrations removed from it have often been reduced to a somewhat smaller size.
55. F. Sarre and F. R. Martin, eds., *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst in München* (Munich: F. Bruckmann A.G. München, 1911–12), Bd. 1, where two paintings, cropped to exclude any text, and both listed as Kat. Nr. 583 are illustrated (Taf. 4 and 5).
56. E.g., Atil, *Art of the Arab World*, and Sadek, *Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides*. Touwaide, *Ayasofia* 3703, 1:56, merely indicates that there is a type of Arabic Dioscorides that is more than a straightforward translation; the same lack of attention to the text is true of his subsequent publications. See, e.g., Alain Touwaide, "Persistence de l'Hellénisme à Bagdad au début du XIII^{ème} Siècle. Le Manuscrit Ayasofia 3703 et la Renaissance Abbasside," *Erytheia Revista de Estudios Bizantinos Y Neogriegos* 18 (1997): 49–74.
57. See Collins, *Medieval Herbals*, 67–68, on the Greek illustrations and their sources for these sections of the text.
58. The authors are currently working with a digital version of the manuscript in order

to electronically and correctly reinsert the pages that were removed. We are grateful to Nevzat Kaya formerly of the Suleimaniye Library for his kind assistance with this project.

59. F1938.1r. Atil, *Art of the Arab World*, 55.
60. Dubler and Terés, '*Materia Medica*' de *Dioscórides*, 363. The text here also coincides with that of the related manuscript in Bologna, fols. 231–32.
61. "The fourth kind which is called Heloscopius. It has leaves that are similar to the other (kind) except that it is more like the leaves of *baqla al-hamqa* (*Portulaca Oleracea* L.) but slightly finer, more circular, and has four or five branches, all emerging from the same stalk, about a span (*shibr*) in length, very fine and full of milk. It has a head that is similar to that of Shibth (*Enithon*, Dill; Arabic *Yānisūn* or Anise) and fruits as if placed at the heads. The head (*jammat*) of this plant moves along with the motion of the sun, and for that reason it is called Heliosopion, which means [sentence continues next page] the one that looks at the sun. Most of it grows in cities and abandoned places. Its fruits and milk are gathered in the same manner as the various kinds of Yattū' (*Euphorbia* or *Characias*) are gathered, that we have mentioned. Their strength is also similar to it, except that it is not as strong as the milk and fruits of the other kinds."
62. 1971.95. Touwaide, *Ayasofia* 3703, 3: 8–11.
63. Dubler and Terés, '*Materia Medica*' de *Dioscórides*, 342.
64. "It is called with this name because the leaves of this plant resemble the mouse's ear, and is sometimes called domestic/ garden Sinī. It is so called because it grows in the shady spots of the garden. It is similar to the Alsinī plant except that it is slightly shorter than it and the Qasīnī and of leaner leaves, and has no fuzz on

them. If it is rubbed the smell of vomit(?) is emitted from it. It has a contracting cold power. If it is used with wheat husk it would suit (*wāfaqa*) hot swellings of the eye. If it is dropped on the aching ear, it would also suit it. In sum the plant acts like ..."

65. "Mention of Moss (also, Lemna). Phakos which is the moss (*Tuḥlub*) that is found on stagnant water. It is the green that is similar to lentil in shape which is found in forests on stagnant water. It is cold. So if it is used for bandaging by itself, or mixed with wheat husk, it would work for redness and hot swellings as well as gout (*niqris*). And if the hydrocele enterocelas (*qila*) that afflicts the children is bandaged with it, it will shrink it in size."
66. Compare with Dubler and Terés, '*Materia Medica*' de *Dioscórides*, 374. The text also differs from the Bologna manuscript; see fols. 262–63.
67. S1986.97a. See Glenn D. Lowry, *A Jeweler's Eye: Islamic Arts of the Book from the Vever Collection* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1988), 70–71.
68. Buchtal, "Early Islamic Miniatures from Baghdad," 21–22, considers both to be patients while Lowry, *A Jeweler's Eye*, 71, indicates that it is the blindfolded young man who is the patient.
69. F1932.22v. See Atil, *Art of the Arab World*, 56.
70. Dubler and Terés, '*Materia Medica*' de *Dioscórides*, 375, and BnF 2849, fol. 108r.
71. Compare with Dubler and Terés, '*Materia Medica*' de *Dioscórides*, 394, while the text again diverges from the Bologna manuscript.
72. 13.152.6. See Day, "Mesopotamian Manuscripts of Dioscorides," 275–78, where the author compares the text with that of the previously noted manuscript in Mashhed, which represents the

- translation by Mihrān. Although she considers the differences between the two texts to be the result of changes made by the later translator of the Istanbul manuscript she identifies the equivalent Greek (?) Dioscorides text as Book 5, Chapter 55. Day seems to have been the first and one of the few who have actually attempted to read the text of one of the removed illustrated pages.
73. F1932.21v. See Atil, *Art of the Arab World*, 57, where the text is identified with the Greek (?) Dioscorides as Book 5, Chapters 110–14. But compare the text with Dubler and Terés, ‘*Materia Medica*’ de *Dioscórides*, 417. The Freer page reads: “Lemnia Spradagis (?), which is sealed clay (terra sigillata). This is extracted from mines well inside the earth. If it is drunk with wine it would have a strength that counters fatal drugs.” “Chalchutis which is *Qalqant* [Blue vitriol or SO_4Cu]. ... It is concocted from wind [i.e., Aristotelian vapor] and water, and it is of the same kind as the first except that it is wet. It is of three kinds: one that drips like water and dries like salt, and that is found in Cyprus and copper mines. Another is extracted from mines from which water comes out and then it becomes hard like salt. There is another type similar to this kind in Spain.”
74. The text states: “... If you do so make him drink of the seeds of wild Armion (Urmīnun = Cassia tora?) eight dirhams in weight of ... Anise and the seeds of celery with pepper and paste of ... in a syrup or dry wild pigeon droppings. Make him eat it with bread and syrup.” And: “The one who drinks mercury. His condition will be like that of al-mrtk [?] and his cure is like him too. Milk is good for him, vomiting is useful and [on your own] you can grasp his treatment.”
75. S1986.98a. The inscriptions seems to read in part “...*wa ḥakīm*...” or “and a physician.” On some of the different Arabic terms used to designate a physician in the thirteenth century, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, “The Image of the Physician in Arab Biographies of the Post-classical Age,” *Der Islam* 66: 2 (1989): 331–43, especially 333–34.
76. 57.51.21. See, for example, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: The Islamic World* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), 34–35.
77. Dubler and Terés, ‘*Materia Medica*’ de *Dioscórides*, 381.
78. P. 269; the texts are in fact identical.
79. See, for example, Kurt Weitzmann, *The Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), 270ff. We are grateful to Dr. Helen Evans for suggesting this reference.
80. Coleman Goin and Olive Goin, *Man and the Natural World: An Introduction to Life Science* (New York: Macmillan, 1975), 2d ed., fig. 33–32, which appears to have been printed in reverse.
81. Weitzmann, “Greek Sources of Islamic Scientific Illustration,” 266, makes a related point and suggests that the complex figured scenes may have been an attempt “to draw scientific images into a more humanizing realm.”
82. Buchtal, “Early Islamic Miniatures from Baghdad.” Similarly, Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 97–124.
83. We will restrict our comments to this one group, though clearly the discussion could be expanded to include a broader range of manuscripts both scientific and literary.
84. The Baghdad attribution is not universally accepted. See, for example, Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, 17–18, although he does not clearly refute this ascription either.
85. Buchtal, “Early Islamic Miniatures from Baghdad,” 19–20. See also Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 97–100, and Ernst Grube, “The Hippiatrica Arabica Illustrata: Three 13th Century Manuscripts and Related Material,” in *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A.U. Pope and P. Ackerman (Tokyo and Kobe, 1967), 15: 3138–55.
86. See Anna Contadini, “The *Kitāb na’t al-ḥayawān* (Book on the characteristics of animals, British Library Or. 2784) and the ‘Ibn Bakhtishu’ Illustrated Bestiaries” (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1992), which we were unable to consult; and, by the same author, “A Bestiary Tale: Text and Image of the Unicorn in the *Kitāb na’t al-ḥayawān* (British Library, Or. 2784),” *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 17–33, esp. 19, on the contents of the text.
87. See Buchtal, “Early Islamic Miniatures from Baghdad,” 34–35. Compare, for example, images with animals and plants from the London manuscript with comparable scenes from the Istanbul Dioscorides; these comparisons can be most easily made by consulting Dietrich Brandenburg, *Islamic Miniature Painting in Medical Manuscripts* (Basel: Editiones Roche, 1982), 81, 217, 219, 221 (for London Or. 2784); 83, 87, 99, 101, 119, 135 (for the Aya Sofya 3703 Dioscorides). This work should not, however, be relied upon for accuracy of identification of collections, manuscripts, and dates.
88. London Or. 2784 fol. 228v and Istanbul 3703, fol. 10v, although in the latter, given the nature of the text, the roots of the plant are indicated above the ground line.
89. On the text see Contadini, “A Bestiary Tale,” 19–20.
90. Contadini, “A Bestiary Tale,” 18, dates the manuscript to 1220, whereas, for example, Buchtal, “Early Islamic Miniatures from Baghdad,” 35, placed it around 1225.
91. The third and latest of the three manuscripts, cited below, was not part of

- Buchta's original group but was only discovered in 1960 by Richard Ettinghausen. See Oleg Grabar, "A Newly Discovered Manuscript of the Maqamat of Hariri," *Ars Orientalis* 5 (1963): 97–109.
92. Grabar, "Newly Discovered Manuscript of the Maqamat," 106–7.
 93. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 121, for the 39th *maqāma* in the Paris manuscript and for the St. Petersburg illustration see *Pages of Perfection: Islamic Paintings and Calligraphy from the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg* (Lugano: ARCH Foundation, 1995), 150. All three manuscripts share the same figural types and very similar rendition of plants, water, and animals.
 94. Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, 3.
 95. MTW 1252, first published in *L'Orient du Saladin l'art des Ayyoubides* (Paris: Institut du Monde Arabe and Gallimard, 2001), cat. no. 114; pp. 140–41, 200. The former scene seems also to include a surgical procedure.
 96. See for example, the remarkable study by D. S. Rice, "Brasses from the Workshop of Ahmad al-Dhaki al-Mawsili," *Ars Orientalis* 2 (1957): 285–326, and particularly with regard to illustrated manuscripts from northern Iraq.
 97. Perhaps the best introduction to this material in general is still Rice, "Brasses from the Workshop of Ahmad al-Dhaki al-Mawsili," 285–326.
 98. Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, 148–49, and similarly Oleg Grabar, "The Illustrated *Maqāmāt* of the Thirteenth Century: The Bourgeoisie and the Arts," in *The Islamic City: A Colloquium*, ed. A. H. Hourani and S. M. Stern (Oxford and Philadelphia: Bruno Cassirer and University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), 218, where he seems to be looking mainly toward the Iranian world.
 99. With regard to the previously noted British Library manuscript of the *Kitāb na't al-ḥayawān* (Or. 2784), Contadini, "A Bestiary Tale," 29, has proposed that the manuscript was intended for a prince.
 100. Jonathan M. Bloom, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 178–82.
 101. Bloom, *Paper before Print*, 48–53, but see also Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā* (Cairo: Amīriya Press edition, 1910–20), 2:487.
 102. On a related topic, see Linda Komaroff, "Paintings in Silver and Gold: The Decoration of Persian Inlaid Metalwork and Its Relationship to Manuscript Illustration," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 2.1 (1994): 2–34.
 103. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 66; Grube, "Materialien zum Dioskorides Arabicus," 179.
 104. Also reproduced in Grube, "Materialien zum Dioskorides Arabicus," 171.
 105. A related theme is repeated in the second single-page frontispiece in the succeeding folio of this manuscript. Here Dioscorides, now clothed entirely in Muslim garb, is seated on a low bench while a similarly clad student sits on a cushion before the master holding a Mandrake plant. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 67–70; but see also Eva Hoffman, "The Author Portrait in Thirteenth-Century Arabic Manuscripts: A New Islamic Context for Late Antique Tradition," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 6–20, esp. 6ff., where she suggests that in translating the Greek sage and scholar into a Muslim physician (and by extension making him a part of an Islamic past) the second frontispiece is a visual rendering of the transmission of the scholarly heritage of classical antiquity to the Islamic world.
 106. We hope that once we have digitally reconstructed the Aya Sofya 3703 manuscript the function of the illustrations and their role with regard to the text may become more readily apparent.
 107. On medieval collections of books and libraries, see Bloom, *Paper before Print*, 116–22.
 108. Istanbul, Ahmet III, 2127; Istanbul, Aya Sofya 3704; Bologna, Cod. Arab. 2954; Oxford, Ms. Arab. d. 138.
 109. Riḍā edition, 703.

PLURALISM OF STYLES IN SIXTH-CENTURY CHINA

A Reaffirmation of Indian Models

Abstract

The Indian aesthetic and specific Indian Buddhist motifs played a prominent role in the artistic landscape of sixth-century China. The earliest reaction to Indian models took place in Sichuan, and to a lesser extent in Shandong, in the first half of the sixth century. By the second half of the century the art of the subcontinent impacted northern China and gave rise to two divergent styles, Northern Zhou and Northern Qi. Assimilation and transformation of Indian sources increased substantially during the sixth century because of the augmented importance of the maritime route vis-à-vis the Central Asian route. This investigation seeks chiefly to clarify whether the sculpture of Sichuan embodies the style of the South, which has so far eluded us due to the paucity of extant works from Nanjing. A focus on regionalism draws attention to the strong local variations which occurred not only in the artistic production of North and South, but also within these two broad geographic divisions. The combination of Indian aesthetic and its varying interpretations in different areas of China made the sixth century one of the most inventive and prolific times for the production of Buddhist sculpture.

IN THIS ESSAY I discuss the alternation and coexistence of six styles of Buddhist sculpture in sixth-century China and their origin within particular geographic and historic contexts. Other scholars have investigated specific issues linked to the stylistic plurality of this period, but have avoided a comprehensive visual interpretation of sixth-century Buddhist art. Of late, theoretically-driven studies treating art in general and Buddhist art in particular have appeared in greater numbers. Eugene Y. Wang's *Shaping the Lotus Sutra*, for instance, is a provocative work covering a wide array of topics that contributes significantly to our understanding of Buddhist thought in medieval and Tang China.¹ When stylistic analysis is ignored or neglected, however, the aesthetic aspects of art can be overwhelmed by analysis of what Wang terms more generally "visual culture." As a result, the main focus of the inquiry shifts toward what an artifact may reveal about political-religious forces within society, for example, or the intellectual landscape of the society in which it was created, and away from any possible internal development or evolution elicited or incited by changing aesthetic standards. In other words, the work of art becomes a means rather than an end within conceptually ambitious schemes; from this perspective, its original aesthetic meaning is considered unimportant.

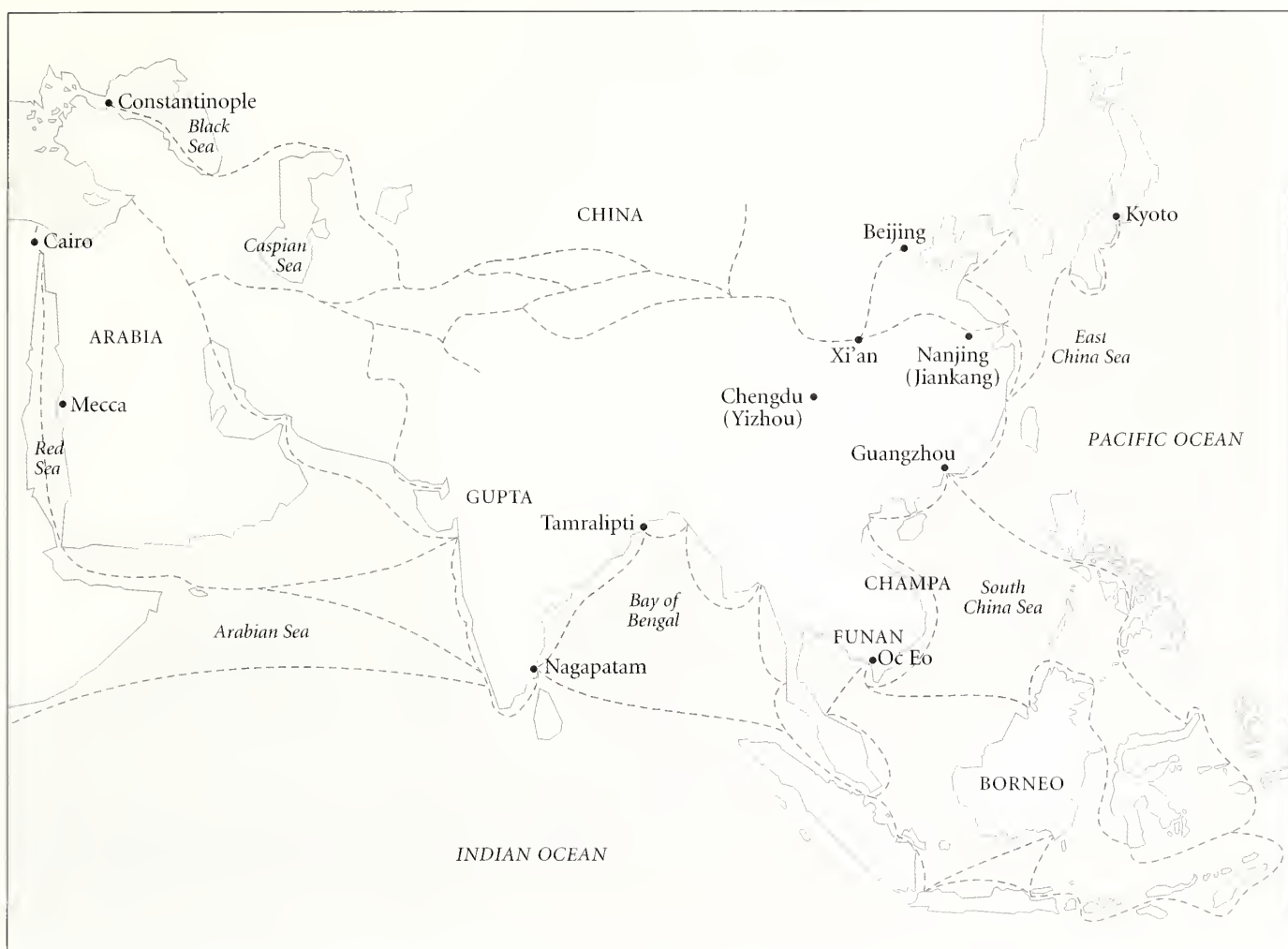
Here I refocus attention on stylistic analysis and show how it can illuminate aspects of Buddhist art that have been neglected by otherwise valuable studies.

Besides affirming the soundness of this methodology which joins interpretation and empirical evidence, I also caution against the misguided perception that it is not sufficiently theoretical and that it belongs, moreover, to a past stage of art historical scholarship, or that it is outdated. The slighting of stylistic analysis is based on a misunderstanding of its inner working; rejecting it, furthermore, implies a closing of a fruitful venue of inquiry. The study of style is as intellectually challenging as any other approach, since it does not consist merely of a tedious comparison of a series of formal similarities. There is no better definition of style than that offered by Meyer Schapiro in his masterful essay, "Style":

To the historian of art, style is an essential object of investigation. He studies its inner correspondences, its life history, and the problems of its formation and change... Style is, above all, a system of forms with a quality and a meaningful expression through which the personality of the artist and the broad outlook of a group are visible. It is also a vehicle of expression within the group, communicating and fixing certain values of religious, social, and moral life through the emotional suggestiveness of forms. It is, besides, a common ground against which innovations and the individuality of particular works may be measured.²

Several of Schapiro's statements are considered in the present study. Specifically, his "correspondences, life history, and problems of formation and change" are reflected in my reconstruction of the political, religious, and economic circumstances that promoted during the sixth century an intense interest in Indian modes and motifs. That Chinese clergy and patrons sought inspiration in the Indian aesthetic in shaping sacred images validates Schapiro's belief that style conveys ultimately the mindset of contemporary society at large, "the broad outlook of a group." In other words, the attraction to the Indian aesthetic implied a much deeper cultural phenomenon, shared in different degrees by Chinese elites, which transcended the carvers' preference for a particular physical appearance for sculpture. Arguably, China had never been so close to Indian culture as in this period. Lastly, my emphasis on the coexistence in sixth-century China of contemporary yet dissimilar (even antithetical) artistic expressions exemplifies Schapiro's assertion that once we have a style—in this case an Indianized style—we have also a common ground enabling us to detect innovations and departures from it. This aspect figures prominently in my discussion of regionalism.

The sixth century—the last century of China's division between north and south—was one of the most inventive and prolific times for the production of Buddhist sculpture. Striking and sudden changes occurred as style succeeded



MAP 1 Asian trade routes ca. 500–700 CE.

style, the outcome of an astonishingly dynamic creativity. During this period, five distinctive styles are clearly discernible in northern China and can be associated with political and chronological divisions: the final phase of Northern Wei, which reached its apogee at the capital Luoyang 洛陽 (494–535); its successor, the Western and Eastern Wei; and the antithetical Northern Qi and Northern Zhou styles, which, in turn, stimulated the formal language of the Sui. An additional sixth style—which I refer to as the style of the South, although we have no proof that it was uniformly applied—characterized the art produced in Sichuan 四川. It is an open question whether the style of peripheral Sichuan reflected that practiced in Nanjing 南京, the cultural and political center, or whether it possessed its own independent identity. Central to this investigation is thus the effort to clarify whether the art of Sichuan embodies the characteristics of southern Buddhist art, which has so far eluded us due to the paucity of extant works from Nanjing.

Regionalism, an important aspect of all forms of Chinese art in all periods, is another key component of this investigation. These six different stylistic modes arose in different geographic areas of China reflecting strong regional variations. These local distinctions are evident not only in the artistic production of north and south, but also within these broad geographic divisions. For example, the Northern Qi and Northern Zhou styles which coexisted roughly from 550 to 575 in

northeast and northwest China, respectively, are strikingly dissimilar. Regional style was determined in large part by the merging of local variables such as the political and religious context of a given geographic area, including the proselytizing of local and foreign clergy, the demands and taste of local patrons, the nature of the economy, and even the morphology of the land itself (for example, the access coastal centers had to maritime trade).

In tandem with regional influence, the Indian aesthetic and specific Buddhist motifs dominated the artistic landscape of sixth-century China. During this period, carvers and patrons in various parts of China gained knowledge of Indian Buddhist art by means of trade and journeys undertaken by itinerant monks and artists. Assimilation and transformation of Indian sources increased substantially during the sixth century because of the augmented importance of the maritime route, whose role in the transmission has been investigated far less than the Central Asian Silk Route (Map 1). Renewed archaeological investigation of Southeast Asian polities, especially those in Vietnam and Cambodia—specifically Oc Eo situated in the Mekong delta—have underlined the importance of early trading centers, linchpins in the commercial-cultural exchanges between India and China. These recent archaeological developments are crucial to understanding how Southeast Asian cultures acted as intermediaries conveying Indian models to sixth-century Buddhist China. Waves of Indian motifs and stylistic modes, which spread in China at different times and by means of different geographic venues, also produced different artistic results. The earliest reaction to Indian models took place in the southwestern province of Sichuan in the first half of the sixth century. A more limited number of Indian motifs also appeared at the same time in the sculpture of northeastern Shandong 山東. By the second half of the sixth century the process intensified; the art of the Asian subcontinent impacted China's northeast and northwest simultaneously, generating the opposing styles of Northern Qi and Northern Zhou.

One additional clarification is necessary. In studying patterns of transmission I do not mean that culture B (here, China) copied a work or assembled a work by simply appropriating elements already existing in the art of culture A (here, chiefly India). This process of passage was one of transforming an artistic tradition, the Indic, into a completely new one, the Chinese. It was governed by discriminating choices and based on a dynamic and mutual exchange between two cultures. In criticizing the misuse and misunderstanding of the term “tradition” (which he equates with “influence”), Michael Baxandall aptly remarks: “I take [it] to be not some aesthetical sort of cultural glue but a specifically discriminating view of the past in an active and reciprocal relation.”³ During the sixth century, China undoubtedly became ever more familiar with Indian aesthetic forms, but



1A

1B

1A, B

Standing Shakyamuni, front and back views. Liang dynasty, dated to 529, sandstone, h. 197 cm. Excavated at the former Wanfo Temple, Chengdu, Sichuan. Sichuan Provincial Museum, Chengdu. Museum's photographs.

that familiarity translated into a complex dynamic by which China assimilated, responded to, altered, and even discarded the original offerings. China, in short, entirely reformulated the Indian source.

Indian Components in the Buddhist Sculpture of Sichuan and Shandong before 550

Abundant literary sources and newly recovered sculpture allow a hypothetical reconstruction of the style practiced in southern China that was tied to Indian influence. Literary sources indicate the location of numerous temples in Zhejiang 浙江 and Jiangsu 江蘇 Provinces, their benefactors and the kind of works they sponsored, the names of a few artists commissioned to execute them, and the luxurious media (primarily coral, jade, lacquer, and refined woods) that southerners favored.⁴ Although material evidence related to elite sponsorship in and around Nanjing 南京 is meager, findings from Chengdu 成都, Sichuan, offer clues to the elusive southern production of the sixth century. The discovery of two hundred Buddhist works at the former Wanfo Temple 萬佛寺, Chengdu, and more recent findings of Liang 梁 art in Chengdu have given identity to those literary references indicating simultaneously the strong influence of Indian style on Chinese sculpture.⁵ The Indianized aspect of this art is obvious in the adoption of a specific Indian style, motifs, and images; it further implies patrons receptive to exotic styles, perhaps originating in Southeast Asian cultures whose tribute missions to Nanjing are recorded in the Chinese dynastic histories, the *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 and



2A



2B

2A, B

Pedestal of foreigners performing a ritual. Liang dynasty (502–57), sandstone, h. 75 cm. Excavated at the former Wanfo Temple, Chengdu, Sichuan. Sichuan Provincial Museum, Chengdu. Author's photographs.

the *Liang shu* 梁書 (History of Southern Qi and History of Liang, respectively). I will return to this issue later.

But why would the art of Sichuan represent that of Nanjing and thus become the equivalent of so-called southern art? Annexed by the Eastern Jin 東晉 in 347, Sichuan was an integral political and cultural part of the South. I assume, therefore, that Sichuan art was receptive to models popular at the Nanjing court. Indeed, the standing Buddha dated Liang 529 in the Sichuan Provincial Museum, Chengdu, whose style I discuss later, specifically ties its patron to Nanjing imperial patronage (figs. 1a, b)—providing persuasive proof that the art of the periphery was fashioned on that of the southern capital. The inscription carved on the robe of the statue, in the left corner, states that in the first year of Zhongdatong 中大通 (529) of the Liang dynasty (502–57), Jingghuan 景煥 and Jingguang 景光, attendants to Xiao Fan 蕭範, the crown prince of Poyang 鄱陽王, while stopping at Anpu Temple 安浦寺 (the former name of Wanfo Temple) on their way west, commissioned this image of Shakyamuni.

With this merit, they hope that seven past generations can be born in the Pure Land and behold the true face of the Buddha and achieve perfection in shining wisdom. They hope that Jingguang and his mother as well as all their relations, will live one hundred years and that their good karma will be extended far into the future. That they will be saved from the three obstacles and forever removed from evil. That life after life, generation after generation, mother and son will be reunited to learn the Dharma extensively. And that together with all sentient beings, they will attain the fruits of Buddhahood without fail.

The crown prince of Poyang was a nephew of Emperor Wu Di of Liang 梁武帝 (r. 502–49) and governor of Yizhou 益州 (present-day Chengdu). Indeed, this Shakyamuni sculpture was modeled on a prototype well-liked by the southern court at that time.



3

3
Avalokiteshvara stele. Liang dynasty, dated to 548, sandstone, h. 44 cm, w. 37 cm. Excavated at the former Wanfo Temple, Chengdu, Sichuan. Sichuan Provincial Museum, Chengdu. Museum's photograph.

The appearance and subject matter of the following selection of Chengdu sculptures simultaneously show the connection to Indian sources and exemplify the southern style. A pedestal depicting a procession of devotees in the Sichuan Provincial Museum, Chengdu (figs. 2a, b), illustrates the incorporation of foreign elements into the art of the South. Except for the back, the pedestal is embellished with a procession of foreign-looking personages who seem engaged in some kind of ritual. A number of them are haloed, wear eye-catching collar-necklaces, and are garbed in rather simple skirts and billowing stoles. Each carries a special implement—silken pouch, rod, lotus, bouquet of flowers, bell or other musical instrument. Their smoothly carved faces and bodies impart a sensuous sweetness reminiscent of Southeast Asian images. The presence of the Hindu god Ganesha among the devotees strengthens the argument that the origin of the group is to be found either in India or in an Indianized culture of Southeast Asia such as Funan 扶南, a mercantile polity that had practiced both Buddhist and Hindu beliefs since the second century CE.

The Liang 548 stele dedicated to the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara (Ch. Guanyin), also in the collection of the Sichuan Provincial Museum, Chengdu (fig. 3), is pentadic in composition, with a central Guanyin symmetrically flanked by four smaller Guanyin images. The sensuous, realistic modeling of their gracefully swaying bodies, slightly bent in a hip shot pose (*tribhanga*), echo very similar traits favored by Indian carvers. Even the crowns the bodhisattvas wear differ from their contemporary counterparts carved in the Longmen 龍門 grottoes in Henan 河南. The band of animated musicians sculpted in the pedestal conjures up the exoticism of India, as do the lions and elephants with their keepers. These wild beasts reflected tribute brought to southern China from Southeast Asian countries. These lively intrusions are indeed absent from northern sculpture of the



4

4
Purnaghata (urn of plenty). First century BCE, sandstone. Roundel from the railing of Stupa 2, Sanchi, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh. Author's photograph.



5

5
Seated Twin Buddhas stele. Liang dynasty, dated to 545, sandstone with gilding, h. 43 cm, w. 29.5 cm. Excavated at Xi'an Road, Chengdu, Sichuan, 1995. Chengdu Institute of Archaeology. After *The Treasury of a Nation* (Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 1999), 187.

same period. In this stele as well as in the pedestal, the soft roundness of the bodies, the naturalism of their relaxed yet elegant poses, their vibrant and compassionate expression, even the emotional intensity of the figures (the bodhisattvas portrayed in the 548 stele in particular) are distinctively southern traits.

Two specifically Indian motifs figure prominently in Sichuan art. They consist of a flamboyant lotus pedestal and an equally idiosyncratic stupa-reliquary—conspicuous features which have analogues only in Shandong art, which I will consider shortly. The motif of a *purnaghata*, or urn of plenty, is present in several Sichuan works. From the urn sturdy undulating stems emerge, ending in luxuriant lotus blossoms on which the deities stand. The *purnaghata* motif symbolically affirmed the nourishing effect of Buddhist teaching, which enabled believers to transcend the phenomenal world just as lotus blossoms transcend the muddy water in which they grow. This imagery graced ancient Indian monuments, such as the roundel from the railing of Sanchi Stupa 2, first century BCE (fig. 4), as it later graced several Chengdu works, for instance, the stele with twin seated Buddhas of 545 (fig. 5). Undeniably, the Sichuan sculpture, featuring lotuses emerging from an urn of plenty and serving as a pedestal for divinities, is completely faithful to the Indian model.

The Twin Buddhas stele displays at the apex of their aureole a highly distinctive stupa-reliquary of a type called Ashokan after the Mauryan emperor of India (third century BCE). Ashokan stupas are single-storied, cubic structures with corner acroteria. Usually flat-roofed but sometimes domed, the roof is topped by a spire with disks which serves as an honorific umbrella. No motif other than this miraculous structure can claim deeper roots in the South, in Jiangsu and Zhejiang Provinces, the heartland of the southern dynasties. Eighty-four thousand Ashokan reliquaries were believed to have been erected in a single night by the Mauryan



6A



6B

6 A, B

Standing Ashoka-type Buddha, front and back views. Liang dynasty (502–57), sandstone with gilding, h. 48 cm. Excavated at Xi'an Road, Chengdu, 1995. Chengdu Institute of Archaeology, Chengdu. Museum's photographs.

emperor and to have spread miraculously throughout these coastal provinces as early as the Eastern Jin dynasty, in the fourth century.⁶ Later, their appearance auspiciously marked the reign of Emperor Wu Di of the Liang dynasty, who emulated the fervent Buddhist piety of his celebrated Indian predecessor. The pervasive use of the urn of plenty and of the Ashoka stupa in the sculpture of the South stems certainly from the Liang court's desire to accrue credibility to their practice of Buddhism by continuous, frequent references both to a famous Indian emperor and to Indian symbols. Indian prototypes strengthened and aggrandized the faith practiced in southern China.

In consonance with the veneration of Ashokan stupas, southern China, specifically Sichuan, created the Ashoka Buddha image. Such was the zeal to possess a replica of the icon said to have been commissioned by the Mauryan emperor that Chinese records speak not only of an Ashoka Buddha but also of another such image donated by Ashoka's fourth daughter.⁷ These miraculous images, many said to have come to life and floated to Chinese shores, were enshrined and venerated by southern emperors, who believed they could foretell political disasters. Indian monks recognized them as Indian works that had left their country of manufacture for China. In spite of literary records claiming the Indian origin of this image, none has ever been found in India; Ashoka-type Buddha sculptures have been found only in Sichuan, where at least three are extant.⁸ The partially intact figure with a shimmering gilded surface excavated in Chengdu, Xi'anlu 西安路, in 1995, is self-named a King Ashoka 阿育王 image (*Ayuwang xiang*) (figs. 6 a, b). It was donated in 551 (eleventh year of Datong 大同 era, Liang dynasty) by the lay devotee Du Sengyi 杜僧逸, who wished that all beings will be reborn to hear Buddha's preaching of the Law, reach early Enlightenment, and avoid the karmic process of rebirth into the Six Destinies. This statuette originated in the territory adminis-

tered from Nanjing in response to Emperor Wu's intention to emulate his Mauryan emperor predecessor or, to express it differently, to strengthen Liang Buddhism by emphasizing its derivation and link to India, the holy land. Although the Chinese carver was not relying on a foreign model, as Indian sculptors did not craft this image at all, his intent was to make the icon look Indian and absolutely different from a contemporaneous northern typology. This is obvious in the rendering of Buddha's facial traits—the mustache and the sharp, high-bridged nose. Unusual is the choice of a peculiar hairdo to define the cranial protuberance (*ushnisha*). Atypical, too, is the rendering of Buddha's outer robe with symmetrical catenary pleats over the front of the body, a form diagnostic of Ashoka Buddhas, and the inner robe with a panel of serrated vertical pleats between the legs. Even the pedestal construction made of two rows of superimposed lotus leaves, the upper studded with a central rosette, is a novelty. Finally, breaking with established northern conventions, the inscription was carved on a three-sided tablet affixed to the statuette's lower back. This exquisite work is indeed a paradigm of southern style rooted in Indian tradition, or what the Chinese perceived the latter to be.

These three steles—the Guanyin stele dated 548, the Twin Buddhas stele dated 545, and the Ashoka-type Buddha dated 551—share one characteristic which is purely native Sichuanese: the holy gatherings depicted in the front and retro of the halo or aureole are embedded in a landscape, the continuation of a pictorial tradition first used in the brick relief decorating the tombs of Han landowners in this southwest province.

By which route or routes Indian conventions reached China during the sixth century is a crucial aspect in investigations of southern style. While not excluding the continuous contributions made by the Central Asian Silk Route, I believe that the spread of Indian taste and motifs so evident in the Buddhist sculpture of Sichuan reached China's coast through the maritime route and percolated inland. The route linked China ultimately to the Mediterranean with numerous intermediaries along the way, such as the Southeast Asian port-cities which were fully active by the Common Era, and the port facilities on India's eastern and western coasts. The sea route, of course, had bearing not only on commercial but also on cultural exchanges. In this respect its similarity to the Central Asian artery is obvious, yet while we are familiar with all the halting stations which dotted the two Central Asian arteries, we are hardly aware of the numerous commercial centers participating in the maritime route.

Among several important emporiums of Southeast Asia I focus on Oc Eo, situated in the Mekong delta of southern Cambodia close to the Vietnam border and part of the Funan polity (first–sixth century CE). Oc Eo was the hub of the traffic originating in the West, passing through India and continuing to coastal China,



7
Standing Amaravati-style Buddha.
Oc Eo Funan culture, ascribed to
second century CE, wood, dimens.
unknown. An Giang Museum,
Cambodia. After James C. M.
Khoo, ed., *Art and Archaeology of
Fu Nan, Pre-Khmer Kingdom of the
Lower Mekong Valley* (Bangkok:
Orchid Press, 2003), 44.

its ultimate destination. Our knowledge of Oc Eo and Funan derives almost exclusively from Chinese dynastic histories (Han, Three Kingdoms, Southern Qi, Liang, Sui and Tang). The archeological excavations undertaken by the Vietnamese since 1979 have provided additional information. Thus we know that Oc Eo was a large-scale center extending 3 by 1.5 kilometers and traversed by a canal, with brick and stone buildings serving both civilian and religious purposes. Buddhism and Hinduism coexisted although the retrieved images of Shiva and Vishnu outnumber the Buddhist images. The artifacts unearthed—gold ornaments, precious stones, glass, and elegant potteries—indicate an affluent, cosmopolitan society.¹⁰

The Indian components present in the Buddhist art of the South quite possibly may have passed through Oc Eo. Ten entries in the *History of Liang* (compiled by Yao Silian 姚思廉 in 622–29) spanning the years 503–39, the time of the sculpture under investigation, demonstrate the passage of material culture and religious teaching from one geographic area to the other. To give a few examples, in 503, the monk Sanghapala arrived in Liang territory from Funan and was joined in 506 by the monk Mandrasena, their task being to translate sutras while in residence at the so-called Funan Bureau of Translation.¹¹ In 519, King Rudravarman of Funan sent to the Liang court an envoy bearing the gift of an auspicious Indian sandalwood image. An earlier entry in the *History of Southern Qi* (compiled by Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯 before 530) states that in 484 “the King of Funan, Jayavarman, sent as envoy an Indian, the monk Nagasena, with a letter to the Throne, and as gifts a seated Nagaraja image in gold openwork and a statue of white sandalwood.”¹² The frequency of the exchanges underlines the importance of Oc Eo in the transmission, while the Indian origin of the monks and the Indian origin of some of the artifacts clearly stated in the sources leave no doubt as to the keen interest Liang China had in Indian constructs. The extant Buddha images retrieved in the territory of former Funan are few and chiefly executed in wood, such as the Buddha statuette labeled “Amaravati style” now in the An Giang Museum (fig. 7). While most of the pre-Angkor Hindu images are made of stone, the Buddhist works were executed primarily in wood. The tendency for wood to decay may account for the scarcity of examples. The deterioration of this wooden image prevents an accurate stylistic comparison with Liang sculptures; it indicates, however, a certain degree of affinity with an Indian original. The aforementioned Sichuanese pedestal with foreign devotees and the god Ganesha (see fig. 2) acquires new meaning when considered against the background of frequent contacts with Southeast Asian cultures such as Funan where Hinduism was practiced alongside Buddhism. As the product of active exchanges between southern China and Southeast Asia, the pedestal vividly captures the exoticism of a distant culture made closer by commercial ties.



MAP 2 Major regions and sites in South, Southeast, and East Asia.

I consider next some examples of Shandong art that share with Sichuan sculpture some Indian motifs (Map 2). The latter surfaced in the art of northeastern Shandong by ca. 550. The discovery in 1996 of several hundred Buddhist sculptures at the former Longxing Temple 龍興寺 in Qingzhou 青州 caps several other prominent, albeit less well publicized, findings in Shandong Province during the past twenty years. Sharing a uniform style and doctrinal content, this large body of sculpture—totaling close to fifteen hundred works—was crafted primarily in the sixth century and forms a distinctive Shandong School.¹³

The issue at hand is whether these Indian strains were the outcome of exchanges between the South and Shandong or had arrived directly by sea, bypassing the southern ports. Visiting dignitaries and Chinese missionaries arrived at Shandong, bringing traditions that undoubtedly enriched the local Buddhist faith. The monk Faxian 法顯 is the most obvious example. In 413, having miraculously survived the dangers of the return trip from India and Southeast Asia, Faxian accidentally disembarked at the Shandong port of Qingdao 青島 (not far from Qingzhou) in the mistaken belief that he had arrived at Guangzhou 廣州 (Canton), far to the south. Faxian's biography specifically mentions that he had returned with scriptures and images from India and Sri Lanka and that in all likelihood he showed these to the Shandong religious community before continuing south to Nanjing.¹⁴

These Indian strains became embedded within a northern framework of carving. The advantageous position of Shandong, with easy and equal access to the northern and southern spheres of influence, may explain the coexistence of the two northern and southern traditions in its art, an occurrence entirely absent in the art of Sichuan. Shandong's geography, cushioned between the culture of the south and that of the northern plains (Zhongyuan 中原), and its history, in which the two political entities (North and South) often impinged on each other, generated during the first half of the sixth century an art influenced by both regions.

Thus, the historical events that placed Shandong in turn under northern and southern rule during the period of China's division (317–89) are essential to an understanding of the complex artistic production of this region. Like a swinging pendulum, leadership in Shandong moved between northerners, that is, non-Han Chinese, and southerners, regarded by dynastic historians as the legitimate representatives of traditional Chinese values. In 384 Shandong became part of the Later Yan 後燕 (384–409) and remained under the following Southern Yan 南燕 ruler Murong De 慕容德 (r. 400–405), originally a Xianbei 鮮卑 (northern) chieftain. In 410 Emperor An Di 安帝 of Western Jin 西晉 (r. 317–420) subjugated Shandong, bringing it into the southern cultural sphere, where it remained throughout almost the entire Liu Song 劉宋 dynasty (420–79). In 469, Shandong reverted back to northern rule under the Northern Wei 北魏 and continued in the northern sphere of influence under the Eastern Wei 東魏 (534–50) and the Northern Qi 北齊 (550–77) until China's reunification by the Sui 隋 dynasty in 589.¹⁵ In each phase of this military and political process, art and religion absorbed cultural characteristics of the then-dominant polity. To be sure, the rise of indigenous elites also played a determinant role in both camps and contributed to the shaping of Shandong culture. Moreover, these political changes did not occasion abrupt and distinct cultural phases, as the dates of conquest and reconquest might suggest. On the contrary, the political shifts brought about the interplay of pre-existing and successive experiences; in short, the blending of northern and southern cultures.

The same process occurred in the history of Buddhism. Initially, Shandong Buddhism fell under northern influence: its recluse monks were trained by the famous Fotudeng 佛圖澄 (act. ca. 310–351) of the Later Zhao 後趙 (328–51), whose territory corresponded to present-day Hebei 河北 Province. In 351, when the Xianbei invaded Later Zhao, Fotudeng deliberately dispersed his disciples. One of them, the Recluse of Tai Shan 泰山, Zhu Senglang 竺僧朗, retreated in 351 to Tai Shan (Mount Tai), Shandong, where he instructed his followers and established the tradition of mountain-dwelling monks. Denominationally, they pursued *dhyana*, the teaching of meditation. Soon, however, Shandong Buddhism extended its influence beyond its territory, as the borders between North and



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8
Triad stele. Late Northern Wei dynasty, ca. 525, polychromed limestone with gilding, h. 134 cm, w. 90 cm. Excavated at the former Qiji Temple, Qingzhou, Shandong, 1994. Qingzhou Municipal Museum, Qingzhou. After *Shiji guobao* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shiji Tan Publication, 2000), 190.



9

9
Triad stele. Late Northern Wei dynasty, ca. 525, limestone, h. 96 cm, w. 43.5 cm. Excavated at Qixian, Henan, 1974. Henan Provincial Museum, Zhengzhou. After Sherman Lee, ed., *China, 5000 Years* (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1998), fig. 149.

South were permeable, especially to missionary-monks. Zhu Senglang achieved such prominence in the South that in 386 Emperor Xiao Wu Di 孝武帝 of Eastern Jin (r. 373–96) sent him gifts, including a precious five-colored and jeweled Buddhist image, made either at the court or in some foreign land.¹⁶

Several monks active in Shandong during the fourth and fifth centuries who hailed from in and around Qingzhou likewise partook of this double cultural heritage.¹⁷ Some were the offshoots of prominent families, and their social status may have abetted their sponsorship of doctrinal or artistic innovations. Zhu Daoqian 竺道潛 (286–347), for instance, was related to the Wang 王 clan; his brother, Wang Dun 王敦, held the highest rank in the Eastern Jin army. Daoqian went south, preaching to the aristocrats of Kuaiji 會稽 and Jiankang 建康 (present-day Yangzhou 揚州 and Nanjing 南京, respectively), and serving as a link between northern and southern Buddhism.

This undeniable bipolarity is visible in Shandong art, as some traits link to northern models but others point to a different inspiration from the South. On the basis of our discussion of Sichuan art, southern inspiration refers to style and motifs that originated in India or in related Indian cultures and that quite possibly had reached China by sea. Steles dated to the end of the Northern Wei period (ca. 525)—the earliest works found at Qingzhou—exemplify an exclusive reliance on northern models (fig. 8).¹⁸ These steles are related to the imperially sponsored, metropolitan art of Luoyang, Henan, an artistic dependence very likely stemming from the Northern Wei annexation of Shandong in 469 (fig. 9). By then, the Northern Wei rulers had begun sponsoring the colossal cave-temples at Yungang 雲岡,



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10

Triad stele. Eastern Wei dynasty (534–50), polychromed limestone with gilding h. 310 cm. Excavated at the former Longxing Temple, Qingzhou, Shandong, 1996. Qingzhou Municipal Museum, Qingzhou. After Lukas Nickel, ed., *The Return of the Buddha: Buddhist Sculptures of the 6th Century from Qingzhou, China* (Zürich: Museum Rietberg, 2003), 127.

Shanxi 山西, a daunting training ground for sculptors. With the transfer of the dynastic capital to Luoyang in 494, they initiated a similar project at Longmen 龍門. The impetus for these mighty programs of stone sculpture must have reached eastward to Shandong. The sudden appearance there of steles may also have been fostered by the influx to Shandong of more than one hundred thousand households from Hebei, following the suppression of an uprising under Emperor Xiao Zhuang 孝莊帝 (r. 528–30). The migrants included skilled workers and artisans, and they may have contributed to the increase in stone carving.¹⁹

In late Eastern Wei steles, however, as illustrated by many Qingzhou works, the stylistic impact of Luoyang statuary is considerably diminished, while two features distinctive of southern art become recognizable. In the largest (unfortunately very fragmentary) stele retrieved at Longxing Temple in Qingzhou, we find the triadic arrangement of Buddha and two bodhisattvas—a popular northern convention—against an imposing ogival aureole, at whose apex is an elaborate stupa-reliquary lifted and escorted by floating celestials (fig. 10). A second common feature consists of the pedestal supporting the bodhisattvas. These eccentric constructions are composed of lotus pods enveloped in lush foliage; the pods sprout from the water that spews forth from dragons which swoop down on each side of the Buddha. Such stupa and pedestals, distinctive features of Shandong steles of the Eastern Wei period, are linked to characteristics of southern Liang dynasty (502–57) art, which we know by way of Sichuan. The Ashoka reliquary is present in the Eastern Wei triad stele from Longxing Temple and in the Liang Twin Buddhas stele (see fig. 5) from Chengdu. Both steles make use of a single,

oval aureole framing all the assembled deities and the Ashoka stupa at the apex. On the Shandong stele two graceful flying celestials support the stupa, which has a domical roof adorned with the triple jewel. On the Sichuan stele, the Ashoka reliquary tops the aureole's summit. Sichuan and Shandong were inspired by the same source—visual and iconographic conventions established at the Liang capital of Jiankang, present-day Nanjing. The simultaneous presence of these motifs in the art of the two provinces is evidenced by their sharing of the art of Jiankang. A direct contact between Shandong and Sichuan seems less likely, given the lack of historical records. I believe that these motifs reached Shandong from Nanjing, by land or water. But in the Shandong imagery of similarly opulent lotus pedestals the motif is altered by dragon-spouted water instead of *puṇaḥata* water. In geographically and politically northern Shandong, dragons—an indigenous motif—have replaced the southern, Indian-derived amphora.

Further evidence that the aforementioned Indian motifs moved from southern territory to the northeastern province is the fact that Shandong elites favored southern modes, and not only those pertaining to Buddhist imagery. One example is the sumptuously decorated underground tomb of General Cui Fen 崔芬 (501–550), at Haifushan 海浮山, Linqu 临朐, Shandong.²⁰ Tomb murals on the east, west, and north walls prominently illustrate the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove plus Rong Qiqi 榮啟期 (a contemporary of Confucius), a theme very popular in the tombs of Nanjing from about 400 CE. General Cui's epitaph supplies a clue as to the reason why this Daoist southern theme became transplanted in Shandong. The general's grandfather, from a Shandong family that had fled south, had served in the administration of the Liu Song dynasty (420–79), but relocated and took service in the Northern Wei (386–534) army when that dynasty annexed Shandong in 469. Cui Fen's father, Cui Zan 崔贊, also served at the Eastern Wei court. In their homeland, Shandong, the Cui blended the traditions of the two worlds that had become their cultural heritage. I assume that the grafting of Buddhist symbolic motifs from the South onto Shandong art can similarly be explained by the exposure of patrons and clergy to both traditions.

Indian Components in the Buddhist Sculpture of Northern Qi and Northern Zhou after 550

Important events marked the mid-sixth century: the ending of Wei dynastic power, the partition of the North into the Northern Qi (550–77) and Northern Zhou (557–81), and a momentous realignment of spheres of influence. Sichuan, annexed by the Western Wei in 553, became officially part of the North and shortly afterward fell to the Northern Zhou. Political changes corresponded to equally



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Standing Buddha. Gupta period, 434/35 CE, sandstone, h. 76.25 cm. From Govindnagar, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh. Mathura Museum. After Pramod Chandra, *The Sculpture of India 3000 BC–1300 AD* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1985), 32.

12

Torso of a Standing Buddha Image. Third century CE, limestone, h. 122 cm. From Nagarjunakonda, Andhra Pradesh. Archaeological Museum, Nagarjunakonda. After Pramod Chandra, *The Sculpture of India 3000 BC–1300 AD* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1985), 71.

consequential shifts for Buddhist art; the South and its Indianizing aesthetic continued to exert a determining attraction on the northern styles—Northern Qi and Northern Zhou. The same Indian aesthetic, which had already played such a determinant role in the formation of the southern aesthetic (as in Sichuan under the Liang) during the first half of the sixth century, impacted the North after 550 with full force and in essence shaped the Northern Qi style. The Northern Qi style thus did not evolve out of the Northern Wei. On the contrary, it was a complete departure from it. The possibility is very slim that the formation of Northern Qi style resulted from the acceleration of an artistic change taking place at the end of the Northern Wei period, as visible in the clay images of the pagoda of the Yongning Temple 永寧寺, Luoyang, erected by imperial sponsorship. These terracotta statuettes modeled with unusual emphasis on volume remain an isolated example and do not constitute the source of a new style.²¹

As the Northern Qi encompassed Hebei, Henan 河南, Shandong, and sections of Shanxi 山西 and Anhui 安徽, the art of this wide territory shows many common traits, but various regions, such as Shandong, developed their own characteristics. The Northern Qi artisans of Shandong for the most part abandoned stele triads for individual freestanding images of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Similarly, they departed from the Northern Wei sculptural style, whereby the body was muffled in voluminously draped robes, in favor of the streamlined and smooth Gupta style. In creating Buddha images, they particularly emulated the style of Indian Mathura and Sarnath Buddhas, whose bodies are anatomically correct, sensitively modeled, and revealingly clad in transparent garments. The elongated and austere Northern Wei heads were replaced by Guptan heads with snail-curls, downcast eyes, and gently smiling expressions.

There were three ways by which Gupta style could have reached North China. Judging by affinities of costume and modeling between Northern Qi statuary and the Kizil painting in present-day Xinjiang, Gupta models may have spread



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13

Standing Buddha. Northern Qi dynasty (550–77), limestone, h. 98 cm. Excavated at the former Longxing Temple, Qingzhou, 1996. Qingzhou Municipal Museum, Qingzhou. After *Qingzhou Longxingsi Fojiao zaoxiang yishu* (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000), fig. 51.

14

Standing Buddha. Northern Qi dynasty (550–77), painted limestone, h. 148 cm. Excavated at the former Longxing Temple, Qingzhou, 1996. Qingzhou Municipal Museum, Qingzhou. After *Qingzhou Longxingsi Fojiao zaoxiang yishu* (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000), fig. 56.

15

Standing Buddha. Northern Qi dynasty (550–77), painted limestone, h. 131 cm. Excavated from the former Longxing Temple, Qingzhou, 1996. Qingzhou Municipal Museum, Qingzhou. After *Qingzhou Longxingsi Fojiao zaoxiang yishu* (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000), fig. 78.

throughout North China from Central Asia (the least likely route of transmission, in this writer's opinion).²² From India and Southwest Asia, stylistic novelties arrived continually at Nanjing and quite naturally may have moved inland and northward. This opinion posits Nanjing as the dynastic center that set trends in the arts. Additional Indian stimuli may have reached Shandong directly, bypassing the southern capital as the monk Faxian did when he returned from India. Further investigation of historical records may establish the maritime route as the most important means of transmission and also allow identification of the main commercial centers participating in the trade along the China's coast.

Undeniably the Northern Qi Buddhas from Qingzhou share common traits with those retrieved in Chengdu, but the sculptors of Sichuan and Shandong were by no means working in tandem. Sichuanese art preceded that of Shandong by at least a quarter of a century, and Shandong art produced a greater variety. To illustrate this point, I compare the Sichuan interpretation of Gupta models with the Shandong Northern Qi interpretations. The previously mentioned headless dark gray sandstone Shakyamuni from the Wanfo Temple, Chengdu, dated to 529 (Liang dynasty), perfectly illustrates the Indian idiom (see fig. 1). The pronounced plasticity of the figure is typically Gupta, and the body is clearly perceptible beneath the crisply pleated, thin, transparent robe. The prototype images were made at Mathura (fig. 11), although the two distinctive pleat patterns—horizontal U-shaped loops on the right side and pronounced vertical on the left—are reminiscent of the South Indian style of Nagarjunakonda and Amaravati, notwithstanding the bare right shoulder of their Buddhas (fig. 12). Thus, in the 529 Sichuan sculpture, two modes (Mathura and Nagarjunakonda-Amaravati) are merged, illustrating a transmission of Indian images to Southern China (via Nanjing-Chengdu) through a Southeast Asian intermediary, very likely Funan. This hypothesis receives support from the wooden Amaravati-style statuette retrieved in Funan (see fig. 7).



16

16
Standing Buddha. Gupta period, 475 CE, buff sandstone, h. 114 cm, w. 49 cm. From Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh. Indian Museum, Calcutta. After Pramod Chandra, *The Sculpture of India 3000 BC–1300 AD* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1985), 83.



17

17
Standing Buddha. Northern Qi dynasty (550–77), limestone with gilding, h. 63 cm. Excavated from the former Longxing Temple, Qingzhou, 1996. Qingzhou Municipal Museum, Qingzhou. Museum's photograph.



18

18
Standing Buddha. Northern Qi (550–77), limestone with traces of gilding, h. 128 cm. Excavated from the former Longxing Temple, Qingzhou, 1996. Qingzhou Municipal Museum, Qingzhou. After *Qingzhou Longxingsi Fojiao zaoxiang yishu* (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000), fig. 72.

After 550, the influence of the Guptan style forcefully impacted the North, giving rise to further production of Indianized statuary. In fact, the Qingzhou Northern Qi Buddhas embody versions of the Guptan style not found in Sichuan images. The variety of Buddha images from Qingzhou suggests either that Shandong artisans were more experimental with Gupta themes than their Chengdu counterparts or that they had a wider choice of Gupta models steadily imported through the maritime route. Qingzhou sculptors adapted the Mathura formula (distinguished by incised or shallow carved pleats) to offer several subtle variations of the outer robe. I illustrate three: pleats forming concentric loops at the front of the robe rendered in incised double or single lines or through raised ridges (fig. 13); pleats crossing the body diagonally (fig. 14); and pleats forming concentric loops over the right and left sides of the figure, divided by a panel of assertively vertical straight-line pleats in the middle (fig. 15). In these versions, the outer robe might leave the right shoulder covered or exposed.

Qingzhou carvers also developed their own interpretation of Gupta Buddha images from Sarnath. Sarnath robes are unpleated, as are their Qingzhou derivatives. In Sarnath images, the body is fully visible beneath a barely discernible clinging gossamer robe (fig. 16). In some of the Qingzhou Buddhas this filmy garment reveals to full advantage a beautifully modeled body. The cloth treatment is so diaphanous that its presence is revealed only by undulating hems or by the ripples it forms when grasped by Buddha's hand (fig. 17). But in some images even these are omitted, making the cloth indistinguishable from the body (fig. 18). Some masterpieces combine superbly shaped bodies with intensely spiritual faces, suggesting a perfect synthesis of the human and spiritual aspects of the deity. These various and richly inventive interpretations, inspired by Gupta prototypes from both Mathura and Sarnath, are found exclusively in Shandong. Sarnath style apparently did not appeal to Sichuan carvers of the Liang period.



19A



19B

19A

Cosmological Buddha. Northern Qi dynasty (550–77), limestone with pigments and gilding, h. 44 cm. Recovered in Linqu, Shandong, 1995. Linqu Municipal Museum, Linqu. After *Wenwu*, 2002, 9: 85.

19B

Cosmological Buddha from Linqu. Drawings. After *Wenwu*, 2002, 9: 89.

In contrast to Sichuan sculpture, Shandong sculpture is remarkable for its much richer polychrome surface décor characterized by reddish brown, malachite green, and sapphire blue pigments to mimic the conventional patched garment worn by a monk.²³ Areas of exposed flesh were also gilded. Most prominently, Shandong artists executed images that simultaneously used carving and painting techniques. In statues of the Cosmological Buddha, the carver shaped the image while the painter depicted on its surface a special doctrinal message, not merely embellishments. This special image figured prominently in Shandong, but was entirely absent from southern China. Shandong patrons and artists were responding to a northern model, which had originated during the fourth century in the small kingdom of Kucha, along the Northern Silk Route of central Asia (present day Xinjiang). Transmitted to China, the Cosmological Buddha made an appearance in Dunhuang, Cave 428, a Northern Zhou cave, in the third quarter of the sixth century, while contemporaneously reaching Shandong. The image subsequently became highly popular during the latter half of the sixth century under the Northern Qi and Sui dynasties. The Shandong sculptures of the Cosmological Buddha as Lord of the Universe are characterized by the use of specific pictorial scenes painted within the robe's patches. The surface of the sculpture displays—like a canvas painting of the five (or six) destinies—the transmigratory states that are essential constituents of the reincarnation process. In the Cosmological Buddha from Linqu, Shandong (figs. 19a, b) the vignettes placed on the axis of the statue allude to the realms of heaven, man, animals, hungry ghosts, and hell.²⁴

While I have emphasized the formation of the Northern Qi style as an adaptation of the Mathura and Sarnath Gupta versions of the Gupta idiom, Chinese scholars have stressed the effect contemporary (Northern Qi) painters may have had on sculpture.²⁵ They focus on the artists' ethnic origins as Central Asian foreigners of Sogdian and Kuchean extraction who lived in Ye 鄴 (present-day Han-



20A



20B

20A, B

Standing Bodhisattva, front and back view. Sui dynasty (581–618), limestone with pigments and gilding, h. 136 cm. Excavated from the former Longxing Temple, Qingzhou, 1996. Qingzhou Municipal Museum, Qingzhou. Museum's photographs.

dan 邯郸市), in southern Hebei), the capital of the Northern Qi. Their artistic skills, particularly in music, and their mercantile success brought this Central Asian community into close ties with the ruling circles and made it influential in forging aesthetic taste. Chinese scholars emphasize that the “new” style, so well represented by the unconcealed bodies of the Qingzhou Buddhas, derived closely from the painting of Cao Zhongda 曹仲達 (dates unknown), a Sogdian who became an official (Northern Qi) court painter. Cao’s Buddhist images (unfortunately no longer extant) conveyed a very plastic figure whose garment, as if wet, clung revealingly to the body. The eleventh-century Song scholar Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛 called these images “foreign” (did he mean Indian-looking?).²⁶ Literary sources give equal weight to the influences of Zhang Sengyou 張僧繇 (ca. 470–550), a Liang court painter whose work, marked by the rendering of plasticity and volume, they consider to have influenced, if not shaped, the Indianized volumetric style present in sixth-century Buddhist sculpture.

In truth, the pervasive Gupta aesthetic played a crucial role in shaping southern sculpture and painting; it was not painters alone who produced an effect on sculpture. Moreover, foreigners may have heightened the Chinese appreciation of artistic innovations, but one should not give undue weight to painters’ influence on sculptors. The Chinese assessment of Cao Zhongda’s role in the shaping of Northern Qi sculptural style exemplifies a widespread bias in Chinese scholarship (both past and present). This prejudice, on the one hand, underplays the undoubted role of the monastic community in introducing new iconic types, and on the other hand exaggerates the influence of painting on sculpture. In elevating the innovative creativity of painting, the Chinese view diminishes and misrepresents the independent creativity of the sculptural tradition.

To conclude this discussion of Shandong Northern Qi sculpture and its internal dynamics of style receptive simultaneously to southern and northern stimuli, I focus on the bodhisattva image. In studying the bodhisattva genre from Qing-



21



22A



22B

21

Bodhisattva torso. Northern Qi (550–77), limestone with traces of pigments, h. 49 cm. Excavated from the former Longxing Temple, Qingzhou, 1996. Qingzhou Municipal Museum, Qingzhou. After *Qingzhou Longxingsi Fojiao zaoxiang yishu* (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000), fig. 168.

22A, 22B

Pair of Standing Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara. Northern Zhou dynasty (557–81), marble with gilding and pigments, h. 69.2 cm. Excavated at Hanchengxiang, Xi'an, 1992. Xi'an Institute of Cultural Heritage and Protection, Xi'an. After *Wenwu*, 1997, 11: front page and p. 16.

zhou one is struck by how antithetical its style is to that of the Buddhas. While most Buddha statues displayed a smooth, unobstructed surface, carvers preferred using an extremely ornate surface for the bodhisattvas. The Longxing Temple bodhisattvas, represented alone on a grand scale, are excellent illustrations of the cross-cultural process that dominated Shandong during the sixth century. The Indianized style of the South was still a major force in their formation, a force that acted in an unusual way, as it first impacted the Northwest, giving rise to the style of Northern Zhou bodhisattvas. In turn, the latter served as models for Northern Qi bodhisattvas. As none of the sculptures retrieved from Qingzhou bears an inscription, Chinese scholars have ascribed them in block to the Northern Qi. Since the stylistic and iconographic divide between the two periods cannot be neatly separated, however, they may have been executed during the following Sui dynasty (581–618).

The almost miraculously intact Qingzhou bodhisattva chosen as prototype was carved in the round with equally ravishing details in front and back (fig. 20a, b). Traces of gold and red pigment highlight the body, which is swathed in heavy garments and weighted down by strands of jewels and a voluminous sash. The proud and dignified head supports a crown studded with pearls and openwork embellishments. Another quite unusual fragmentary torso, also from Longxing Temple (fig. 21), embodies an unmistakably Indian taste. Here one recognizes an exotic foreign costume: a skirt with transversal stripes is tied below the hips with a large scarf, a pleated broad band crosses the chest, and a heavy rope of pearls and corals forms an X in front of the body. The fleshy, powerful, and anatomically convincing body supports several layers of cloth and jewels.

The Sichuan steles of the Liang period also revealed an Indian aesthetic, but the Shandong creations of the later sixth century displayed it even more intensely. These richly adorned bodhisattvas are similar to the statuary of Xi'an, Shaanxi (the area administered by the Northern Zhou dynasty), supporting the idea that



23



24

23

Seated Bodhisattva. Northern Zhou dynasty, dated to 567, sandstone; dimens. not available. Excavated from the former Wanfo Temple, Chengdu. Sichuan Provincial Museum, Chengdu. Museum's photograph.

24

Seated Bodhisattva Maitreya. Northern Zhou dynasty (557–81), limestone with gilding, h. 185 cm. Excavated from the former Qingliang Temple, Xi'an. Xi'an Forest of Stele Museum, Xi'an. Museum's photograph.

the geographic origins of this style were in China's Northwest. The style is exemplified by two Avalokiteshvaras (figs. 22a, b). Carved in marble and gilded, they are ascribed to the Northern Zhou and were excavated in 1992 on the outskirts of Xi'an.²⁷ The pair is characterized by a rather heavily modeled body embellished with an excessive amount of conspicuous ornaments. The bodhisattvas' square faces, expressive of somber dignity, are topped by a headpiece of complex artistry that combines heavy medallions and floral designs. Their pedestals are worth noticing because they are fashioned in the same way as the pedestal supporting the Sichuanese Ashoka-type Buddha (see fig. 6), an indication of the transmission of motifs from Sichuan to Shaanxi.

The formation of such Northern Zhou images partook of elements popular in southern sculpture. By 553, Sichuan, annexed by the Western Wei (535–51), was an integral part of the North. Sichuan remained in this sphere of influence during the following Northern Zhou dynasty, hence Sichuan was able to contribute to the shaping of the distinctive mode adopted in Xi'an, Shaanxi, the capital of the Northern Zhou. Indeed, among the Wanfo Temple findings there is a seated smaller-than-lifesize bodhisattva, without a head, dated 567 (Northern Zhou), which embodies several Northern Zhou components (fig. 23). The monumental, seated bodhisattva Maitreya, housed in the Shaanxi Provincial Museum, Xi'an (fig. 24), invites comparison with the Wanfo Temple sculpture as its model. The plasticity and luxuriance of its surface décor is the outgrowth of an Indian taste that had deep roots in Sichuan sculpture. These two elements of Northern Zhou style originated in Sichuan and were brought together with other traits favored in China's northwest, notably the sturdy, block-like body proportions and the stern, square face.

The bodhisattva type favored in the Northwest did not, however, find among Hebei carvers the same resonance it had among their Shandong contemporaries. Consequently, the bodhisattvas carved at the imperially sponsored cave-temples



25
Standing Bodhisattva. Northern Qi dynasty (550–77), limestone, h. ca. 180 cm. From Southern Xiangtangshan, Cave 1 or Cave 2. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia. Author's photograph.

of Northern and Southern Xiangtangshan 南北響堂山, Hebei-Henan Province, look distinctly different from those at Qingzhou: the two styles represent, respectively, two dissimilar interpretations of Indian models, the Hebei and the Shandong. The Xiangtangshan deities display smooth, more moderately adorned bodies (fig. 25), and, although related to Gupta sculpture, their style does not match the opulence of Shandong images. Their anatomy lacks the suppleness and convincing articulation of body parts of the Indian model, and their cylindrical bodies and spherical heads are still controlled by geometric reduction.²⁸ The Qingzhou statuary, on the other hand, is more naturalistic and closer to Indian inspiration. In favoring well-built and sumptuously adorned bodhisattva images consonant with those of Northern Zhou Xi'an, the Shandong carvers in particular distanced themselves from their Hebei colleagues, who interpreted these deities with understated elegance and used sober ornaments to complement smooth, columnar bodies. In conclusion, Qingzhou sculptures have not only widened our knowledge of Northern Qi Buddhist art but have also dispelled the notion that the most representative examples, the epitome of that art, were to be found in Hebei where the dynastic house resided.

This study offers several insights into the development of Buddhist sculpture in sixth-century China. Unquestionably, numerous Buddhist centers participated in the national production and each one pursued aesthetic and doctrinal developments in response to the demands of their local patrons and followers. We now have a much more fluid scenario involving the interplay of disparate elements that freely moved beyond their place of origin. The formation of the Northern Qi and Northern Zhou styles serves as an excellent illustration. Certain aspects of the two modes are identical because they derived from a common Indian aesthetic. Nevertheless, the two styles were clearly divided along geographic lines—northeastern and northwestern China, respectively. A different formal language buttressed this division. The severe, brooding face and the thick-set bodies of Northern Zhou images contrast with the serene aloofness and round smoothness of Northern Qi statuary. The dynamics of style, however, are far more complicated than previously thought. In fashioning the bodhisattvas Shandong carvers crossed geographic boundaries and adopted the sumptuous surface decorations associated with the Northern Zhou, but in the Buddha images they favored unobtrusive and polished bodies—a typically Northern Qi characteristic.

A more informed and balanced view of the art of the South, its style and content, emerges from an investigation of Sichuan and Shandong statuary, respectively. By 500, if not earlier, the South was partial to Indian-inspired motifs—Ashokan pagodas and the urn of plenty with its luxuriant growth of lotuses—and to a plasticity of modeling that had its origins in India. These traits were very popular in

the Liang steles executed in Sichuan during the first half of the sixth century and, in turn, became incorporated in the Eastern Wei stele of Qingzhou. The issue at hand, however, is not merely to list the motifs that traveled from the South to the North, but, more importantly, to realize that we can identify at least one factor that distinguished southern art from its northern counterpart. This factor involved the adoption of an Indian or Indianized language that privileged softer forms closer to a human model. Not until 550 did the North begin to incorporate this characteristic into its own artistic production. This development liberated the northern style from its angularity and linearism, which had dominated the medieval period, and opened the way to an incipient naturalism—the new, imperial aesthetic of the Tang dynasty.

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NOTES

This essay is dedicated to the memory of Alexander Coburn Soper, who so ably opened up inquiry into southern art. The present study developed in conjunction with the exhibition "China, Dawn of a Golden Age, 200–750 AD," at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, October 12, 2004–January 23, 2005. I gratefully acknowledge the criticism, advice, and encouragement of Virginia Bower and Robert Harrist.

1. Eugene Y. Wang, *Shaping the Lotus Sutra. Buddhist Visual Culture in Medieval China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005).
2. Meyer Schapiro, "Style," in *Theory and Philosophy of Art: Style, Artist, and Society. Selected Papers* (New York: Braziller, 1994), 51–101.
3. Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), esp. 58–62 (citation on p. 62).
4. In his *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*, *Artibus Asiae Suppl.* 19 (Ascona, Switzerland: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1959), 7–84, Alexander C. Soper gathered from Buddhist sources and dynastic histories numerous records that reflect the growth of Buddhism in the South under the Jin, Liu Song, Southern Qi, Liang, and Chen dynasties. The same author, in the ground-breaking article "South Chinese Influence on the Buddhist Art of the Six Dynasties Period," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm* 32 (1960): 47–112, drawing on his knowledge of historic records and on the Sichuan findings of the 1950s, established the influential role of the South vis-à-vis the North and their mutual dependence on the Indian tradition. Soper's interpretation has been amply validated by the subsequent discoveries discussed here.
5. For a partial publication of the Wanfo Temple sculpture, see Liu Zhiyuan and Liu Tingbi, eds., *Chengdu Wanfosi shike yishu* (Shanghai: Gudian yishu chubanshe, 1958). The following are particularly thorough studies: Yuan Shuguang, "Chengdu Wanfosi chushide Liangdai shike zaoxiang," *Sichuan wenwu*, 1991, 3:27–32; Li Sisheng, "Chengdu Wanfosi Liangdai zaoxiang yishu tese xingzheng," *Dunhuang yanjiu*, 1992, 3:86–92. Zhang Xiaoma and Lei Yuhua, "Chengdushi Shangye jie Nanchao shike zaoxiang," *Wenwu*, 2001, 10:4–18. On the recent findings, see Chengdushi wenwu kaogu gongzuodui et al., "Chengdushi Xi'anlu Nanchao shike zaoxiang qingli jianbao," *Wenwu*, 1998, 11: 4–20, and Yuan Shuguang, "Sichuansheng bowuguan cang Wanfosi shike zaoxiang zhengli jianbao," *Wenwu*, 2001, 10:19–37. For a discussion of a selected number of Wanfo Temple steles, see Dorothy C. Wong, "Four Sichuan Buddhist Steles and the Beginning of Pure Land Imagery in China," *Archives of Asian Art* 51 (1998–99): 56–79. Several of the works I discuss in this article from Sichuan and other provinces were included in the exhibition "China, Dawn of a Golden Age, 200–750 AD," and published in the accompanying catalogue by James C. Watt et al., *China, Dawn of a Golden Age, 200–50 AD* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004).
6. On the architecture of Ashokan stupas, see Alexander C. Soper, "Contributions to the Study of Sculpture and Architecture, Part III. Japanese Evidence for the History of the Architecture and Iconography of Chinese Buddhism," *Monumenta Serica* 4.2 (1940): 638–39.
7. Extensive records are found in the *Ji Shenzhou Sanbao Gantong Lu* (Records of spiritual response of the Three Jewels in China) by Daoxuan (596–667), and also in the *Gao Seng Zhuan* (Biographies of eminent monks) by Huijiao (497–554),

where they are linked to the proselytizing of the noted wonder-working monk Huida (Liu Sahe). See Koichi Shinohara, "Two Sources of Chinese Buddhist Biographies: Stupa Inscriptions and Miracle Stories," in *Monks and Magicians, Religious Biographies in Asia*, ed. Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (Oakville and New York: Mosaic Press, 1988), 148–82. Southern devotionalism centered on Ashokan-sponsored images and monuments since the Eastern Jin (317–420) is discussed by Marilyn Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia. The Eastern Chin and Sixteen Kingdoms Period in China, and Tumshuk, Kucha and Karashar in Central Asia*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002), 1:64–83 and 146–66.

8. Among the nineteen (!) Ashokan stupas miraculously retrieved in China, one in the Changgan Temple of Nanjing and another in the Ayuwang Temple (Ashoka Temple) on Mount Ashoka, near Ningbo, were particularly venerated. See Erich Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China. The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959), 277–80.
9. Yuan Shuguang, "Sichuansheng bowuguan Wangfosi shike zaoxiang zhengli jianbao," *Wenwu*, 2001, 10:19–38.
10. My observations on Oc Eo culture derive from the following studies: Paul Pelliot, "Le Founan," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 3 (1903): 248–303, the earliest masterly gathering and analysis of Chinese records on Funan; Louis Malleret, *L'Archéologie du Delta du Mekong*, 4 vols. (Paris: Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, 1959–63), especially vol. 2, *La civilisation matérielle d'Oc-Eo*, and vol. 3, *La culture de Fu-nan*; Wang Gungwu, "The Nanhai Trade," *Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 31.2 (1958): 1–135;

Ishizawa Yoshiaki, "Chinese Chronicles of 1st–5th Century AD Funan, Southern Cambodia," in *South East Asia and China: Art, Interaction and Commerce*, ed. Rosemary Scott and Guy John, *Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia* No. 17 (London: University of London, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1995), 11–31; James C. M. Khoo, ed., *Art and Archaeology of Fu Nan, Pre-Khmer Kingdom of the Lower Mekong Valley* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2003), especially Vo Si Khai, "The Kingdom of Fu Nan and the Culture of Oc Eo," 36–85; Paul Wheatley, *Nagara and Commandery: Origins of Southeast Asian Urban Traditions* (Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Geography, 1983), especially chap. 3: 119–63; Michael Vickery, *Society, Economics, and Politics in Pre-Angkor Cambodia* (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1998).

11. Khoo, *Art and Archaeology of Fu Nan*, 81.
12. Both references given in Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*, 59, 74.
13. In addition to the Longxing discovery, about forty sculptures were unearthed at the Xingguo Temple. In 1983 numerous bronzes were also retrieved in Boxing, while successive excavations in Gaoqing, Wudi, Linqu, Zhucheng, Guangrao, and Huimin County brought to light additional images. Xia Mingcai and Zhuang Mingjun, "Shandong Qingzhou Xingguosi guzhi chutu shizaoxiang," *Wenwu*, 1996, 5:59–67; Qingzhoushi bowuguan, "Shandong Qingzhou faxian Bei Wei caihui zaoxiang," *Wenwu*, 1996, 5:68; Xia Mingcai et al., "Shandong Qingzhou chutu liangjian Beichao caihuishi zaoxiang," *Wenwu*, 1997, 2:80–81; Shandongsheng Qingzhoushi bowuguan, "Qingzhou Longxingsi Fojiao

zaoxiang jiaozang qingli jianbao," *Wenwu*, 1998, 2:4–15; Zhuchengshi bowuguan, "Shandongsheng Zhucheng faxian Beichao zaoxiang," *Kaoguxuebao*, 1990, 8:231–61; Chang Xuzheng et al., "Shandongsheng Boxingxian chutu yipi Beichao zaoxiang," *Wenwu*, 1983, 7:38–44; Li Shaonan, "Shandong Boxing chutu baiyujian Bei Wei zhi Suidai tongzaoxiang," *Wenwu*, 1984, 5:21–31; Ding Mingyi, "Tan Shandong Boxing chutude tong Fo zaoxiang," *Wenwu*, 1984, 5:32–43; Zhao Zhengqiang, "Shandong Guangrao Fojiao shizaoxiang," *Wenwu*, 1996, 12:75–83; Chang Xuzheng et al., "Shandongsheng Gaoqingxian chutu Fojiao zaoxiang," *Wenwu*, 1987, 4:1–35. On the history of the Longxing Temple, its evolution from the early sixth century when it was known as the Nanyang Temple to the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), see Su Bai, "Longxingsi yange," *Wenwu*, 1999, 9:37–42. The Longxing Temple stele and individual images are published in *Shandong Qingzhou Longxingsi chutu Fojiao shike zaoxiang qingpin*, Catalogue of Exhibition in the Beijing Zhongguo lishi bowuguan (Beijing: Beijing huaguang yishupin gongsi, 1999). See also *Qingzhou Longxingsi Fojiao zaoxiang yishu* (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 2000), and Lukas Nickel, ed., *The Return of the Buddha: Buddhist Sculptures of the 6th Century from Qingzhou, China* (Zürich: Museum Rietberg, 2002). For an interpretive essay on Qingzhou sculpture, see Lukas Nickel, "Ein Fund erregt Aufsehen, Die Skulpturen aus Qingzhou und der urbane Buddhismus des 6. Jahrhunderts," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, n.s., no. 3 (Frühjahr 2002): 5–23. Yao Chongxin, "Qingzhou Beiqi shizaoxiang zai kaocha," *Yishushi yanjiu*, 2005, 7:304–43, discusses Shandong style as the result of

- Gupta influence conveyed to China by way of the maritime route.
14. James Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (1886; repr., New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965), 114–15.
 15. I relied on Yang Hong, “Guanyu Nanbeichaoshi Qingzhou kaogude sikao,” *Wenwu*, 1998, 2:46–53, and Jin Weinuo, “Qingzhou Longxingsi zaoxiangde yishu chengjiu,” in *Between Han and Tang: Religious Art and Archaeology in a Transformative Period*, ed. Wu Hung (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2000), 377–96.
 16. Tsukamoto Zenryu, *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism*, trans. Leon Hurvitz, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1985), 1:285–87.
 17. The monks are Zhu Daoqian, Daobao, Jinming, Sengyuan, Fawu, Fashen, Baoliang, and Sengmi. See Su Bai, “Qingzhou Longxingsi jiaozangsuochu Foxiangde jige wenti,” *Wenwu*, 1999, 10:44–59.
 18. By comparison with Buddhist sculpture of the northwest (Gansu and Shaanxi) and of the middle plains (Shanxi and Henan), they are relatively late in date. The late production of steles should not lead to the conclusion that Buddhist art was lacking in Shandong. On the contrary, during the fourth century, Shandong concentrated on the production of bronzes possibly linked to the artistry of Dingzhou, in Hebei. This influence may have been the outcome of the initial doctrinal dependence of Shandong on Hebei. Moreover, we do not exclude the existence of images fashioned in perishable material—wood and lacquer—a production that would have been consonant with the southern tradition, which favored such media.
 19. Su Bai, “Qingzhou Longxingsi jiaozangsuochu,” 46.
 20. Wu Wenqi, “Painted Murals of the Northern Qi Period in the Tomb of General Cui Fen,” *Orientalia* 29.6 (June 1998): 60–69.
 21. The Institute of Archaeology Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, ed., *The Yongningsi Temple in Northern Wei Luoyang, Excavations in 1979–1994* (Beijing: Zhongguo dabaike chuanshu chubanshe, 1985).
 22. This is the opinion of Su Bai, “Buddha Images of the Northern Plain, 4th–6th Century,” in Watt, *China, Dawn of a Golden Age*, 84.
 23. Helmut Brinker, “Sublime Adornment: Kirikane in Chinese Buddhist Sculpture,” *Orientalia* 34.12 (December 2003): 30–38.
 24. The Linqu Cosmological Buddha was first published by Gong Dejie, “Linquxian bowuguan shoucangde yipi Beichao zaoxiang,” *Wenwu*, 2002, 9:84–92. Prior to the Shandong findings, Chinese Cosmological Buddha examples were limited in number. See Angela Falco Howard, *The Imagery of the Cosmological Buddha* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986). At present, from Shandong alone we have at least ten sculptures of the Cosmological Buddha with painted (or first incised and then painted) representations on the body or robe; a comprehensive study of this evidence is still needed. Yin Guangming, “Dunhuang Lushena fajietuxiang yanjiu,” *Dunhuang yanjiu*, 2001, 4:1–12, published additional examples of Cosmological Buddhas of pre-Tang and Tang date in the cave temples of Dunhuang, Gansu. The identity of the Cosmological Buddha—Shakyamuni or Vairocana—is still an open question. See Zhang Zhong, “The Region of Qingzhou as a Center of Buddhist Art in the Sixth Century,” in Nickel, *Return of the Buddha*, especially 72–77. In Kucha, the Cosmological Buddha was worshipped by Sarvastiva-
 - din monks, a school belonging to Hinayana or Small Vehicle; in China, however, the image was rapidly absorbed within a Large Vehicle or Mahayana framework.
 25. I quote Su Bai, “Origins and Trends in the Depiction of Human Figures in China of the Fifth and Sixth Centuries,” in *China, 5,000 Years: Innovation and Transformation in the Arts*, ed. Sherman Lee (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1998), 132–43. On the link of Northern Qi sculpture to Central Asian painters, see Su Bai, “Buddhist Images of the Northern Plain,” 84–86.
 26. Alexander C. Soper, *Kuo Jo-hsu’s Experiences in Painting (T’u-hua chien-wen chih). An Eleventh-Century History of Chinese Painting Together with the Chinese Text in Facsimile*, Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations 6 (Washington, D.C.: American Council of Learned Societies, 1951), 16.
 27. The set consist of three Guanyin images found together. See Xi’anshi wenwuju, “Xi’an Beijiao chutu Bei Zhou baishi Guanyin zaoxiang,” *Wenwu*, 1997, 11:78–79.
 28. Angela F. Howard, “Reconstructing the Original Location of a Group of Sculptures in the University of Pennsylvania Museum,” *Orientalia* 32.2 (February 2001): 32–39.



IMPERIAL PORTRAITURE AS SYMBOL OF POLITICAL LEGITIMACY

A New Study of the Portraits of Successive Emperors

Abstract

This article examines the meaning and function of political portraiture in Tang-dynasty China through a detailed investigation and analysis of the renowned silk painting scroll representing thirteen pre-Tang emperors housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Although it is a Song-dynasty copy of the original early Tang painting, this scroll still carries information crucial to understanding the visual culture and court politics of the Tang and artistic practice and art market of the Song. With a new methodology for determining the date and creator of the original composition of the scroll, I study the relationship between the original version of the painting and the political, social, and artistic contexts of the early Tang and suggest that the selection of thirteen emperors from among numerous past rulers was intentional rather than “arbitrary,” as many scholars originally believed. The motivation behind the selection of these particular thirteen emperors was to legitimize the sovereignty of Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty, who had seized the throne; he is therefore a likely candidate for patron of the portrait’s original version. The social, political, and economic implications of the copy itself are also examined in connection with a historical analysis of the scroll. This study offers a comprehensive investigation of the widely published but still controversial painting from medieval China.

IN THIS STUDY OF A SET OF PORTRAITS of ancient Chinese emperors, “portraiture” refers to the visual representation of a specific and real person. The creator of the original painting, who lived during a later period, never personally met these emperors. Rather, he was probably familiar with literary records, oral legends, and even some older pictures of these emperors. Instead, he chose to reinterpret these previously existing interpretations of the emperors’ images according to the views of his own time. The aim of this paper is therefore to develop an iconographical interpretation through historical analogy rather than to search for a “physical likeness” of the emperors.

The *Portraits of Successive Emperors*, a painting on silk in the format of hand scroll, has been attributed since the eleventh century to the most famous early Tang court artist, Yan Liben 閻立本 (?–673 CE). The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (hereafter MFA) purchased the painting after it was exhibited in Tokyo in 1928. The painting is executed with ink and color on silk and measures 51.3 centimeters in height and 531 centimeters in length. It depicts thirteen emperors who ruled before the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE), beginning with Emperor Wen 文 of the Han 漢 dynasty (r. 179–157 BCE) and concluding with Emperor Yang 陽 of the Sui 隋 dynasty (r. 605–17 CE) (fig. 1). Most stand, dressed in formal royal accoutre-

¹ *Portraits of Successive Emperors*, hand scroll, ink and color on silk, 51.3 x 531 cm, mid-eleventh century copy based on the seventh-century original version by Yan Liben (?–673 CE). After *Tang Yan Liben diwangtu zhenji* (The Genuine Version of the Portraits of Emperors by Yan Liben) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1917).

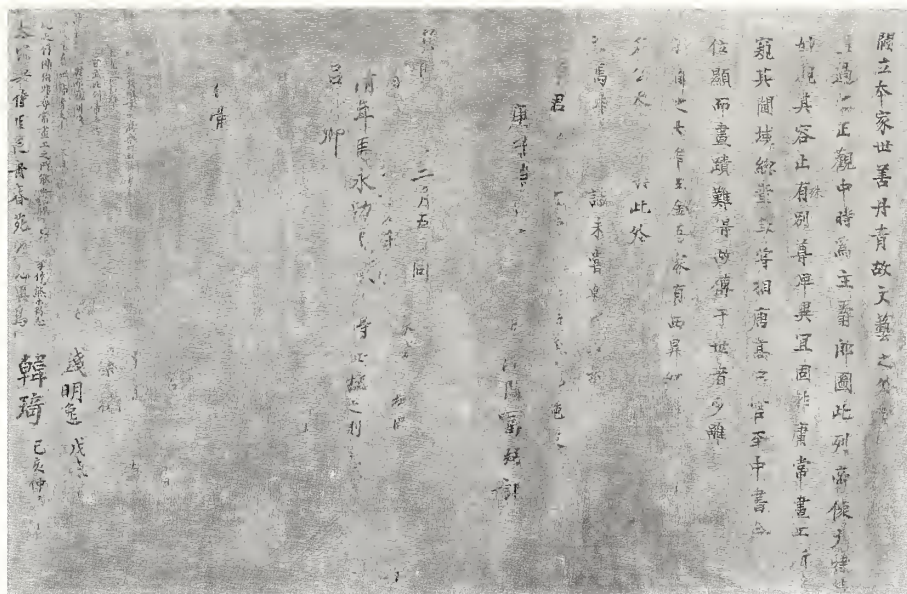
ments and accompanied by two officials. The emperors are similar in height, posture, and costume, but their facial features and expressions vary. Other figures are shown in comparatively relaxed seated positions, dressed in informal costume.¹

Although many Buddhist paintings of the early Tang period (618–704) have survived in the Dunhuang 敦煌 Caves in northwestern China, independent scroll paintings, particularly the products of the court artists, are rare. This scarcity has made the *Portraits of Successive Emperors* invaluable for studying the art of the early Tang dynasty. The content of the painting, the portraits of thirteen past emperors, also distinguishes this work from any other early Tang paintings existing today. As Kojiro Tomita 富田幸次郎 stated some seventy years ago:

No one can deny the very important place the scroll holds among Chinese paintings extant. Not only because of its great age (practically unequaled except in the case of some Buddhist paintings), but because of its extraordinary quality as portraiture, the scroll of the Emperors is one of the chief masterpieces of the world.²

Many scholars concur that the MFA scroll of the *Portraits of Successive Emperors*, or at least part of it, is a copy made during the Northern Song (960–1126). Some scholars and collectors, however, have attempted since the year 1060 to attribute this scroll or its original version to the early Tang court artist, Yan Liben. Perhaps because the date and creator of the painting still remain uncertain, in-depth research on this important painting has been neglected. Many standard textbooks of Chinese art history in the West include a section of the scroll as an example of the art of the early Tang period.³ Rarely, however, has any scholar attempted to conduct a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the entire painting, except Tomita, who published a brief introductory paper in 1932.⁴ In a later catalogue compiled by the MFA, the author of the entry on the painting cites archaeological discoveries published in Chinese periodicals to discuss the stylistic similarities between this painting and the figural paintings in newly excavated Tang tombs.⁵ This catalogue entry, nevertheless, remains brief and descriptive and lacks substantive research.

Current scholarship on this important painting remains preliminary. Most contemporary scholars working on the painting have followed the tradition of ancient antiquarians: they base their arguments on the inscriptions attached to the painting and glean information from ancient art-historical texts, which contain self-contradictory elements and misleading information. To move beyond the limitations of traditional scholarship, the present analysis will provide a new methodology for determining the date and creator of the scroll's original composition. By focusing on the relationship between the original version of the painting



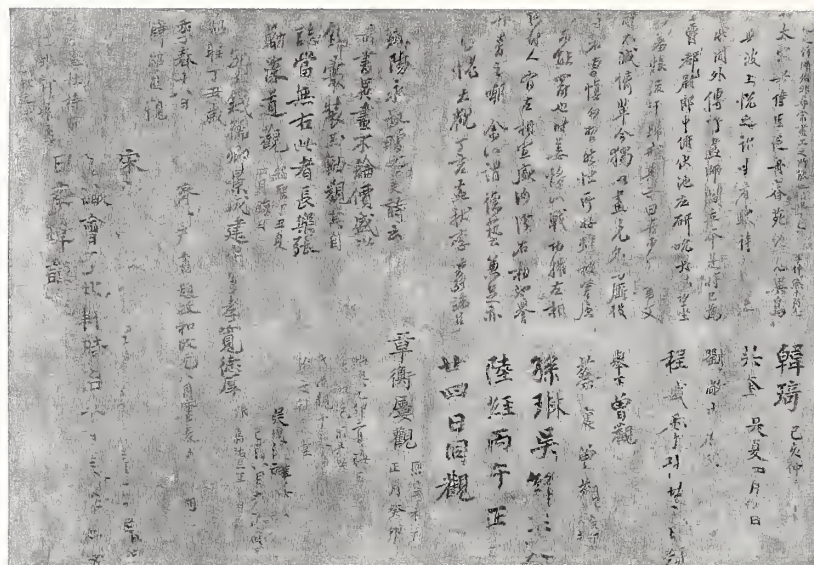
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Inscription by Fu Bi, detail, *Portraits of Successive Emperors*. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Denman Waldo Ross Collection, 31.643. Photograph © 2008 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

and the political, social, and artistic contexts of the early Tang, I suggest that the selection of the thirteen emperors from among numerous past rulers was intentional, rather than “arbitrary,” as many scholars originally believed. The motivation behind the selection of these particular thirteen emperors was to legitimize the sovereignty of Emperor Taizong 太宗 of the Tang dynasty, who had seized the throne; he is therefore a likely candidate for patron of the portrait’s original version. The social, political, and economic implications of the copy itself will also be examined in connection with a historical analysis of the MFA scroll.

I. The Question of Authenticity and Date

Although most scholars agree that the MFA scroll *Portraits of Successive Emperors*, or at least part of it, is a copy made during the Northern Song, they offer different opinions on the specific date of the copying. The major debate has focused on determining the Western calendar year for the Chinese cyclical sign *Gengzi* 庚子, a date that appears in the earliest inscription attached to the painting. This ten-line inscription, directly connected with the end (left side) of the painting, is partly damaged (fig. 2). The last line of the inscription includes the *Gengzi* cyclical sign and the signature of the inscriber, Fu Bi 富弼. Because the writing style of the majority of the inscription is slightly different from the *Gengzi* cyclical sign and the signature, Kojiro Tomita assumed that the dates of the inscription and the signature should also differ.⁶ Next to the first inscription, traces of some damaged inscriptions remain, followed by inscriptions in relatively good condition. Tomita also cited some cyclical signs that appear in this section to support his dating. In re-examining the names and cyclical signs cited by Tomita, however, I discovered, above these names, a long inscription that occupies a wide striking space and bears a date of 1107. To judge by its location, this inscription should be earlier than the names and cyclical signs below it. There would be no reason for Qian Mingyi 錢明逸 (act. mid-eleventh century), Han Qi 韓琦 (1008–1075), and the other inscribers to leave a wide space above their inscriptions to allow someone about sixty years later to copy a segment of a popular text (fig. 3).



爰居閣無上珍秘共和己丑秋甘肅沈鴻志題識

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3
Inscriptions by Qian Mingyi and
others, detail, *Portraits of Successive
Emperors*. Photograph © 2008
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

A similar suspicious point appears again in the next group of inscriptions. The long inscription that occupies a wide striking space located in the upper part was written in 1097, but the lower simple short inscriptions were done in *Xining* 熙寧 (1068–77) and *Shaoxing Yimao* 紹興乙卯 (1135). Most strangely, following the inscriptions with these two cyclical signs is an inscription dated to the third year of *Jiayou* 嘉祐 (1058), a date even earlier than the one first provided in the inscription (1060). The characters in this *Jiayou* inscription are very tiny and were inserted among many short inscriptions of a much later date. These suspicious points suggest that the inscriptions in these sections are probably forgeries. If we simply use the inscriptions without careful consideration of their locations and relationships, we could be easily misled. For example, Jin Weino 金维诺 of the Central Academy of Fine Arts in Beijing selected the inscription of the *Jiayou* third year (1058) as the “earliest inscription.” Unfortunately, this inscription was very likely forged during the nineteenth century. After having checked all the previous records on the inscriptions attached to the painting, I found no record of this inscription before 1848. Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 carefully recorded all the inscriptions that he saw attached to the painting in his book *Ping Jin Guan Jian Chang Shu Hua Ji* 平津館鑒藏書畫記 (Notes on the paintings and calligraphy works identified and collected in the Pingjin Hall) of 1841, but he did not mention the inscription of the *Jiayou* third year.⁸ Comparison of Sun’s records and the inscriptions remaining on the painting clearly indicates that the absence of this inscription from Sun’s book was not an oversight. The inscription was first recorded in Li Enqing’s 李恩慶 *Ai Wu Lu Shu Hua Ji* 愛吾廬書畫記 (Notes on the paintings and calligraphy works in Aiwu Hut) (1848–55) and was mentioned again in Li Zuoxian’s 李佐賢 *Shu Hua Jian Ying* 書畫鑒影 (Shadows of the paintings and calligraphy works identified) (1871). Considering the rather illogical location of the inscription—it was inserted into the group of inscriptions inscribed much later—and the fact that this specific inscription was not recorded until 1848, we can surmise that this inscription of the *Jiayou* third year was added to the scroll between 1841 and 1848.

Although the inscriptions remain problematic, they still contain crucial evidence for a systematic analysis of the painting. The question that remains is how to

use these inscriptions. Fortunately, some ancient texts mention the painting and its myriad inscriptions. By connecting the inscriptions with these independent records written in different periods, we may find reliable information for dating the MFA scroll.

The earliest record of the painting is in Mi Fu's 米芾 (1052–1107) *Hua Shi* 畫史 (History painting), which mentions it twice. In the first passage, he said that he only heard about the painting.

Wang Qiu 王球, whose style name is Kuiyu 夔玉, has a “Portraits of Ancient Emperors and Kings” (*gu diwang xiang* 古帝王圖) (representing rulers) from the two Han Dynasties to the Sui. It is said that the figures (in the painting) were extremely strange. I regret that I have not seen it. It should be visited and collected into the Secret Chamber.⁹

The following year, he saw a painting entitled “Ancient Emperors and Kings,” which was painted on “white paper of jute” and was not mounted. The owner, Sun Zhongxun 孫仲荀, told him that this painting had been copied by Yang Bao 楊褒, a well-known collector who was active during the mid-eleventh century. Mi Fu believed that Wang Qiu’s “Portraits of Ancient Emperors and Kings” was the same painting copied by Yang Bao, because there was a “Seal of Zhimei 之美(之印)” (Yang Bao’s personal name) on Wang Qiu’s painting.¹⁰ This record suggests that Yang Bao had commissioned the copy, stamped his own seal on it, and immediately sold it to Wang Qiu. It would appear that Mi Fu personally never saw Yang Bao’s copy, but only the model from which it was derived, which was the paper painting in the possession of Sun Zhongxun. In sum, Mi Fu’s records provide an important piece of information: Yang Bao made a copy of the painting “Ancient Emperors and Kings,” which was based on the paper version in Sun’s collection, and stamped it with his personal seal, “Seal of Zhimei.”¹¹

The second book that mentions Yang Bao’s copy is Li Guang’s 李光 *Zhuang Jian Ji* 莊簡集 (Collected works of Zhuang Jian). Li Guang personally observed this copy, on which Fu Bi’s inscription was attached, in Yongjia 永嘉 County and recorded what he saw. In particular, he wrote that Fu Bi’s inscription was written seventy-eight years prior to the year 1137 in which he saw the painting; therefore, the *Gengzi* year in Fu Bi’s inscription was clearly 1060, not 1000, as Tomita originally proposed. Li Guang wrote the following:

Yan Liben’s *Lie Di Tu* 列帝圖 (The Picture of successive emperors) was kept in Wang Zhi’s 王贇 family. It then became the belonging of Wu Jue 吳玠 (儀仲) (Yizhong). When I was in charge of the security of Yongjia, his son

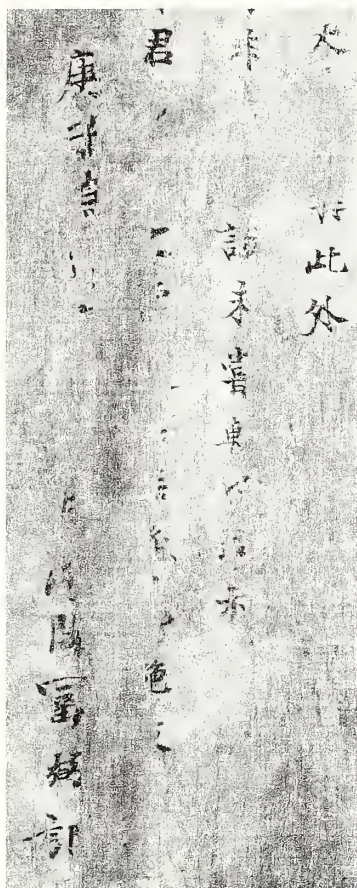
Zuzhong 祖忠 showed me (the painting) ... At the end of the painting was an inscription written by Mr. Fu. This inscription is only seventy-eight years away from now but the fabric is more ragged than the painting. Someone may doubt the reality, but Mr. Fu's handwriting is so familiar. How could such a man be a swindler! Recorded by Li (Guang) in Kuaiji 會稽, the tenth month of 1137 (*Shaoxing Dingzi* 紹興丁巳).¹²

Previous scholars have ignored this earliest firsthand record of Fu Bi's inscription. Li Guang saw Fu Bi's inscription in 1137 and observed that it was more ragged than the painting itself. Fifty-one years later, when Zhou Bida 周必大 saw the painting and attached inscriptions, he noted that its condition had deteriorated. His brother Zhou Bicheng 周必成, the new owner of the painting, had to find a craftsman to restore the painting immediately.¹³

According to Zhou Bida, after Fu Bi's inscription followed several inscriptions written by others, but they were incomplete and damaged. The only inscription he recorded is the one by Zhang Li 張勵. Importantly, Zhou Bida discovered on the painting the "Seal of Zhimei" and a seal of "Si Shi San Gong Zhi Jia" 四世三公之家 (The family of three dukes within four generations). These two seals prove that the painting he observed was the copy made by Yang Bao and mentioned by Mi Fu. In addition, Zhou saw Fu Bi's inscription attached to the painting. On the basis of this evidence we can conclude that the painting with Fu Bi's inscription now in the MFA is definitely the copy made by Yang Bao.

Yang Bao was a famous collector in the first half of the eleventh century, particularly during the *Jiayou* era (1056–63). He commissioned the *Portraits of Successive Emperors* in 1056–60 or slightly earlier, based on a painting on paper in the Sun family collection. Although the writing style of the *Gengzi* cyclical sign and Fu Bi's signature differs slightly from that of the main part of the inscription, this is a normal occurrence. Most inscribers of Chinese paintings change their writing styles slightly when they sign the name and date in order to make them more individual. This explains why, when Li Guang saw Fu Bi's inscription, signature, and the *Gengzi* cyclical sign in 1137, he considered the three items to have been written concurrently.

In summary, the scroll *Portraits of Successive Emperors* now in the collection of the MFA is a copy made by Yang Bao, or by someone hired by him, after a painting on paper originally in the hands of the Sun family during the mid-eleventh century (by 1060). This painting on a silk scroll has been well documented both by individual inscriptions on the painting itself and by ancient historical texts through which its history can be reconstructed.



4
The Gengzi cyclical sign and Fu Bi's signature, detail, *Portraits of Successive Emperors*. Photograph © 2008 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

The Creator of the Original Version

The earliest attribution of the MFA scroll to Yan Liben was made in Fu Bi's inscription attached to it, which is dated 1060. When the renowned Song painter and art historian Mi Fu saw a painting on paper of the "Picture of Ancient Emperors and Kings" in the Sun family collection, however, he did not consider it to be a work of Yan Liben. On the contrary, he laughed at the three famous collectors of the *Jiayou* years, Yang Bao, Shao Bi 紹必, and Shi Yangxiu 石楊修, for their tendency to attribute all the paintings of the Jiangnan 江南 School to Xu Xi 徐熙 and all the paintings of the Shu 蜀 School to Yan Liben, Wang Wei 王維, or Han Huang 韓滉. Mi Fu's comments suggest that it was fashionable during the *Jiayou* years to attribute paintings belonging to the Shu School, which were characterized with "refined lines and strong colors," to Yan Liben. It is therefore not surprising that Yang Bao's copy of the painting on silk was attributed to Yan Liben at that time.

But the damage to Fu Bi's inscription is surprising because it appears to have been intentional: the section that describes the relationship between the painting and Yan Liben is well preserved, but the later half, which probably tells the story of the copying, was almost completely crumbled except for the *Gengzi* cyclical sign and Fu Bi's signature (fig. 4). One may ask why the sign and signature are so well preserved. My answer is that if these two parts had disappeared or been damaged beyond repair, no one would trust the validity of the inscription. Thus, I suggest that the inscription written by Fu Bi in 1060 was intentionally damaged by collector(s) before 1137, which explains why this specific inscription was more ragged than the painting when Li Guang saw it in 1137.

I have not found any records in pre-Song texts that indicate that Yan Liben made a painting similar to the *Portraits of Successive Emperors*. The attribution of this painting, that is, the copy made by Yang Bao, to Yan Liben was completed during the *Jiayou* years (1056–63), some four hundred years later than Yan Liben's period. Thus, we simply cannot trust this attribution.

Another attempt to attribute the scroll to Yan Liben was made by Zhou Bida in 1188. Zhou declared that the portion depicting Emperor Xuan 宣(帝) of the Chen 陳 dynasty and his followers was "admirably drawn" and that the silk in this part was "particularly worn out." He thus believed that this portion was the "true work of Yan."¹⁴ Later scholars failed to challenge Zhou's attribution. In 1923, Arthur Waley quoted Zhou Bida's notes, translated into English the inscription about Emperor Xuan, and reproduced the section depicting Emperor Xuan in his well-known book, *An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting*.¹⁵ After Waley, two Japanese scholars, Naito Konan 内藤湖南 and Omura Seigai 大村西崖, also discussed the painting. Naito doubted that the painting was a Tang creation and detected the later additions of color and black inks. He suggested that "this scroll is

probably an early Song copy, because the Northern Song taste of brushwork could be seen in the portion without additions.”¹⁶

After Tomita acquired the painting for the MFA, he disagreed with Zhou Bida’s original attribution.

[N]otwithstanding these criticisms of Chou Pi-ta [Zhou Bida], expressed in 1188, we are forced to believe that the groups 8 to 13 are just as old as that of Hsuan Ti [Emperor Xuan], all from the same hand, and that the silk is no different. In fact, the same irregularity of threads in the weaving runs from 7 through 13 inclusively. For these reasons, we believe that if the Hsuan Ti group be genuine, then the groups 8 to 13 must be equally so.¹⁷

As a representative of the painting’s new owner, the MFA, Tomita’s great effort to prove that a larger part of the painting was the genuine work of Yan Liben is understandable. Indeed, this effort continued a long tradition maintained by the painting’s various owners and their relatives, initiated by Yang Bao (the first owner) and Zhou Bida (whose brother owned the painting for several years). Unfortunately, or, perhaps, fortunately, we can establish that the entire painting is a copy made by Yang Bao during the mid-eleventh century, as discussed above. We can still identify the creator of the painting’s original version by determining the patron and examining the details of the painting and related historical records.

Some scholars have suggested other possibilities for the painting’s creator. Kobayashi Taichiro 小林太市郎 found a statement in Zhang Yanyuan’s 張彥遠 *Li Dai Ming Hua Ji* 歷代名畫記 (Records on the famous paintings of successive dynasties) that an early Tang painter named Lang Yuling 郎餘令 made a “*zigu diwang tu*” 自古帝王圖 (Picture of emperors and kings since antiquity).

Lang Yuling was famed for his talent and was skilled in Landscape and Ancient Worthies. He became Associate Secretary of the Redaction Service, and produced (a scroll of) pictures of Emperors and Kings since Antiquity, imagining their atmosphere-colour on the basis of their biographies in the Dynastic History. This was praised as refined and subtle by his contemporaries.¹⁸

Kobayashi concluded that the original model of the MFA scroll was the work not of Yan Liben but of Lang Yuling.¹⁹ Thirty years later, Jin Weino reached the same conclusion.²⁰ Suzuki Kei 鈴木敬, however, disagreed, considering the painting to be a copy based on an early Tang work of the same subject.²¹ Suzuki also rejected Tomita’s argument about the division of the painting into two halves. According

to Suzuki, “it seems now there is no clear division between the two halves.”²² He believed that the MFA scroll painting was copied before the *Jiayou* years (1056).

Although no one has doubted that the original model of the painting was an early Tang creation, some questions still remain. For what purpose was the scroll created, and by whom?

Historical records suggest that the brothers Yan Lide 閻立德 and Yan Liben were the most likely painters of the original version of the painting in the early Tang. Their father, Yan Bi 閻毗, was a well-known painter in the Sui dynasty who introduced the art to his two sons. The brothers were both active during the Zhen-guan 貞觀 period (627–49) of Taizong and the Gaozong 高宗 period (650–83) and held important official positions. They were highly esteemed by their imperial patrons not only as artists but also as administrative officials. The older brother, Lide, became president of the Board of Public Works in 630 and was responsible not only for the imperial buildings and their decorations but also for the designs for the imperial costumes, carriages, umbrellas, hats, and fans.²³ The younger brother, Liben, under the royal patronage of Taizong, created a series of portraits of scholars and officials who were beloved by the emperor. “His fame with posterity is based in particular on his activity as a recorder of past and present person-ages and events which were considered of political or moral importance in the history of the country.”²⁴

Importantly, *Tai Ping Guang Ji* 太平廣記, a famous early Song book that described many stories of the Tang dynasty, records that Yan Liben received a royal commission to paint a life portrait of Emperor Taizong. According to this source, Yan Liben’s imperial portrait was then enlarged by a fine artist (*jiashou* 佳手) into a mural painting in the eastern hall of Xuandu 玄都 Temple.²⁵ This story indicates that Yan Liben was familiar with the royal costume of the early Tang and that he personally painted a portrait of Emperor Taizong. The same book also mentions that Liben painted the “Picture of Kings,” and that “the sketch of the painting (*fenben* 粉本) was still circulated in society (in the early Song) and no work of all famous painters of the Northern and Southern Dynasties could be better than the work.”²⁶ *Tai Ping Guang Ji* was completed in 978, more than half a century before Yang Bao’s copy—the MFA scroll—was made. The “Picture of Kings” by Yan Liben recorded in this book should be an earlier version of the *Portraits of Successive Emperors*.

In conclusion, I suggest that Yan Liben created the “Picture of Kings,” probably based on the portrait of Emperor Taizong made by his own hands, and kept a sketch of the painting, which remained extant until the Song dynasty, when it was widely circulated. Very possibly, the Sun family’s paper sketch of “Picture of Ancient Emperors and Kings,” recorded in Mi Fu’s *Hua Shi*, is the sketch of the “Picture of

Kings” created by Yan Liben, or one possible version, as recorded in *Tai Ping Guang Ji*, although the name changed from “Picture of Kings” to “Picture of Ancient Emperors and Kings” or “Portraits of Successive Emperors” in later records.

Historical Layers of the MFA Scroll

Almost all the extant so-called pre-Song Chinese scroll paintings, including the MFA scroll *Portraits of Successive Emperors*, are copies made during the Song or later. Faced with these ancient copies, modern scholars often take two different approaches: one is to treat them as entirely genuine, and the other is to avoid discussing them at all. Both approaches are flawed. If we were to treat later copies as genuine, we would be easily misled by later additions and develop an incorrect notion of pre-Song art. If we were simply to avoid using them in our studies of pre-Song art, we would deny crucial evidence that could be used to trace original masterpieces lost in history. Yet, how do we deal with these copies?

I have suggested that the MFA scroll is the copy made by Yang Bao in the 1050s, which was based on “a painted sketch on paper” in the collection of the Sun family. According to *Tai Ping Guang Ji*, an extant sketch of Yan Liben’s “Picture of Kings” circulated during the early Song.²⁷ If the model of the MFA scroll, the paper-sketch kept in the hands of the Sun family, were Yan’s own sketch for his “Picture of Kings,” Yang Bao’s copy would be the second copy. If the Sun family sketch were made by an unknown artist who based his copy on Yan Liben’s original, Yang Bao’s scroll would be a third or even fourth copy.

Yang Bao had his copy of the painting made on silk rather than on paper. Although we cannot be positive that Yang Bao had color applied to his silk copy, Wu Xiu 吳修 (1765–1840) stated when he saw the copy that it was definitely “light color on silk.”²⁸ In 1871, shortly after Wu Xiu recorded his observation, Li Zuoxian noted that this scroll painting was “strong color on silk.”²⁹ These different descriptions suggest that some strong color was applied to the painting in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Between 1917 and 1928, some floral patterns, which were considered to represent the “Tang Style,” were applied to the edges of the garments of six of the emperors in the painting. Fortunately, the scroll was published in collotype plates by the Shanghai Commercial Press in 1917, just before the floral patterns were added. Comparing the collotype plates with the MFA scroll, we can easily identify the additions (figs. 5 and 6). The forger apparently tried to prove that the painting was really a “Tang painting” by Yan Liben. Indeed, his additions seem to have fooled some modern experts. For example, when Jin Weino visited the MFA during the winter of 1980, Jan Fontein told him that the patterns were “very ancient and elegant” and that “a dealer couldn’t do it.”³⁰



5

5
“Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou,” detail, *Portraits of Successive Emperors*. After Tang Yan Liben *diwangtu zhenji* (The Genuine Version of the Portraits of Emperors by Yan Liben) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1917).



6

6
“Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou,” detail, *Portraits of Successive Emperors*. Photograph © 2008 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

After the MFA acquired the painting, no further additions seem to have been made. Some kind of technical conservation treatment continued, however. Conservators try to maintain the painting’s current condition, although this condition itself is not representative of the painting’s original quality. But, some questions must be posed. Should the original appearance of the scroll be restored? What could be learned from the various historical additions to this painting?

In the second part of this article I will show that the original work made in the early Tang embodied a strong political implication, which was to legitimize the sovereignty of Emperor Taizong. The sketch of the painting was circulated probably as a model for art students or a kind of collector’s item for about four hundred years, until the Song dynasty. When Yang Bao made his copy of a silk scroll from the paper painting his purpose appears to have been commercial, because the copy was sold to Wang Qiu very soon thereafter. Therefore, the nature of the painting, represented by its copy, changed from a political portrait into an art commodity. People no longer treated the painting as a political symbol but as a work of art with commercial value. For scholars and antiquarians, the scroll is only a piece of art that should be recorded, sold, or bought.

When this scroll painting was exhibited in Tokyo at the end of 1928, however, its political significance seems to have been emphasized again. The exhibition’s catalogue chose to publish one section of this painting as the first plate and to

itemize it in the list of contents in order to underscore its significance. It was placed as the first entry, just before the royal collection. The special catalogue for the exhibition, *To So Gen Min Meiga Taikan Zokan* 唐宋元明名畫大觀 (An additional edition of the exhibition of famous paintings of the Tang, Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties), divided the paintings into three groups: the Imperial Collection, the National Treasure of Japan, and the Chinese Collection. The *Portraits of Successive Emperors* was identified only as belonging to a private collection owned by the Lin 林 Family in Fujian, China. It was not considered to be part of either the national collection of the Republic of China (*Zhonghua Minguo* 中華民國) or the royal or national treasures of Japan.

Why did the Japanese honor this painting so much? The answer might be found in the painting's special mission: it was sent to Japan for a major political event, the formal ceremony of the Japanese emperor's ascent to the throne in 1928, the third year of the *Showa* 昭和 era in the Japanese calendar. The *Portraits of Successive Emperors* from China might have functioned as an auspicious symbol in the exhibition in Tokyo, the capital of Japan, to celebrate this significant political event. Moreover, there was a special relationship between the Tang dynasty of China and medieval Japan. The Tang culture, including the administrative system of the empire, as well as the religion, literature, and art of the dynasty, once had a strong influence on Japan as a direct result of the "*qian Tang shi*" 遣唐使 (envoys sent to the Tang) from Japan to the Tang capital. The Japanese authorities may have intended to use this unique "Tang painting" to suggest a link between the contemporary Japanese emperor and the traditional imperial power of China and to portray the Japanese emperor as the logical ruler of the "Great Eastern Asian Circle." In the following decade, Japanese troops invaded China. One of the official propaganda slogans used by the Japanese military was to establish the "Shared Development Circle of Great Eastern Asia."

It has been suggested that the floral patterns on the wide edges of the imperial garments and some strong colors were added to the scroll by the dealer Liang Hongzhi 梁洪志 in the 1920s.³¹ He chose the floral pattern, which was popular from the Northern Wei to the Tang dynasty, to make the scroll more similar to a Tang painting. In particular, Japanese scholars created a special term, *Karakusa* 唐草 (Tang grass), to describe this kind of pattern. Perhaps Liang Hongzhi, with a concept of *Karakusa* in mind, tried to convince the Japanese authorities that the scroll was really an early Tang painting by Yan Liben. His effort seems to have simply catered to the interests of the Japanese emperor and government. The ambassador of the Republic of China and the minister of foreign affairs of Japan wrote the preface for the exhibition catalogue. This scroll was considered to be the exhibition's most important work and received highest honors in the accompanying

catalogue. In this historical context, the nature of the painting appears to have changed again from a work of art and a commodity into a political symbol. From this point of view, the scroll has transcended its status as a copy of an original work and has become an independent work of art with a new identity and new implications.

II. Patronage and the Political Function of the Painting

Although the MFA scroll was a copy made for commercial purposes by Yang Bao in the mid-eleventh century, the original early Tang painting also had a strong political meaning. In this part of the article, I determine the date and creator of the original composition by identifying the painting's patron. In addition, I examine the political function of the painting in its original historical context and discuss how political portraiture was used during the early Tang dynasty.

Composition and Theme

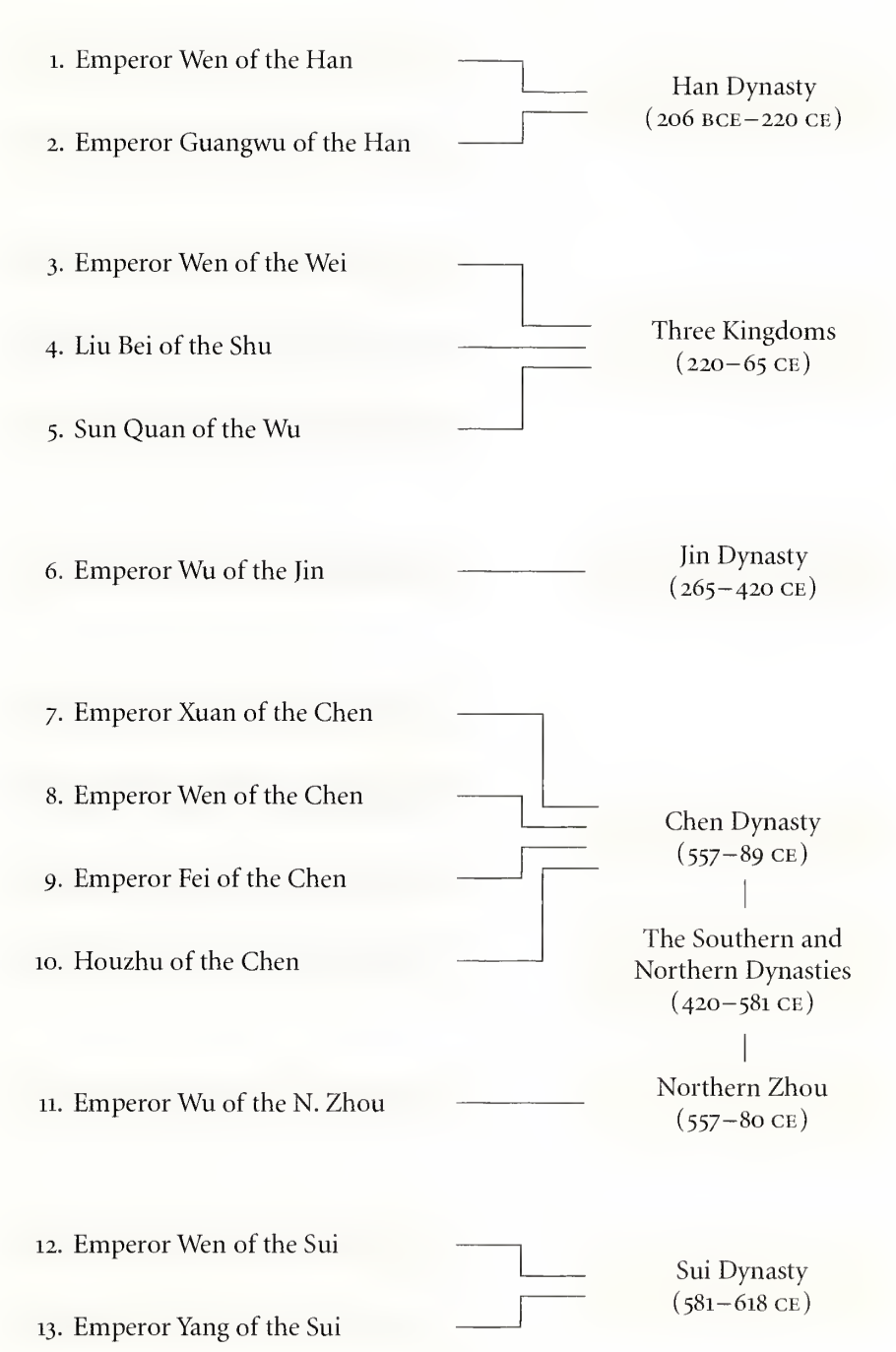
The painting depicts thirteen past emperors arranged in chronological order, with one exception. The emperors' names and official titles can be identified by the inscriptions written beside them. The following is an introduction to the sequence of the emperors and a translation of the inscriptions, from right to left:

1. Emperor Wen 文 of the Former (Western) Han dynasty (r. 179–157 BCE). The inscription, partly obliterated, reads: "Emperor Zhao (or Zhao Wen 昭文) of the Earlier Han."³²
2. Emperor Guangwu 光武 of the Later (Eastern) Han dynasty (r. 25–57 CE). The inscription reads: "Liu Xiu 劉秀, the Emperor Guangwu."
3. Emperor Wen 文 of the Wei dynasty (r. 220–226 CE). The inscription reads: "Cao Pi 曹丕, Emperor Wen of the Wei."
4. Emperor of the (Shu) Han Kingdom, Liu Bei 劉備 (r. 221–223 CE). The inscription reads: "Liu Bei, the sovereign of the Shu."
5. Emperor of the Wu 吳 Kingdom, Sun Quan 孫權 (r. 222–252 CE). The inscription reads: "Sun Quan, the sovereign of the Wu."
6. Emperor Wu 武 of the Jin 晉 dynasty (r. 265–90 CE). The inscription reads: "Sima Yan 司馬炎, Emperor Wu of the Jin."
7. Emperor Xuan 宣 of the Chen 陳 dynasty (r. 569–82 CE). The inscription reads: "Emperor Xuan of the Chen (whose personal name is) Xu 瑱 occupied the throne for fourteen years. He deeply revered the Buddha's Law and daily assembled his courtiers, to whom he lectured on the sutras."
8. Emperor Wen of the Chen dynasty (r. 560–66 CE). The inscription reads: "Emperor Wen of the Chen occupied the throne for eight years. He deeply revered Daoism."

9. Emperor Fei 廢(帝) of the Chen dynasty (r. 567–68 CE). The inscription reads: “Emperor Fei of the Chen (whose personal name is) Bozong 伯宗 occupied the throne for two years.”
10. The last emperor of the Chen dynasty, Houzhu 后主 (r. 583–89 CE). The inscription reads: “Houzhu of the Chen (whose personal name is) Shubao 淑寶 occupied the throne for seven years.”
11. Emperor Wu 武 of the Later (Northern) Zhou 周 dynasty (r. 561–78 CE). The inscription reads: “Emperor Wu of the Later Zhou (who is) Yuwen Yong 宇文雍 occupied the throne for eighteen years. The five emperors (of the dynasty ruled) altogether twenty-five years. He destroyed the Buddha’s Law.”
12. Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty (r. 581–605 CE). The inscription reads: “Emperor Wen of the Sui (who is) Yang Jian 楊堅 occupied the throne for twenty-three years. The three emperors (of the dynasty ruled) altogether thirty-six years.”
13. Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty (r. 605–17 CE). The inscription reads: “Emperor Yang 陽 of the Sui (whose personal name is) Guang (楊)廣 occupied the throne for thirteen years.”³³

Zhou Bida, a minister and scholar in the Song court, argued in 1188: “There were so many ancient emperors, those painted in the original painting must not be limited (to the thirteen emperors remaining on the scroll).”³⁴ Osvald Sirén continued and developed this idea: “The thirteen personages forming the motifs of the scroll seem to be a somewhat arbitrary selection from the long series of emperors of various dynasties who reigned in China, or over parts of the country, from Chao-wen-ti 昭文帝 of the Western Han (179–157 BCE) to Yang-ti 陽帝 of the Sui dynasty (r. 605–17). . . . It can hardly be denied that the first part of the selection is not only incomplete but also far from representative. The emperors selected from the Han, Wei and Wu dynasties are, as a matter of fact, among the least known of their times.”³⁵

A careful investigation reveals, however, that all the emperors were painted on two pieces of silk: the first six are depicted on one piece, the later seven on the other. The division appears between Emperor Xuan of the Chen and Emperor Wu of the Jin. According to Jan Fontein and Wu Tung from the MFA, “the first section actually imitates exactly the details of dress and headgear of the second part. The close similarity between the two sections of different dates suggests that the copyist may actually have used the original section of the portraits of six emperors to produce his copy.”³⁶ This situation suggests that the compositions of the emperors in the two pieces remained unchanged. In other words, the sequence of the emperors in the original version was kept in the copy, and the choice of which emperors to include was made by the original creator of the work rather than the copyist.



7

Diagram showing the composition of the *Portraits of Successive Emperors*.

The thirteen emperors in the scroll can be grouped into six different, but successive, periods, as illustrated in the diagram in figure 7:

The first group, including Emperor Wen of the Former Han and Emperor Guangwu of the Later Han, represents the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE).

The second group consists of emperors belonging to the Three Kingdoms Period (220–65 CE): Emperor Wen of the Wei, Liu Bei of the Shu, and Sun Quan of the Wu.

The third group only consists of one person, Emperor Wu (Sima Yan) of the Jin. He is the representative of the Two Jin dynasties (265–420 CE).

The fourth group includes four of the emperors of the Chen dynasty: Emperor Xuan (Xu), Emperor Wen (Chen Qian), Emperor Fei (Bozong), and Emperor Hozhu (Shubao). The Chen dynasty occupied southern China from 557 to 589.

The fifth group is represented by Emperor Wu (Yuwen Yong) of the Late Zhou. He and the four Chen emperors also may be grouped together to represent the Southern and Northern dynasties (420–581 CE).

The sixth group includes the two emperors of the Sui dynasty, Emperors Wen and Yang. This dynasty lasted from 581 to 618 and was replaced by the Tang dynasty.

By connecting the six groups, we find a history of imperial China from 206 BCE to 581 CE, excluding the first short dynasty of Qin 秦 (221–207 BCE). From this vantage, the painting offers a complete and coherent subject, that is, the thirteen emperors chosen from successive periods before the Tang dynasty represent the historical changes of imperial China. But why these particular emperors were selected remains unclear, since few were rulers of renown in official Chinese history or according to folk legends. Indeed, in Sirén's words, they are "among the least known of their times."³⁷ A clearer understanding of the reasons for selecting this group could provide a key to our interpretation of the painting.

Who was the Painting's Patron?

To understand the motivation behind the making of the painting, we must first identify its creator and, more importantly, the patron who commissioned the work. One way to solve this problem is to compare this painting with other contemporaneous paintings that survive today. The most direct and reliable painting with which the MFA scroll can be compared is the image of a Tang emperor and his ministers in the illustration of the *Vimalakirti-nirveda Sutra* painted on the eastern wall of Cave 220 at Dunhuang, which is dated to 642 CE by inscriptions written on the walls.³⁸ The emperor is dressed in full regal attire with wide sleeves and wears a rectangular fringed crown (fig. 8). His stance and costume closely resemble those of most of the emperors represented on the MFA scroll (fig. 9).



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8
“Picture of the Tang Emperor,”
painting on the eastern wall of Cave
220, Dunhuang, Gansu Province,
China, 642 CE. Photograph
courtesy of the Dunhuang Research
Academy.



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“Sun Quan of the Wu Kingdom,”
detail, *Portraits of Successive
Emperors*. Photograph © 2008
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

These strong similarities suggest that the original version of the scroll was created in the early Tang. More specifically, since the Dunhuang mural was made in 642 CE during the reign of Emperor Taizong (r. 627–49 CE), it is possible that the original version of the scroll was created during the same period.

Seven of the thirteen emperors represented on the scroll, who reigned during different periods from 206 BCE to 617 CE, are depicted in the same costume and position. Their costume, including the crown, gown, and decorations, accords with imperial costume regulations of the early Tang, as recorded in historical texts.³⁹ Specific details—such as the sun and moon decorations of Emperor Wen of the Sui, and the long narrow “Band of the Heavenly River” crossing the top of the crown and the sun, moon, mountain, and star patterns decorating the gown of Emperor Wu of the Jin—suggest that the painter was familiar with early Tang regulations on imperial clothing and created his “past emperors” to reflect the emperor of his own time. I propose that the patron of the original version of the MFA scroll was Emperor Taizong himself and the creator of the painting, the most trusted painter in his court.

Although the thirteen personages in the painting are all emperors, they differ significantly from each other in character, career, and position in the ruling order of their dynasties. Why were they chosen? Why were they placed together?

Are there any common denominators among them? Most modern scholars find the choice of this group illogical or unusual, suggesting that the emperors in the painting are “incomplete” and that their selection is “arbitrary.”⁴⁰ Yet, it is exactly this seeming lack of logic that helps elucidate and interpret the special and specific meaning of the painting’s subject matter. If we find the reason behind the selection of the emperors, the composition of the painting becomes logical and highly understandable.

My study of the relationship among the emperors reveals an interesting fact. The emperors depicted on the scroll can be divided into six groups that share a common characteristic: each consists of one emperor (or two in the case of the Chen dynasty) who was a son of the founder of his respective dynasty (see fig. 7). Group 1 includes Emperor Wen of the Han, son of Liu Bang 劉邦, the founder of the Han dynasty. Group 2 includes Emperor Wen of the Wei, son of Cao Cao 曹操, the founder (in name) of the Wei Kingdom. Group 3 includes Emperor Wu of the Jin, a son of Sima Zhao 司馬昭, the founder of the Jin dynasty. Group 4 includes Emperors Wen and Xuan of the Chen, who were both sons of Chen Baxian 陳霸先,⁴¹ the founder of the Chen dynasty. Group 5 includes Emperor Wu of the Zhou, son of Yuwen Tai 宇文泰, the founder of the Northern Zhou dynasty. Finally, Group 6 includes Emperor Yang of the Sui, who follows Yang Jian, founder of the Sui dynasty. Of course, common inheritance practice mandated that the emperor’s first son become the next emperor after the death of the emperor. But it is unusual to see the sons of different dynastic founders shown together in a successive order to represent the imperial history of China.

This hidden order leads me to propose a hypothesis regarding the patron of this scroll. Because of the clear similarities between the emperor motif in the mural of Dunhuang Cave 220 (dated to 642 CE) and the emperors in the MFA scroll, I suggest that the original version of the scroll was created during the Zhenguan era (627–49) during the reign of Emperor Taizong (r. 627–49) of the Tang dynasty. In particular, seven emperors in the scroll share the same position in the royal heirship with Emperor Taizong who was also the son of the founder of his dynasty. In ancient China, heirship was the most important factor in determining succession to the imperial throne within a dynasty. Emperor Taizong may have selected those past emperors whose positions of heirship were the same as his own and whose positions as legitimate rulers of China were clearly recorded in official histories. Taizong thus commissioned Yan Liben, the most influential artist in his court, to create the painting for him.

Li Shimin 李世民 (the future Taizong) was born in the year 600 in Wugong 武功 County in modern Shanxi. The second son of Li Yuan 李淵, a high official-general of the Sui dynasty, he was an ambitious young man when he joined his father’s

troops to destroy the Sui dynasty. He spent much time on the battlefields and won fame through his military exploits. His father, who then became the first emperor of the Tang dynasty, first chose his oldest son, Li Jianchen 李建成, as the heir apparent. To seize the throne, Shimin murdered his older brother, Jianchen, and younger brother, Yuanji 元吉, in the Xuanwu 玄武 Gate and forced his father to retire. Having no choice, Li Yuan passed the throne to Shimin in 626 and accepted the position of “Retired Emperor.”⁴²

After following this unorthodox and unsavory route to power, Li Shimin felt that he had to legitimize his new position. To eradicate his ruthless takeover of the emperorship from the historical records, he even forced his officials to change the “Official History.” According to Howard J. Wechsler,

The emperor was a very self-conscious monarch, deeply concerned over the historical image he would bequeath to posterity. We have seen that he attempted to improve his historical image by changing the Veritable Record narrating the founding of the dynasty, and its account of the Hsuan-wu (Xuanwu) Gate coup. Much of the emperor’s public behavior seems to have been dictated less by his own personal convictions than by a desire to gain the approbation of his court officials—in particular the diarists responsible for its historical record.⁴³

Emperor Taizong not only had the records revised about himself but he also sponsored the compilation of the “Standard Histories” for previous dynasties, which became the foundation for the system of official historiography. Taizong was deeply aware of the important role of the “Standard History” for legitimizing the new dynasty and his new position. Under Taizong’s patronage and his prime minister Fang Xuanling’s 房玄齡 supervision, official scholars completed the histories of the Liang 梁, Chen, Qi 齊, Zhou, and Sui in 636 CE. A new history of the Jin was completed in 646 CE. The monographs on topics concerning the dynasties of disunion had not been included in the histories presented in 636 CE, but were finally completed and presented to the throne in 656 CE, under Taizong’s successor.⁴⁴

This historical circumstance explains the creation of the painting *Portraits of Successive Emperors*, which represents a chronological history of imperial China. The depiction of six groups of emperors, particularly those who had the same position in the royal bloodline as Emperor Taizong—that is, a son of a dynastic founder—could play an important part in legitimizing his throne. Thus, although the emperors in the painting may not be “representative” of the preceding dynasties, as Sirén and other scholars have noted, their depiction surely represents a “logical” selection to secure political legitimacy for Emperor Taizong.

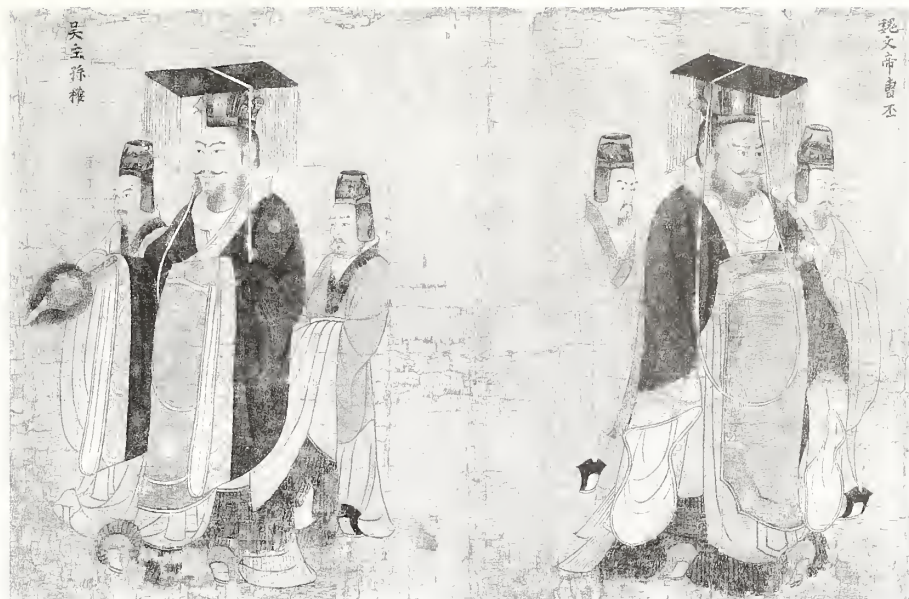
Returning to the painting, we notice another significant phenomenon: the six groups of emperors form two parts: one including Groups 1, 2, 3, and 5, and the other including Groups 4 and 6. The emperors in the first part are dressed in formal imperial costume, except for Emperor Wen of the Han, and the emperors in the second part are dressed in informal royal costume, except for Emperor Wen of the Sui. The first emperors in the first part are listed as follows:

Emperor Wen of the Han (Group 1), son of the founder of the Han dynasty
Emperor Wen of the Wei (Group 2), son of the founder of the Wei dynasty
Emperor Wu of the Jin (Group 3), son of the founder of the Jin dynasty
Emperor Wu of the Zhou (Group 5), son of the founder of the Northern Zhou dynasty

Interestingly, these four emperors are all entitled “Wen” (the Civil) or “Wu” (the Military), which reminds us of the significance of Taizong’s desire for the fame of both “Wen” and “Wu.” He created the College of Literary Studies, frequently discussed history and literature with famous scholars, and wrote poetry. He showed military prowess even as a teenager. As Howard J. Wechsler wrote in *The Cambridge History of China*: “In their [the later generation’s] eyes his [Taizong’s] reign combined the dual virtues of *wen* and *wu*, civil order and military might, as no reign before or after.”³⁵

These four emperors were vigorous and powerful rulers, all of whom rescued or strengthened their dynasties. Emperor Wen of the Han restored the authority of the Liu clan in the court and strengthened the country by easing economic burdens and hard labor requirements of local governments and commoners. Under the reigns of Emperor Wen of the Han and his successor Emperor Jing 景 (together, from 180 to 141 BCE), China reached its first flourishing period, which has long been admired by Chinese historians. Emperor Wen, in particular, was highly praised for practicing frugality in the interests of the country. This explains why the painter chose to portray him dressed in a comparatively humble costume. Emperor Taizong highly respected Emperor Wen as a virtuous emperor, discussing him often with his officials.⁴⁶ When Taizong wanted to build a new luxurious palace, his officials cited the frugality and virtue of Emperor Wen of the Han to urge him to cancel his plan.⁴⁷

Although his father Cao Cao was considered to be the founder of the kingdom, according to the standard history, *San Guo Zhi* 三國志 (History of the Three Kingdoms), Emperor Wen of the Wei united northern China and established the Wei kingdom in 220. Emperor Wu of the Jin united the country in 280. Emperor Wu of the Zhou gained his legitimate royal authority from the prime minister and united northern China. These three emperors are considered to be unifiers of China or northern China, which was the country’s main area in land and popula-



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"Two Powerful Emperors," detail,
Portraits of Successive Emperors.
 Photograph © 2008 Museum of Fine
 Arts, Boston.

tion during their respective reigns. Standard histories, including *San Guo Zhi*, *Jin Shu* 晉書 (History of the Jin) and *Zhou Shu* 周書 (History of the Zhou) recorded their political and military merit. The latter two histories were completed under Emperor Taizong's sponsorship. These three emperors and Emperor Wen of the Han thus seem to have served as virtuous models of the sons of dynasty founders.

Emperors Wen and Xuan of the Chen (Group 4) and Emperor Yang of the Sui (Group 6) were also the sons of dynasty founders, but are represented in relatively informal costume. Emperor Wen of the Chen is dressed in white headgear and a fur coat trimmed with black bands. Emperor Xuan of the Chen wears black habiliments and a cap. Emperor Yang of the Sui is attired in a loose-fitting gown and a royal hat of a type often worn during leisure time. According to various historical records, Emperor Wen of the Chen and Emperor Xuan deeply revered Daoism and Buddhism, respectively, as described in the inscriptions beside their portraits, and did almost nothing that could be regarded highly or appreciated in terms of civil or military activities. Emperor Yang of the Sui also was a devout Buddhist and was criticized by Taizong in almost every regard. Taizong told his court officials that, because Emperor Yang of the Sui was too brutal and no one dared to stop him, his dynasty declined.⁴⁸ In the fourth year of his reign (630), Taizong told his court officials that the personality of Emperor Yang of Sui was highly suspicious because he loved evil things; he changed many "barbarian names (*Huning* 胡名)" into Chinese and rebuilt the Great Wall to guard against the "barbarian people (*Huren* 胡人)," but was killed by Linghu Xinda 令狐信達 under the order of Yuwen Huaji 宇文化極 (both are "barbarian people").⁴⁹ Taizong's frequent criticism of Emperor Yang of the Sui can be found in the *Zhenguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要 (The political principles of the Zhenguan Era), a famous book that recounts Taizong's conversations with his subjects. On the whole, it seems that the three emperors, Emperors Wen and Xuan of the Chen and Emperor Yang of the Sui, served as evil exemplars for the sons of dynasty founders.

The different treatment of royal costume seems to support the division between virtuous and evil rulers. The emperors dressed in formal imperial cos-



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"Two Weak Emperors," detail,
Portraits of Successive Emperors.
 Photograph © 2008 Museum of Fine
 Arts, Boston.

tume (Emperors Guangwu of the Han, Wen of the Wei, Liu Bei of the Shu, Sun Quan of the Wu, Wu of the Jin, Wu of the Zhou, and Wen of the Sui) were powerful and successful in ruling their dynasties (fig. 10). On the other hand, the emperors dressed in informal costume (the four emperors of the Chen and Emperor Yang of the Sui) are basically weak or evil rulers in the eyes of Taizong (fig. 11). The only exception is Emperor Wen of the Han; perhaps because Emperor Wen was famous for his frugality, it seemed unsuitable to represent him attired in luxurious imperial regalia (fig. 12).

Although Emperor Wen of the Chen was the eldest son and direct successor of the dynasty's founder, he is placed after Emperor Xuan, the second son and fourth emperor of the Chen. This change of order seems to reflect Taizong's own situation and desire, which is that the second son should be given priority.⁵⁰ Probably for the same reason, Emperor Xuan is flanked by ministers in the painting, demonstrating his imperial authority (fig. 13). The other three emperors of the Chen, who were neither virtuous as rulers nor similar in rank with Taizong, are accompanied by women or personal attendants, which act as a symbol of evil and weak rulers.⁵¹

Political Portraiture in the Early Tang

If we study the entire spectrum of artistic activities during the early Tang period, particularly during the Zhenguan era in the reign of Taizong (627–49), we find a series of political portraits patronized by Taizong himself. According to various historical texts, Taizong commissioned the "Portraits of the Eighteen Scholars of the Palace of Qin" in 626, when he was still a prince.⁵² In 621, he created his own College of Literary Studies, in which he maintained a staff of eighteen scholars who served as advisers on state affairs at his princely palace. Yan Liben, as an official court artist, was commissioned to paint the eighteen scholars, and one of them, Zhu Liang 褚亮, was asked to write a panegyric for each scholar depicted. The function of the painting appears to have been two-fold: on the one hand, by



12

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“Emperor Wen of the Han Dynasty,”
detail, *Portraits of Successive
Emperors*. Photograph © 2008
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



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“Emperor Xuan of the Chen
Dynasty,” detail, *Portraits of
Successive Emperors*. Photograph ©
2008 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

commissioning the painting, Li Shimin showed his respect for these excellent scholars who represented the country’s intellectual class; on the other hand, the painting identified the scholars as supporters of the ambitious prince of Qin. In 626, it was dangerous to be identified as one of Li Shimin’s supporters because of the intense and bitter struggle for the throne between Li Shimin and his elder brother, Jianchen, the heir apparent. In fact, some of the scholars, such as Fang Xuanling and Du Ruhui 杜如晦, helped plan the Xuanwu Gate Coup and may have taken part in the assassination of Li Shimin’s brothers on the third day of the sixth month of 626.⁵³

When the painting was completed, Li Shimin expressed regret that he had not commissioned the portrait of Xue Shou 薛收 before this earliest member of the college died in 624.⁵⁴ This comment can be understood in two ways. One possibility is to assume that, because Xue died too early, the painter could not portray him from life. The second possibility is that, because Xue Shou died and was replaced by another in the college, the painter could not include him among the eighteen scholars. Because all the eighteen scholars were living when the portrait was made, we can assume that the painter painted each scholar directly from life. At the least, as an official working in Li Shimin’s palace, Yan Liben would have had many opportunities to meet these scholars, and the scholars also would have had occasions to view the painting that depicted their own portraits. For this reason, I suggest that the portraits were made from life.

In 643, Li Shimin, now the Emperor Taizong, again commissioned Yan Liben to paint the “Portraits of the Twenty-Four Meritorious Officials in the Lingyan 凌煙閣 Pavilion” and adorned this work with his own inscriptions. This group of portraits was painted on the wall of Lingyan Pavilion. It was a great honor for someone to be painted on the wall of the pavilion. Later, when one of the twenty-four meritorious officials, Hou Junji 侯君集, was about to be beheaded for his involvement in the rebellion of the heir-apparent Chengqian 承乾, Taizong sadly

told him: "I am so sorry that you can't come to the Lingyan Pavilion again!" Hou Junji's portrait, however, was kept in the Lingyan Pavilion after his death. Some forty years later, when Emperor Zhongzong 中宗 of the Tang (r. 684; 705–9) visited the Pavilion, he saw Hou Junji's portrait which had been half-concealed. After Hou Junji was beheaded, some reportedly wanted to brush out his image but were stopped by Taizong, who remembered Hou's contribution. During the reign of Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 713–55), the emperor worried about the condition of these old portraits, since many years had passed since their creation, and asked Cao Ba 曹霸, a famous artist of the time, to repaint and decorate them.⁵⁵ The stories that surround the portrait suggest that it was considered to be a memorial to the contributions made by the dynasty's officials.

Yan Liben also made a portrait of Emperor Taizong, as well as that of Taizong's brother, Yuanfeng 元鳳, to honor his bravery in killing a dangerous animal.⁵⁶ Taizong also commissioned Yan Liben to paint foreign envoys from the West. In addition to such human portraits, according to historical records, Yan Liben also created, under royal patronage, the portraits of the six meritorious horses who had served Taizong best in war. Taizong personally wrote the panegyrics for the horses and described their special contributions. In actuality, Taizong glorified himself by recounting the virtues of the horses and the rider.

It is clear that these early Tang political portraits, all by Yan Liben, were created directly under the imperial patronage of Emperor Taizong for specific political purposes. The *Portraits of Successive Emperors* seems likely to have been one of the many portraits commissioned by Taizong to serve his political goals.

Another important contemporaneous example similar to the original version of the *Portraits of Successive Emperors* is the picture of the Tang emperor and his ministers represented on the eastern wall of Cave 220 at Dunhuang in 642 (fig. 14). In addition to the emperor himself, the ministers shown in the painting (fig. 15) also remind us of the portraits of the twenty-four meritorious officials displayed in the capital in the Lingyan Pavilion. According to the *Vimalakirti-nirveda Sutra*, no emperors or kings attended the great debate between Vimalakirti and Manjusri; the Tang emperor and his officials would thus not have been present. Moreover, previous illustrations of the sutra, including the Sui dynasty paintings at Dunhuang, did not show the emperor and his court officials. Clearly, these figures were intentionally added to the scene of the debate between the two sages. What does this addition mean in terms of understanding the painting and early Tang politics and religions?

Scholars often cite the illustration of the *Vimalakirti-nirveda* on the east wall of Cave 220 to exemplify China's stylistic influence on the art of the northwestern frontier.⁵⁷ The large image of the Chinese emperor is considered to be merely a



14

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“Tang Emperor and His Court
Officials,” painting on the eastern
wall of Cave 220, Dunhuang,
Gansu Province, China, 642
CE. Photograph courtesy of the
Dunhuang Research Academy.



15

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“Officials of the Tang Court,”
painting on the eastern wall of Cave
220, Dunhuang, Gansu Province,
China, 642 CE. Photograph
courtesy of the Dunhuang Research
Academy.

part of the composition, representing the kings who visit the sick Vimalakirti.⁵⁸ According to the sutra, however, only some bodhisattvas, Sakyamuni’s disciples, and heavenly beings attended the famous debate with Manjusri. Vimalakirti used his magical power to empty his house and left only a bed (or stool) for himself. The lay people, including the Chinese emperor and his officials, were not present at this moment. Why did the artist add these figures to the painting?

The significance and danger of the emperor’s involvement in Buddhist activities was discussed by Han Yü 韓愈 (768–824), a famous Confucian scholar-official, who wrote a memorial to express his deep concern:

For how could the wisdom of your Majesty stoop to participation in such ridiculous beliefs? Still the people are slow of perception and easily beguiled; and should they behold Your Majesty thus earnestly worshipping at the feet of Buddha they would cry out, “See! The Son of Heaven, the All-Wise, is a fervent believer; who are we, his people, that we should spare our bodies?” Then would ensure a scorching of head and burning of fingers; crowds would collect together, and tearing off their clothes and scattering their money, would spend their time from morn to eve in imitation of Your Majesty’s example. The result would be that by and by young and old, seized with the same enthusiasm, would totally neglect the business of their lives; and should Your Majesty not prohibit it, they would be found flocking to the temples, ready to cut off an arm or slice their bodies as an offering to God. Thus would our traditions and customs be seriously injured, and ourselves become a laughing stock on the face of the earth;—truly, no small matter!⁵⁹

Han Yü’s memorial suggests the significance in Tang society of the emperor’s involvement in Buddhist ceremonies.⁶⁰ In the early years of the dynasty, followers of Buddhism experienced a period of frustration because of the emperors’ support

of Daoism. The impressive image of the emperor, associated with the “bodhisattva of wisdom,” Manjusri, may suggest the emperor’s support of Buddhism. At the least, it reveals the strong desire of local Buddhists to win imperial support.

The local context of the construction of Cave 220 further suggests that the images of the Tang emperor and his officials actually encode a specific political meaning, in that their presence signifies Tang dominance of the northwestern region during the mid-seventh century.

The patron family of Cave 220 was a local elite clan famous for its political careers. Originally from central China, the Zhai 翟 clan emigrated to Dunhuang in 579 CE for a government position and remained there.⁶¹ According to the inscription preserved on the east wall of the cave, members of the Zhai family held at least two military positions around 642 when the cave was built.⁶² Two years before the cave’s construction, General Hou Junji—one of the twenty-four “meritorious officials” of Emperor Taizong—had led the imperial troops to the northwestern regions to conquer the Karakhoja (Gaochang 高昌) Kingdom near Dunhuang and continued his expedition into Central Asia after his overwhelming victory.⁶³ As the westernmost town of the Tang empire, Dunhuang served as the base fort and headquarters for these military operations, and the local people were obliged to take on the burden of supplying human and material resources demanded by the state.⁶⁴

As officers in the Tang army, some members of the Zhai family must have joined the Tang military efforts to expand into the Western Regions.⁶⁵ In this political context, the large image of the Tang emperor in Cave 220, which was a visual phenomenon for the local people of Dunhuang and those in the Western Regions, was intended to be viewed as a significant political symbol that conveyed a strong message to this area: the emperor of great Tang was the ruler!

The Zhai clan identified the cave as its family cave. Three large ink characters, *Zhai Jia Ku* 翟家窟, or Zhai Family Cave, were written at the exact center under the western niche, just below the Buddha statue. By portraying the Tang emperor in their own family cave, the Zhai family declared their loyalty to the Tang emperor and his court.

Significantly, in addition to the image of the Tang emperor, his high officials were also represented. The one who wears a marten-tail on his hat has been identified as the prime minister.⁶⁶ As mentioned above, Emperor Taizong chose twenty-four meritorious officials, including General Hou Junji, the chief commander of military operations in the Western Regions, to be portrayed by Yan Liben in the Lingyan Pavilion,⁶⁷ which was considered to be the highest honor. The representation of high officials in Cave 220 thus reflects the Zhai family’s respect for and support of the Tang court. It also reveals the Zhai family’s personal desire to please court officials and strengthen the family’s ties to the central government.



16

16

"Foreign Kings and Princes," painting on the eastern wall of Cave 220, Dunhuang, Gansu Province, China, 642 CE. Photograph courtesy of the Dunhuang Research Academy.

Opposite the Tang emperor and his ministers are figures of non-Chinese kings and princes, most of whom hail from kingdoms in Central Asia (fig. 16). During his reign from 627 to 649, Emperor Taizong declared himself *Tian Kehan* 天可汗 or King of Kings.⁶⁸ During his long reign, this king of kings encouraged many talented military and civil persons of foreign origin to join his army and government, many of whom achieved high positions.

In 642, the same year as the construction of the Zhai family cave, some small kingdoms in the Western Regions, threatened by Arab invasions, sent envoys to the Tang court to seek protection.⁶⁹ Emperor Taizong ordered Yan Liben, the most famous artist in his court, to portray the foreign kings or chiefs from whom he received offerings. Yan Liben's portrayal of these foreigners may have been a visual reference for the east wall of Cave 220, and the motif of the emperor was perhaps also based on Yan Liben's portrait of Emperor Taizong.

Taken together, the Tang emperor and the court officials and the non-Chinese kings and princes represented on the east wall of Cave 220 vividly reflect the early Tang political landscape. The image of the emperor, in particular, not only declares the authority of the Tang court in the newly conquered Western Regions but also reveals the Zhai family's support for the Tang court.

Both the *Portraits of Successive Emperors* attributed to Yan Liben and the picture of the Tang emperor in Dunhuang Cave 220 were made during the early years of the Tang dynasty with political motivations: to legitimize the rulership of Emperor Taizong and to publicly declare Tang dominance of the Dunhuang region in the northwestern frontier. The striking similarities in visual details between the two paintings suggest a common source: Yan Liben's life portrait of Emperor Taizong. According to historical records, Yan Liben painted a portrait of Emperor Taizong, which was copied by other artists and displayed on the wall of a temple.⁷⁰ It is possible that Yan Liben himself used the portrait as a model to create the "virtuous emperors" in his *Portraits of Successive Emperors*, whereas other painters might also have used the portrait as a model for depicting the Tang emperor in different locations, such as Dunhuang.



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"Legendary Emperors," ink rubbing of stone carving from the Wu Liang Shrine, Shandong Province, China, 151 CE. After Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 158, fig. 64.



18

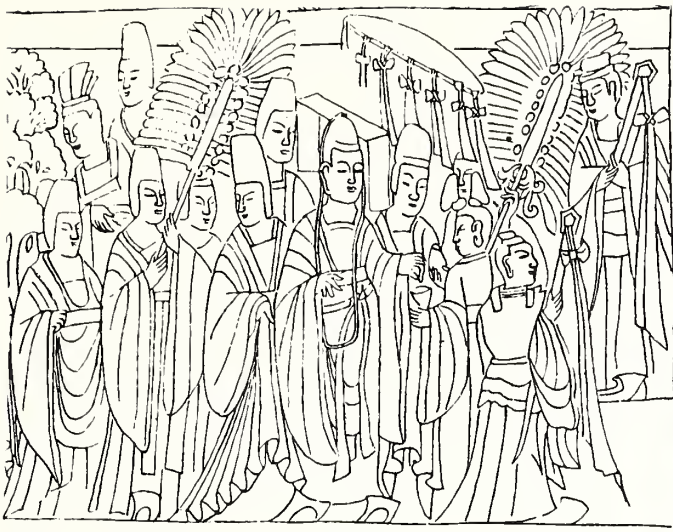
"Emperor and Attendants," detail, painted wooden panel from the tomb of Sima Jinlong, Shanxi Province, China, 484 CE. After *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihuabian*, vol. 1 (Beijing: Remin meishu chubanshe, 1986).

The Origins of Imperial Portraiture

Painting an emperor's image was not an invention of the early Tang. Literary sources suggest that some pre-Tang mural paintings depicted ancient emperors as subjects. The earliest preserved images of emperors are in the Wu Liang 武梁 Shrine, created in 151 CE. The five legendary emperors shown in the stone carvings that decorate the shrine can be identified among the numerous depicted figures by "the style of costume and cap and the portrayal of gesture and motion" as well as by the inscriptions.⁷¹ These emperors, however, are represented individually, without attendants (fig. 17). Another pre-Tang example of the emperor motif is a painted wooden screen from the Northern Wei dynasty (before 484 CE), which was discovered in the tomb of Sima Jinlong 司馬金龍 in Shanxi Province.⁷² Several emperors are represented in various costumes and gestures. One is shown in a slightly forward standing pose holding an object in his right hand, while two attendants stand behind him (fig. 18). Because the inscriptions are badly damaged we cannot conclusively identify this figure, but, as some scholars have observed, this picture "is very similar to Yan Liben's 'Picture of the Emperors of the Successive Dynasties' in composition, brushwork, color and image."⁷³

The most important pre-Tang example of the emperor motif is the portrait of Emperor Xiaowen 孝文 of the Northern Wei; it is carved on the wall of the middle cave of the three Binyang 賓陽 Caves at the Longmen 龍門 Grottoes, which were built between 500 and 523 CE.⁷⁴ The emperor stands, with two ministers holding up his sleeves, followed by other officials and attendants (fig. 19). Interestingly, the costume of the two ministers closely resembles that of the ministers who stand at either side of many of the emperors in the *Portraits of Successive Emperors* attributed to Yan Liben. This striking resemblance suggests that the imperial motif in the *Portraits of Successive Emperors* was based on an older model similar to the imperial portrait carved in the Binyang middle cave.

Luoyang was the political base of Li Shimin before he took over the throne. Tang historical records indicate that, in the fifteenth year of his reign, Li Shimin visited Yique 伊闕, the location of the Longmen Caves.⁷⁵ The court artist-official Yan Liben could personally have seen the imperial portrait carved there. The com-



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"Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei and His Court Officials," drawing of a relief from the middle Binyang Cave, Longmen, Henan Province, China, 500–523 CE. After Mizuno Seiichi and Nagahiro Toshio, *Ryumon Sekkutsu no Kenkyu* (A Study of the Buddhist Cave-temple at Longmen) (Kyoto: Zouhe Press, 1980 [1941]).

20

"Picture of the Tang Emperor," painting on the eastern wall of Cave 103, Dunhuang, China, early eighth century. Photograph courtesy of the Dunhuang Research Academy.



20

position of an emperor flanked by two ministers also connects the *Portraits of Successive Emperors* and the Northern Wei emperor carved in the Binyang Cave. Some scholars have suggested that this composition is related to a popular Buddhist image, in which the Buddha is flanked by two bodhisattvas.⁷⁶ The composition of a formally dressed emperor flanked by two ministers, first shown in the Bingyang Caves at Longmen, seems to have become the standard imperial image since the Northern Wei and enjoyed considerable popularity during the early Tang period (fig. 20). We find at least three paintings in such composition in early Tang Dunhuang Caves. The imperial portraits created in the early Tang period, including the original version of the MFA scroll, can help us understand how royal images were used for various purposes in different contexts.

In conclusion, the long hand scroll of *Portraits of Successive Emperors* housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston is a copy of an early Tang painting by Yan Liben. The copy was commissioned by Yang Bao, a famous collector in the first half of the eleventh century, during the *Jiayou* era of the Northern Song, and dated to 1056–60 or slightly earlier. Yang Bao's copy kept the composition of the original early Tang painting and thus provided us with crucial clues for understanding the meaning and function of the original work. In the historical context of early Tang, the selection of the thirteen emperors among numerous pre-Tang rulers intends to legitimize the sovereignty of Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty, a likely candidate for patron of the portrait's original version.

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NOTES

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1. The titles of the painting have been recorded as *lie di xiang* (Portraits of Successive Emperors), *gu di wang tu* (Picture of Ancient Emperors and Kings), *lie di tu* (Picture of Successive Emperors), and *li dai di wang tu* (Picture of Emperors and Kings of Successive Dynasties). Because this painting was first recorded as *lie di xiang*, or "Portraits of Successive Emperors," in Fu Bi's inscription (dated to 1060 CE) on the painting, which is probably the original title or the closest one, and mentioned again by other writers as *lie di tu* or *lie di xiang* repeatedly thereafter, I use this popular title as the official name of the painting in my article.
2. Kojiro Tomita, "Portraits of the Emperors: A Chinese Scroll-painting Attributed to Yen Li-pen (died A.D. 673)," in *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston 30 (1932): 8.
3. For example, both Michael Sullivan, *The Arts of China*, 1st–4th ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967–99), and Sherman Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art*, 5th ed. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), include a section of the scroll to exemplify the glory of Tang art.
4. Jin Weinuo published an article to attribute the creator of the original version of the painting to Lang Yuling, another early Tang painter, who was contemporaneous with Yan Liben during the late seventh century. See Jin Weinuo, "Gu diwang tu de shidai yu zuozhe" (The Date and Creator of the "Picture of Ancient Emperors and Kings"). Hong Kong: *Meishujia*, vol. 6, 1979.
5. Jan Fontein and Wu Tung, *Unearthing China's Past* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1973), 215–18. See also Wu Tung, ed., *Tales from the Land of Dragons: 1000 Years of Chinese Painting* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1997), 127–30.
6. Tomita, "Portraits of the Emperors."
7. Jin Weino, *Gu diwang tu* (Picture of ancient emperors and kings), (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1982).
8. Sun Xinyan, *Pingjing guan jian chang shu hua ji* (Records on the paintings and calligraphy works identified and collected in the Pingjing Hall), ed. Chen Zongyi in 1841, vol. 1.
9. Mi Fu, *Hua Shi*, prefaced in 1103. (Reprint) in 1947. Quoted from Mei Shu Cong Shu, vol. 10.
10. In 1188, Zhou Bida found the seal on the painting (the copy) and recorded his discovery in his book.
11. Mi Fu's book does not record any inscription on Yang Bao's copy. However, we cannot be sure whether inscriptions on the copy in his time were included, because his failure to record them may simply reflect that he never saw the copy in person.
12. See Chen Gaohua, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao* (Historical records on the painters of the Sui and Tang dynasties) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987), 58–59.
13. Zhou Bida, *Yigong ti ba* (Comments on paintings and calligraphy works by Yigong), reprinted by Guangwen shuju 1971, vol. 8.
14. Ibid.
15. Arthur Waley, *An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting* (London: Ernst Benn, Ltd., 1923).
16. Naito Konan, "Tocho no kaiga" (Paintings of the Tang dynasty) (Nara: Bukkyo bijutsu, 1926), 9: 3.
17. Tomita, "Portraits of the Emperors," 8.

18. Quoted from W. R. B. Acker, *Some Tang and Pre-Tang Texts on Chinese Painting* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954), 247.
19. Kobayashi Taichiro's comments can be found in the *Sekai Bijutsu Zenshu*, vol. 8, 1950.
20. Jin Weino, *Gu diwang tu* (Picture of ancient emperors and kings) (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1982), 15–21.
21. Suzuki Kei, *Chugoku kaiga shi* (History of Chinese painting) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1981), 71–74.
22. Ibid., 73.
23. A detailed introduction on Yan Lide and Liben can be found in Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* (New York: Ronald Press, 1956), 96–103.
24. Osvald Sirén, *History of Early Chinese Painting* (London: The Medici Society, 1933), 1:55.
25. Chen Gaohua, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao*, 39.
26. Quoted from Chen Gaohua, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao*, 40.
27. See *Tai Ping Guang Ji*, vol. 211. Quoted from Chen Gaohua, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao*, 40.
28. Wu Xiu, *Qingxia guan lun hua jueju* (The four-line poems on paintings written in the Qingxia Hall). The edition of the Ge Family Collection, reprint in 1876, 3–4.
29. Li Zuoxian, *Shu hua jian ying* (Shadows of the paintings and calligraphy works identified), in the edition of Li Jin Li Shi, 1871, 1: 4–8.
30. Jin Weino, “Fangwen Boshidun” (A visit to Boston), *Meishu yanjiu*, 1982, 1: 79–80.
31. Ibid., 79.
32. The identification of this emperor has been questioned since 1188. Because of the poor condition of the inscription next to the portrait, scholars could not determine the emperor's name. Some scholars have identified the figure as Emperor Wen, whereas others have considered the possibility that the figure represents Emperor Zhao (r. 86–73 BCE). As discussed herein, I agree with the identification of Emperor Wen.
33. The translation of the inscriptions is based on the translation of K. Tomita (see Tomita, 1932, p. 2).
34. Zhou Bida, *Yigong ti ba* (Comments on paintings and calligraphy works by Yigong). Reprinted by Guangwen shuju in 1971.
35. Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, 99.
36. Fontein and Wu, *Unearthing China's Past*, 215.
37. Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, 99.
38. Ning Qiang, *Dunhuang fojiao yishu—meishushi de fenxi* (Dunhuang Buddhist art: An art historical approach) (Taiwan: Fuwen tushu chubanshe, 1992), 205–10.
39. Duan Wenjie, *Dunhuang shiku yishu lunji* (Essays on the art of the Dunhuang caves) (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1988), 254.
40. Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, 99.
41. Chen Baxian passed the throne to his brother's (King Zhaolie) eldest son, who then became Emperor Wen of the Chen. Therefore, Emperor Wen could be considered as the eldest son and successor of Chen Baxian. Emperor Xuan of the Chen was the second son (!) of King Zhaolie, younger brother of Emperor Wen. He could also be considered as a son and successor of Chen Baxian.
42. For a detailed introduction to Li Shimin's life and his family, see Howard J. Wechsler, “The Founding of the T'ang Dynasty: Kao-tsu (reign 618–26),” in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3: *Sui and T'ang China 589–906, Part I*, ed. Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 150–241.
43. Ibid., 189.
44. Ibid., 215.
45. Ibid., 241.
46. Wu Jing, *Zhenguan zhengyao* (Political principles of the Zhenguan Era), re-edited by Harada Taneshige, Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1962.
47. Ibid., 204.
48. Ibid., 51.
49. Ibid., 186.
50. According to *Chen Shu*, Emperor Xuan took the throne by pushing his nephew, Emperor Fei, to retire, aided by the wife of Chen Baxian, the founder of the Chen dynasty. When Emperor Fei became emperor, Chen Baxian's wife was given the title “Tai Huang Tai Hou” (Grandmother of the Emperor) instead of “Huang Tai Hou” (Empress Dowager). After Emperor Xuan took the throne with her help, she was again given the title of Empress Dowager.
51. According to a famous story recorded in *Lie Nu Zhuan*, when Ban Jieyu refused the request of Emperor Cheng of the Han to share a sedan with him, she said: “Looking at the ancient pictures, all the virtuous emperors are always flanked by famous ministers and the last emperors of the Three Dynasties by women.” This story suggests that an iconographical tradition existed in which the virtuous emperors were flanked by ministers and the evil ones by women. See Liu Xiang, *Lienu zhuan* (Biographies of exemplary women), in *Sibu congkan*, no. 60.
52. Zhang Yanyuan, *Li Dai Ming Hua Ji*. An English translation can be found in Acker, *Some Tang and Pre-Tang Texts on Chinese Painting*.
53. Wechsler, “Founding of the T'ang Dynasty,” 182–87; Howard J. Wechsler, “T'ai-tsung (reign 626–49, the Consolidator),” in Twitchett, *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3, 187–200.
54. See *Jiu Tang Shu*, “Xue Shou Zhuan” (Biography of Xue Shou), in *Ershisi shi*

- biaozhunben* (The twenty-four dynastic histories: Standard edition) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959–75).
55. See *Feng Shi Wen Jian Ji*, vol. 5. Quoted from Chen Gaohua, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao*, 47.
 56. Chen Gaohua, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao*, 39.
 57. He Shizhe, “Dunhuang Mogaoku bihua zhong de Weimojie jingbian” (The illustrations of the *Vimalakirti-nirveda* on the murals of the Mogao caves at Dunhuang), in *Dunhuang yanjiu* 2 (1982): 68.
 58. Ibid.
 59. Herbert Giles, *Gems of Chinese Literature* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1922), 124.
 60. The issue of imperial support of Buddhism in the Tang dynasty has been discussed by Stanley Weinstein, “Imperial Patronage in the Formation of T’ang Buddhism,” in *Perspectives on the Tang*, ed. Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 264–306.
 61. Zheng Binglin, *Dunhuang bei ming zan jishi* (A collection and study of the Dunhuang manuscripts concerning the inscriptions of stelae and eulogies) (Lanzhou: Gansu jiaoyu chubanshe, 1992), 54–62.
 62. For a complete record of the inscription see Dunhuang yanjiuyuan, ed., *Dunhuang Mogaoku gongyangren tiji* (The donors’ inscriptions in the Mogao caves at Dunhuang) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1986), 101.
 63. See Wechsler, “T’ai-tsung,” 224–28.
 64. Shi Weixiang, “Sichou zhi lu shang de Dunhuang yu Mogaoku” (Dunhuang and Mogao caves on the Silk Road), in *Dunhuang yanjiu wenji/Dunhuang wenwu yanjiusuo* (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1982), 57.
 65. According to historical records, the Tang troops invading Karakhoja included local people from Dunhuang, led by Liu Demin, governor of Shazhou (Dunhuang). See *ibid.*, with n. 33.
 66. Duan Wenjie, *Dunhuang shiku yishu lunji*, 254.
 67. See Chen Gaohua, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao*, 40–43.
 68. Wechsler, “T’ai Tsung,” 220–24.
 69. Shi Weixiang, “Sichou zhi lu shang de Dunhuang yu Mogaoku,” 57.
 70. Chen Gaohua, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao*, 40.
 71. Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 157.
 72. This tomb was excavated in 1966. For a full report, see Shanxi Datong Shi Bowuguan, “Shanxi Datong Shijiazhai Beiwei Sima Jinlong mu” (The tomb of Sima Jinlong of the Northern Wei found in Shijiazhai near Datong in Shanxi Province), *Wenwu*, 1972, 3: 20–29.
 73. Ibid., 28.
 74. According to “Shi Lao Zhi” of *Wei Shu*, the three Binyang caves were donated by Emperor Xuanwu in memory of his father, Emperor Xiaowen, and his mother, Queen Wenzhao. However, only the central cave had been finished by 523 CE; the other two were not completed until the early Tang. See also Li Wensheng, “Zuguo zhongyuan de yishu guibao—Longmen shiku” (Longmen caves: Art treasures in the central plain of the motherland), in *Zhongguo meishu quanji* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), 11:1–11.
 75. See “Tai Zong Zhuan” (Biography of Taizong) in *Jiu Tang Shu*. In *Ershisi shi biao zhunben*, 1959–75.
 76. Liu Linchang, *Tang dai renwu hua* (Figure paintings of the Tang dynasty) (Beijing: Zhongguo gudian yishu chubanshe, 1958), 11. See also Suzuki, *Chugoku kaiga shi*, 74.
 77. Tomita, “Portraits of the Emperors,” 6.
 78. Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1985).
 79. Wu Hung, “The Origins of Chinese Painting (Paleolithic Period to Tang Dynasty),” in *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, ed. Richard Barnhart et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 61.

HU ZHENGYAN: FASHIONING BIOGRAPHY

Abstract

The late Ming-early Qing dynasty publisher Hu Zhengyan is one of the most frequently studied figures in the history of Chinese prints. This article examines primary materials of the seventeenth century as the most reliable sources for information on Hu and in order to reveal how Hu, his family, and friends shaped his biography to conform to the ideal of the high-minded and well-educated *yimin*, or “leftover citizen.” It then looks at the trajectory of Hu family publications, printed under the rubrics of the Shizhuzhai (Ten Bamboo Studio) and Digutang (Rooted in the Past Hall), and suggests how the early Qing volumes may have been chosen to reinforce Hu’s reputation as a Ming loyalist.

HU ZHENGYAN 胡正言 (1584/85–1673/74), proprietor of the Ten Bamboo Studio in late Ming-early Qing Nanjing, is well known to students of the Chinese visual arts. In large part due to the prolonged popularity of Hu’s *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* 十竹齋書畫譜 (Ten Bamboo Studio manual of calligraphy and painting), which was published by 1633 but continued to be printed, from the original blocks and later from recut ones, into the late Qing, numerous articles and essays have been written about Hu and his publications.¹ Hu seems to have been a successful publisher and businessman, producing a variety of books, for which he served at times as supervisor of carving, collator, and/or editor, but he also had a reputation as a calligrapher, seal carver, and producer of inks and letter papers. The modern literature on Hu, while not neglecting these professional accomplishments, often describes him in terms conventionally associated with the gentleman-scholar: as a diligent student; as a painter, calligrapher, and collector; as having held and given up office; and as having lived a reclusive life after the fall of the Ming. Certainly Hu was admired in his day as a calligrapher and seal carver and as the publisher of the Ten Bamboo Studio catalogues, but some elements of modern biographical accounts of Hu are exaggerated or unfounded, often due to the transmission of earlier errors. Late, unreliable sources on Hu’s life are partly responsible for these misstatements, but even during Hu’s lifetime his family and associates shaped his biography, ignoring or diminishing the importance of some aspects of his life and promoting those events and talents that conformed to the ideal of the scholar-official and *yimin* 遺民.

We know from several sources that Hu Zhengyan (*zi* 字 Yuecong 曰從; *hao* 號 Cigong 次公, Moan laoren 默菴老人, Shizhuzhai zhuren 十竹齋主人) was originally from Anhui 安徽. In several of his books, Hu refers to himself as being from Haiyang 海陽, an ancient name for Xiuning 休寧, and in *Xiuning xian zhi* 休寧縣志 (Gazetteer of Xiuning county), published in 1693, he is said to be from Wen-

chāngfāng 文昌坊.² It is not known when Hu moved to Nanjing, but by 1619 he was already living in the city and engaged in one of the most technically demanding projects of his career, the printing of *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu*.³ The *Xiuning xian zhi* records that Hu lived to the age of ninety, and an essay penned for Hu's ninetieth birthday states that at the time of writing, the ninth month of the *guichou* 癸丑 year, equivalent to 1673, he had reached that milestone.⁴ Thus, Hu must have died sometime in late 1673 or the first month of 1674, approximately, and been born in 1584 or early 1585.

The given name of Hu's father is unknown, but Wang Sande's 王三德 preface to the "Calligraphy and Painting" section of the *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* refers to him as Master Yangning 仰寧. Hu had two brothers, Hu Zhengxin 胡正心 (*hao* Wusuo 無所), the eldest, and Hu Zhengxing 胡正行 (*hao* Zizhu 子著), the youngest of the three, both of whom were involved in some publishing projects at the Ten Bamboo Studio. The names of Hu Zhengyan's two sons, Hu Qipu 胡其樸 and Hu Qiyi 胡其毅 (*zi* Zhiguo 致果), also appear on at least three *Shizhuzhai* publications, although the extent of their involvement in the family business is not clear. Qiyi is prominently mentioned in several early Qing biographical records of his father: a poem by Gu Mengyou 顧夢游 (1599/1600–1660; *zi* Yuzhi 與治) solicited for Zhengyan's seventieth birthday;⁵ an entry in *Yinren zhuan* 印人傳 (Biographies of seal carvers) written by Zhou Lianggong 周亮工 (1612–1672; *zi* Yuanliang 元亮) when Hu was over eighty;⁶ and an essay by Du Jun 杜濬 (1611–1687; *zi* Yuhuang 于皇) written a year or two before Hu's death.⁷ It is probable that Qiyi solicited the writings by Gu and Du. Moreover, Zhou's biographical entry on Hu Zhengyan states that Hu Qiyi was a long-time member of his household; this fact indicates that he was an employee of some sort, and references to his poetry and "wide learning" suggest that he may have been a tutor for Zhou's children.⁸

One source frequently cited in modern writings about Hu Zhengyan is the biography included in *Nanjiang yishi* 南疆逸史 (Lost history of the southern regions), written by Wen Ruilin 溫睿臨 (*juren* 舉人 1705). Although Wen's record of the events surrounding the fall of the Ming was written less than a century after the actual occurrences, the book was not published until 1830, having been circulated in manuscript form before that time, and several versions survive.⁹ In what may be the earliest edition, the entry states: "[Hu] was a student in the National University. The Ministry of Rites in Nanjing commanded him to compile the complete records of imperial proclamations and orders.¹⁰ He collated and printed the *Qin ban xiaoxue* 欽頒小學 (Imperial promulgation of the minor learning) and the *Biaozhong ji* 表忠記 (Record of displays of loyalty).¹¹ Because of his work he was recommended to the Personnel Ministry, and so received an appointment to the Hanlin Academy. He had not yet taken up this position when the capital

fell.”¹² The entry then goes on to relate how Hu was commissioned to create an imperial seal for the Hongguang 弘光 emperor, who established a rump Ming court in Nanjing from June 1644 to June 1645.¹³ The biography ends by drawing a moral from Hu’s life.

The *Yishi* says: “When the city of Jinling [Nanjing] was established [as the capital in 1644], the gentry flocked like ducks to the powerful [seeking favor]. Although they called themselves ‘old men of the Eastern Grove,’ they found no difficulty in averting their faces and assaulting the just.¹⁴ They hoped for the patronage of Ma [Shiying] 馬士英 and Ruan [Dacheng] 阮大鍼, and in the end they sacrificed the country for their own vanity.¹⁵ Zhengyan honestly served as an official in the Secretariat. He was in daily contact with the *shufu* 樞輔.¹⁶ Would this not have been an opportunity for one who chased fame and position? But Hu was indifferent and unconcerned. He preferred to retire and preserve his rectitude, and so he died from poverty. He was one who embraced the virtues of winter.¹⁷ Now men who covet fame and corrupt the law congregate at the top, and those who maintain their virtue and admonish with honesty, are obliterated with time. That is why this era came to grief in the end.”¹⁸ (Appendix, Text A)

The reliability of the information found in this essay must be measured against those biographical sources written during the lifetime of Hu Zhengyan, all of which date after the fall of the Ming. The fullest account of Hu’s life is the essay by Du Jun written on the occasion of Hu’s ninetieth birthday. After some introductory remarks about his thirty-year acquaintance with Hu Zhengyan and how he came to be asked to write this encomium, Du relates what seems to have been the climactic event in Hu Zhengyan’s life:

I deeply respect the old gentleman because of his resolute loyalty; he once formulated an unconventional plan [for the country]. This is not an ordinary man. In the *jiashen* year (1644), heaven fell and the earth cracked and the six seals were captured.¹⁹ For a time [the court] stayed in [Nan]jing and set up a ruler. Investitures and appointments were in a chaotic state; documents needed to be sealed immediately but there was no [imperial seal].

The old gentleman already excelled at the principles of large seal script; moreover, he was there in the imperial capital. He himself saw that the new government had no long-term plans and so he rose and said, sighing: “What an era that it could come to this! I have seen how when ancient kingdoms met with misfortune and difficulties, their learned men usually

would ignore their personal safety and pledge their loyalty [to the ruler]. It is for this reason that I take this [this task] on.”

Thereupon, he abstained from eating meat to obtain a sincere state of mind, and closed himself up to study ancient [scripts]. He personally carved the imperial seal and wrote an essay, “Dabao zhen” 大寶箴 (Exhortation on the great seal), and then presented the essay and seal. In fact, his motivation [for accepting the commission] was to be found in the exhortation, not in the seal. His words were extremely honest, enough so to make one sigh. He wrote that since the seventh year of the Tianqi 天啟 period (1627) the great seal of the dynastic founder had been toyed with by low-level eunuchs and fell to the ground. The [崇禎 Chongzhen], emperor (r. 1628–44) exhibited the compassion and diligence of [the sage-emperors] Yao and Yu, but his singular efforts were not assisted. One could only retrieve the fallen seal. Now seventeen years have passed and in the end the seal could not be long preserved. Having come to this pass, then what better than, with aching heart and head, to beseech the eternal will of Heaven for the favor of restoring this seal. The *Yijing* 易經 says: “In founding a state or establishing a feudatory, petty men must not be employed.”²⁰ The *Shijing* 史經 says: “Heaven cannot be trusted,” “Its charge is not easy to hold.”²¹ The way of protecting the seal consists of this, nothing more.

Briefly, this was the content. Because [the essay] was not in rhymed phrases, he worried that it would not be read. However, he received an imperial directive that the court functionaries had accepted the new seal and that he had been given a position as *zhongshu sheren* 中書舍人 (Drafter in the Secretariat) to express [imperial] favor and praise.²² But the motivation [for the appointment] came from the seal and not the exhortation. [His exhortation] to effect a thorough reform was not heard.

The old gentleman told his family: “In the past, Chen Liang 陳亮 (1143–1194) of the Southern Song offered up his plan for the world, but the court could not use it. [The court officers] conferred and gave him an official position but Liang did not accept, saying: ‘I want to establish a foundation for the nation that will last for hundreds of years. How can I use this to barter for a position?’ That day he crossed the river and returned east.”²³ Although my talent cannot match that of Liang, still our experiences are of a similar kind. The true principles of the world cannot be put into action.”

Thereafter [Hu] kept silent and did not involve himself in the affairs of the world....²⁴ (Appendix, Text B)

Gu Mengyou's poem written for Hu's seventieth birthday makes reference to some of these same events, though rather more obliquely.

Neither Du's essay nor any of the biographical material written during Hu Zhengyan's lifetime supports the statements in *Nanjiang yishi* that Hu had been a student at the National University and received an appointment to the prestigious Hanlin 翰林 Academy before the fall of the Ming—achievements that, if factual, would certainly have been included in Du Jun's recounting of his friend's accomplishments. These claims must be embroideries of Hu's biography that occurred after his death.

It is also apparent that Hu never took up the position of *zhongshu sheren*. Many modern accounts of Hu's life nonetheless state that Hu served as an official at the Hongguang court. One might simply attribute this to a reliance on late sources, but, in fact, during his own lifetime Hu referred to himself by the official title that he had refused to accept. For example, Hu's postface to *Zhuanshu zheng* 篆書正 (Orthodox seal script), a work on seal script compiled by Dai Mingyue 戴明說 (j.s. 1634; zi Daomo 道默), is dated 1657 and signed "*zhongshu sheren*, student from Xin'an 新安, Hu Zhengyan."²⁵ Moreover, a decade before this, and less than three years after the dispersal of the Hongguang court, Hu was identified in prefaces and postfaces to his first post-Ming publication, *Yincun chuji* 印存初集 (Seals preserved: first collection), by the term *zhonghan* 中翰, "palace penman," an "unofficial reference to secretarial personnel working in the Grand Secretariat."²⁶ It is not clear if Hu and his friends' use of the terms *zhongshu sheren* and *zhonghan* was accepted practice under the circumstances, whether the fact that Hu was offered the position allowed him the privilege of using the title despite his refusal of the office, or if he was appropriating for himself an official status to enhance a reputation as a Ming loyalist.

Another notable aspect of Du Jun's essay is the lack of any reference to Hu's family business. Du makes no mention of Hu's extensive career in publishing; similarly, Zhou Lianggong's entry on Hu in *Yiuren zhuan* mentions only a single publication, one related to the topic of seal carving. The two books generally considered most notable among Hu's oeuvre—*Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* and *Shizhuzhai jianpu* 十竹齋箋譜 (Ten Bamboo Studio Catalogue of Letter Paper Designs)—are not referred to by either author.

By contrast, in other contexts Hu's skills as a printer and publisher are lauded. In a preface to *Shizhuzhai jianpu*, Li Kegong 李克恭, grandson of Li Deng 李登 (zi Shilong 士龍, hao Ruzhen 如真) with whom Hu had studied calligraphy, describes at length the skills necessary to produce woodblock prints of the quality found in the letter paper catalogue.

There are three difficulties with multi-block printing. First, the designs must be very elegant, and yet appeal to the contemporary eye. ... Next, in carving one must avoid both over-delicacy and dullness; it is easy to lose the spirit of the original designs. And lastly, adherence to established methods of printing and insensibility to one's own creative power may cause a loss of resonance with the natural world. Having rid one's work of these three flaws and endowed it with every beauty, consummate skill is manifest there. But only the Master [of the Ten Bamboo Studio] has a spirit diffident of heart, quiet of temperament, disdainful of money, and cognizant of ability. [This spirit] caps the design, carving and printing, and bubbling up between these is the catalogue. (Appendix, Text C)

Another fragmentary text provides a tantalizing glimpse of Hu's business and extols the technical aspects of woodblock printing. Wang Bomin has published portions of an early-Qing text, *Menwai oulu* 門外偶錄 (Random records of [things] outside my gate), that concern the Ten Bamboo Studio.²⁷ The author, Cheng Jiajue 程家珏 (*zi* Kuibai 揆百), a doctor in Nanjing writes:

[In the Ten Bamboo Studio] there were ten persons, whom [Hu?] did not regard as artisans. They investigated and discussed [print-making] morning and evening, so that ten years passed as if it were a single day. The skills of these master craftsmen became more refined with each day. ... Each of the ten fingers of the master craftsman is a tool. Printing by pressing with the flesh of the fingers is distinctive; [printing with] the fingernail or the fingertip is different from [printing with] the thumb. In the first impressions one can see Yuecong's fingerprints. Isn't that marvelous! (Appendix, Text D)

While Cheng celebrates the printing skills of Hu Zhengyan, Hu's biographers, curiously, avoid any mention of them. The reason for the absence of reference to Hu's source of livelihood in Du Jun's essay is hinted at in his account of the events of 1644–45. Despite the honor of having been chosen to carve the imperial seal for the Hongguang emperor, Hu professed not to want to be rewarded for mere technical skill. The position offered him by the Southern Ming court, that of *zhongshu sheren*, was one often given to artisans in the employ of the court, rather than to men who had achieved some distinction through the civil service examinations.²⁸ It would seem that Hu did not have the qualifications considered necessary for a more prestigious administrative post. Du states that Hu was afraid that the essay he submitted along with the seal would not be read because it was not written

in the *pianti* 駢體 style.²⁹ This demanding literary form required one to write in couplets, with paired lines made up of identical numbers of characters and usually displaying syntactical parallelism. The *pianti* compositional method was used when writing in the *baguwen* 八股文 (eight-legged essay) format required for the government examinations.³⁰ Thus, mastery of it was obligatory for those hoping to succeed in the exams. Presumably Hu was unable to compose in this style, a sure indication that he was not educated with an eye to government service. The statement that Hu only accepted the assignment of carving the seal in order to present his “memorial” to the court, his refusal of the low-ranking title, and the lack of any reference to Hu’s extensive career in publishing in his birthday encomium, suggest that he aspired to elite status and was well aware of the biases against professionalism and manual skill among literati.

Regarding Hu’s post-1645 career, Du states that, “his feet have not touched the earth [outside his gate] for thirty years,” that is, from about 1645. Hu’s reclusion after the fall of Nanjing to the Qing forces seems to have been somewhat exaggerated, however, for we know that he continued to edit and publish books in the new dynasty. It may well be, however, that Hu kept a low profile to avoid scrutiny from the Manchus over his involvement with the short-lived Nanjing court and to conform to the pattern of the loyal subject who rejects service with an illegitimate government.

Hu Family Publications

In addition to the biographical sources cited above, information about Hu Zhengyan and his business may be gleaned from the substantial number of extant texts, amounting to over twenty-five works, published first under the imprint of the Ten Bamboo Studio and later under that of Digutang 蒂古堂, the name adopted for the Hu family enterprise some time after the fall of the Ming. The publication history of these two houses, moreover, suggests how the business itself was used to augment the public image of Hu Zhengyan, and, by extension, of his family (see table).

Among the earliest books known to have been published by the Shizhuzhai are three medical texts. *Wanbing yanfang* 萬病驗方 (Tested prescriptions for a myriad illnesses) is the earliest of these.³¹ The text seems to have been issued first under the title *Dingbu Jianyi bei yanfang* 訂補簡易備驗方 (Simple and easy tested prescriptions, revised and supplemented) with a preface written by Hu Zhengyan’s elder brother, Hu Zhengxin, in 1631. Zhengxin wrote a second preface with a date equivalent to 1641 for the reissue, which suggests that the text was popular enough to reprint within a decade.³² *Shizhuzhai kan xiuzhenben yishu shisan zhong* 十竹齋刊袖珍本醫術十三種 (Pocket edition of thirteen medical texts printed by Ten

Bamboo Studio) was published in 1632, and a compilation of texts on the subject of “injury by cold,” that is, of various fevers including typhoid, titled *Shanghan sanzong xiuzhenben* 傷寒三種袖珍本 (Pocket edition of three works on “injury by cold”) was printed in 1633.³³ Thus, these three medical works were initially published over a span of about three years. All of these texts were pocket editions, indicating that they were designed as practical reference books to be carried on one’s person.

It is notable that Hu Zhengxin, Hu Zhengyan’s elder brother, had a role in the publishing of all three, and that three of the seven publications in which he had an acknowledged role are on the subject of medicine. According to Chun Shum and Du Xinfu, Zhengxin is the only author listed for *Shizhuzhai kan xiuzhenben yishu shisan zhong*, while the other two books bear the names of both Hu Zhengxin and Hu Zhengyan. In *Wanbing yanfang*, as in all *Shizhuzhai* publications in which he took part, Zhengxin’s name is given primacy, but this is may be due to his senior status as eldest brother. However, his 1631 preface to this text makes clear that he practiced medicine and that it was he who had acquired new knowledge of medical treatments that he wanted to disseminate to the public. Hu Zhengyan seems to have merely encouraged his ambition.

Ma Meng-ching has suggested that the origin of the belief that Hu Zhengyan was once a doctor, an assertion that appears in *Tongzhi Liuan zhou zhi* 同治六安州志 (Tongzhi period [1862–74] gazetteer of Liuan prefecture) and *Guangxu Huoshan xian zhi* 光緒霍山縣志 (Guangxu period [1875–1908] gazetteer of Huoshan county) but at present cannot be traced any earlier than these accounts, may lie in the fact that Hu Zhengxin practiced medicine.³⁴ Further supporting this theory is the fact that in his first preface to *Wanbing yanfang*, Hu Zhengxin says that he was moved to write this text after he and his youngest brother returned from a trip to Huoshan, the city in modern-day Anhui province where, according to these two publications, Zhengyan was supposed to have worked as a doctor.

The Ten Bamboo Studio did not publish novels, dramas or illustrated narrative texts of the type put out by many Nanjing publishers.³⁵ The majority of its stock consisted of works that introduce or serve as reference books on subjects such as calligraphic forms, classical texts, poetry, and rhyme schemes for composing poems. At least four *Shizhuzhai* publications introduce variant forms of characters and various styles of calligraphy; this is not surprising considering that Hu Zhengyan was well regarded by some for his calligraphy, particularly his seal script.³⁶ One such work brought out by Hu is a reprint of *Liushu zheng’e* 六書正譌 (The six [styles of] calligraphy, correct and erroneous) by Zhou Boqi 周伯琦 (1298–1369), which explicates seal script characters. Similarly, the briefer, undated *Shufa bi ji* 書法必稽 (Necessary investigations into calligraphy), for which Hu

Zhengyan was sole editor, contains lists of frequently miswritten characters, variant forms of characters, a section indicating stroke order of graphs, and so on. Late in his career Hu published another work of this type, *Zhuanshu zheng* by Dai Mingyue, to which he wrote a postface.³⁷

Two publications introduce widely-studied texts with special attention to the proper form and pronunciation of their characters. Hu Zhengxin and Hu Zhengyan worked together on *Sishu dingben bianzheng* 四書定本辨正 (Standardized texts of the Four Books, identified and corrected), published in 1640. This book was designed to introduce students to four Confucian classics: *Daxue* 大學 (Great learning), *Zhong yong* 中庸 (Doctrine of the mean), *Lun yu* 論語 (Analects), and *Mengzi* 孟子 (Mencius). In it these texts are printed repeatedly, first to display correct and incorrect forms of characters, then with pronunciations of each character appended, again with annotations to each sentence, and so on. Another similar book, one of the latest known publications of Hu Zhengyan, is *Qianwen liushu tongyao* 千文六書統要 (Essentials of the “Thousand Character Essay” in six scripts), dated to 1663, a work that was in part an homage to his by then deceased calligraphy teacher Li Deng.³⁸ The only names that appear on the title page are those of Li Zhongqing 李仲卿 and Li Xiangyan 李香巖 as “authenticators”; presumably it was they who wrote the first unsigned preface which pays homage to Li Deng. The title page does not feature Hu Zhengyan’s name, but it does include the information that the blocks were owned by Shizhuzhai. Some versions of this publication have additional prefaces, but the main body of the text consists of the *Qianziwen* 千字文, the “Thousand Character Essay” written by Zhou Xingsi 周興嗣 of the Liang dynasty (502–57); the “Chant of the Correct and Erroneous in the Seal Method, According to Radical” by Li Deng and carved by Hu Zhengyan, which gives various seal script characters and their standard forms arranged according to radical; and, finally, the “Essentials of the ‘Thousand Character Essay’ in Six Scripts,” authenticated by the two Lis and carved by Hu, which gives the tone, pronunciation, and meaning of each character of the title essay, as well as versions of the graphs in a number of different ancient scripts.

In addition, several texts on etymology and phonetics are credited to the Ten Bamboo Studio. Some editions of *Linshu zheng’e* were published together with another book written by Zhou Boqi, *Shuowen ziyuan* 說文字原 (Origin of the characters in the *Shuowen* [jiezhi]), the earliest Chinese dictionary, written in the Han dynasty by Xu Shen 許慎 (d. 120).³⁹ A Shizhuzhai edition of *Jiao tai yun* 交泰韻 (Great communion of rhymes), a work on phonology written by Lü Kun 呂坤 (1536–1618) is extant,⁴⁰ and according to Du Xinfu the Shizhuzhai published *Yunfa hengtu* 韻法橫圖 by Li Jiashao 李嘉紹 (fl. 1614; zi Shize 世澤), an arrangement of syllables in table form, and *Yunfa zhitu* 韻法直圖 by Mei Yingzuo 梅

膺祚 (fl. 1570–1615), a reworking of Li's text, which formed one portion of Mei's dictionary *Zihui* 字彙.⁴¹

The Hu family also printed several texts on poetry which seem to have been aimed at readers without a thorough knowledge of this subject. All three Hu brothers are credited for their work collating a relatively lengthy work written by Ye Tingxiu 葉廷秀 (j.s. 1625, d. 1646) titled *Shi tan* 詩譚 (Discussion of poetry), published in 1635. This text appears to have been written for students; the preface, written in simple language and punctuated, refers repeatedly to *xuezhe* 學者 (those who study), and the bulk of the work consists of introductions to poets, followed by selected poems. Another large-scale publication that introduces some aspects of the history of poetry is *Leixuan Tang shi zhudao weiji* 類選唐詩助道微機 (Helpful principles to the subtle workings of selected and categorized Tang poems), an introduction to Tang poetry selected and critiqued by Zhou Rudeng 周汝登 (j.s. 1577), believed to have been produced some time during the late Ming. The edition presently in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library is comprised of several short works grouped together: *Zhudao weiji huowen ji* 助道微機或文紀 (Helpful principles to subtle workings in question and answer form) by Fang Ruqi 方如騏, of the late Ming, *Shao Kangjie xiansheng shi chao* 邵康節先生詩抄 (Transcribed poems of Mr. Shao Kangjie [Yong 雍, 1101–1107]) and *Yang Cihu xiansheng shi chao* 楊慈湖先生詩抄 (Transcribed poems of Mr. Yang Cihu [Jian 簡, 1141–1226]), the latter two both edited by Zhou Rudeng. This text also includes two colophons written by Hu Zhengyan himself. Also, in 1636, Hu Zhengyan published a collection of poems, edited by Pan Youlong 潘游龍 of the late Ming, titled *Gujin shi yuzui* 古今詩餘醉 (Intoxicating ancient and modern poems).

Two other books published by Hu and meant as introductory texts or reference works are *Geyan leibian* 格言類編, consisting of aphorisms arranged by subject, published in 1633, and *Su Mi tan shi guang* 蘇米譚史廣, a collection of well-known incidents in the lives of Su [Shi 軾, 1037–1101] and Mi [Fu 福, 1051–1107]), written by Guo Hua 郭化, dates unknown.

In addition, the Ten Bamboo Studio produced a number of manuals of various types. A Shizhuzhai work in the Fung Ping Shan 馮平山 Library titled *Siliu yuanyang pu* 四六鴛鴦譜 (Manual of four and six [character] matched phrases) was published in 1634 as a pocket edition. This work, written by Su Yan 蘇琰 (j.s. 1613), is a letter-writing aid, a guide to four- and six-character phrases considered appropriate for the elegantly written letter.⁴² Another, similarly titled work, *Siliu xiasi* 四六霞肆 (Roseate clouds in four and six [character phrases]) is a classified anthology of writings in the same style, with explanatory notes. Shizhuzhai also published a work on dominoes, *Paitong fuyu* 牌統浮玉, written by the pseudonymous Zhongli yushi 鍾離迂士 and collated and with a preface by Hu Zhengyan.

Hu's most famous work, *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu*, was also intended to be educational, at least in part. This publication consists of woodblock print reproductions of painted images and calligraphy, divided into eight sections: calligraphy and painting (often called "miscellany" because of its varied subject matter), bamboo, ink flowers (compositions in a round format, as for fan paintings), rocks, feathers and fur, plum, orchid, and fruit. Two of these sections have components designed especially to guide the beginning painting student.⁴³ The orchid volume opens with an illustration of a hand holding a brush in the proper position, and on the following pages individual leaves and blossoms as well as whole plants are reproduced in various combinations. These are followed by reproductions of orchid paintings by famous masters. The bamboo volume is similarly laid out, with a technical introduction, depictions of the various parts of the bamboo, and full compositions of bamboo.

The site of the Ten Bamboo Studio may have been chosen to accommodate, or may have encouraged, a specialization in educational texts. Hu Zhengxin's 1641 preface to *Wanbing yanfang* was written in the "square plot" on Jiming 雞鳴 Mountain, presumably the location of the Ten Bamboo Studio, which he mentions by name in the 1631 preface to the same book.⁴⁴ Jiming Mountain, also known by the earlier name of Jilong 雞籠 Mountain, was located just within the northern wall of the city of Jinling 金陵.⁴⁵ Just south of this prominence was the Guozijian 國子監, the National Academy, one of two in the country, founded to prepare students for the civil service examinations and eventual government service. Ma Meng-ching has suggested that Shizhuzhai published books for this local market of Academy pupils and scholars, and certainly a large percentage of its catalogue seems to be educational in intent—books intended to aid students of poetry and calligraphy, reference texts for use in reading and writing, manuals to various activities considered suitable for the literatus, and so on.⁴⁶

Moreover, Hu Zhengyan was commissioned by persons serving in the Nanjing ministries to publish books that seem to have been produced for government officials or those aspiring to such positions. In 1633, the Shizhuzhai produced *Huang Ming biao zhong ji* 皇明表忠記 (Imperial Ming record of those displaying loyalty), an account of various officials who loyally served Zhu Yunwen 朱允炆 (r. 1399–1402), the second emperor of Ming, who was deposed and possibly killed by his uncle, thus violating the rules of succession. The author, Qian Shisheng 錢士升 (1575–1652), eventually rose to the position of Grand Secretary, but in the early Chongzhen period he headed the Academy in Nanjing, and in 1633, the year this text was published, he was promoted to Vice Minister and Acting Minister of Rites at the southern court.⁴⁷ Approximately two years later, Hu published the similarly titled *Huang Ming zhaozhi* 皇明詔制, a compilation of edicts by Ming emperors.

This was edited by Kong Zhenyun 孔貞運 (1576–1644; *zi* Kaizhong 開仲), who during the 1630s and 1640s served in Nanjing first as the Vice Minister of the Ministry of Rites and then as the Left Vice Minister of the Ministry of Personnel.⁴⁸

The last publication of the Ten Bamboo Studio that may properly be called a work of the Ming dynasty was *Shizhuzhai jianpu*. This compendium was first published in late 1644 or early 1645, and then reissued with some changes and additions about a year later.⁴⁹ It served to promote one of the products of the Ten Bamboo Studio, letter paper, which Hu had been printing since his early years in Nanjing, and was meant to present what was normally an ephemeral item in a more enduring format.⁵⁰

Some time after the dynastic transition of 1644 Hu began using the name Digutang, Rooted in the Past Hall, for his publishing house; in some cases both “Shizhuzhai” and “Digutang” appear in the same publication, perhaps because works issued under the Shizhuzhai imprint were reprinted in the early Qing. This new name may have been chosen to suggest the Hu family’s continued affiliation with the fallen Ming dynasty.

Six publications of the Shizhuzhai and/or Digutang can be securely dated to the post-Ming period. Two of these — *Zhuanshu zheng* and *Qianwen liushu tongyao* — have been discussed previously; three of the remaining four are books of seal impressions. The earliest of these is *Yincun chuji*, published in 1647. Hu Qipu and Hu Qiyi also participated in the compilation of this compendium, which consists of impressions in red seal paste of seals carved by Hu for a variety of well-known persons in the Jiangnan region (fig. 1). The book bears an impressive array of prefaces written by Zhou Lianggong, employer of Hu’s son Qiyi; Wang Xiangye 王相業; Du Jun, who wrote the encomium for Hu’s ninetieth birthday; Chen Danzhong 陳丹衷 (j.s. 1643), a Nanjing painter;⁵¹ Qian Yingjin 錢應金; and Han Shi 韓詩. There are also two postfaces written by Wu Qi 吳奇 and Peng Yuan 彭源, both seal carvers.⁵² According to the preface by Wang Xiangye, this book was originally published under the titled *Yin shi* 印史 (History of seals) but when it was discovered that an earlier book by this title existed Wang suggested the name *Yincun*.⁵³ In *Yinren zhuan*, Zhou Lianggong reiterates the origin of the book’s title and also says that editions were printed in black ink alone; these were titled *Yuan shang* 元賞 (Primary appreciation).⁵⁴ *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四庫全書總目 (General index of the complete library of four branches of books) records a *Yincun chuji* in two *juan* 卷, and gives *Yincun yuan lan* 印存元覽 (First view of seals preserved) as an alternate title for the editions in black ink.⁵⁵

Another, similarly titled compendium of seal impressions put out by Hu Zhengyan, *Yincun xuan lan* 印存玄覽 (Tranquil viewing of seals preserved), two *juan*, shares some commonalities with *Yincun chuji* but is also substantially differ-

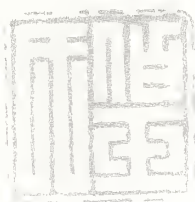
印存初集 卷三

海陽胡正言白從氏篆



易昇櫟全次

蕭士瑋印



伯玉氏



ent. *Yincun xuan lan* reproduces Wang Xiangye's preface from the earlier publication, but has additional prefaces by Chen Shitai 陳師泰 (j.r. 1630, zi Jiaofu 交甫) and Ji Yingzhong 紀映鍾 (zi Bozi 伯紫) that do not appear in *Yincun chujī*. Also, a comparison of the first *juan* of each catalogue, each of which bears two large seal impressions with transliterations of their legends per page, reveals that they have only a single seal imprint in common. Chen Shitai's preface can be dated to 1660–61 from its content, providing an approximate date for this catalogue, which bears the name of Digutang rather than Shizhuzhai.

A third *yinpu* 印譜 produced by the Hu family is titled *Hu shi zhuan cao* 胡氏篆草 (Seal drafts of Master Hu). This publication may have been issued in more than one version, or its production may have been interrupted. A modern reproduc-

1
Hu Zhengyan (1584/85–1673/74),
Yincun chujī. Woodblock printed
book, 26.1 x 16.5 x 1.3 cm. China,
Qing dynasty, 1661 reissue of a 1647
publication. Private collection.
Reprinted with permission.

tion of an edition from an unidentified collection is included, along with *Yincun chuji*, in *Shizhuzhai yinpu* 十竹齋印譜.⁵⁶ This edition consists of two volumes (*ce* 冊), the first of which has a preface by Sun Yuwang 孫于王 and bears the name of Shizhuzhai, and the second of which has a preface written by Gu Mengyou and is attributed to Digutang. The style of each volume is different also, with transliterations of the seal text written below the seal impressions in the first, and seal impressions on the recto and transliterations on the verso of each page in the second. The first volume also has the characters *erji* 二集, “second collection,” below the title on the first page of the text proper and in the central margin throughout, suggesting that there was an earlier edition with this name. An edition in the Guoli zhongyang tushuguan 國立中央圖書館, Taipei, consists of only the second volume as reproduced in *Shizhuzhai yinpu*, that is, the portion produced under the name Digutang, but has a title page stating “Shizhuzhai zhen cang” 十竹齋珍藏, “collection of Ten Bamboo Studio,” indicating that the blocks were produced by that house, as well as the price, seven *qian* 錢.⁵⁷ Gu Mengyou’s preface is undated, but Sun Yuwang refers to Hu as being “eighty years old but without the appearance of weariness.” Thus, the first volume may be dated to around 1663, with the second volume presumably being produced at a later date, although the exact order of publication is not certain at present.

Another work published by Hu in the early Qing is concerned with seal script. *Shizhuzhai lingu zhuanwen fatie* 十竹齋臨古篆文法帖 (Ten Bamboo Studio copies of ancient model calligraphy in seal script) brings together Hu’s copies of various writings from the Xia (traditionally ca. 2000–1523 BCE) through the Tang (618–907) dynasties, as well as the *Prajnaparamita Heart Sutra* written in seal script.⁵⁸ As with the seal impression books, Hu Qiyi and Hu Qipu served as collators, and several colophons were contributed by Hu Zhengyan and others, including some figures familiar from other Shizhuzhai publications such as Du Jun and Chen Danzhong. The latest internal date of this work, which Hu Yi states was printed from stone blocks rather than wood, is 1656.⁵⁹

In his preface to one of the earliest of Hu Zhengyan’s publications, *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu*, Wang Sande wrote: “In the beginning [Hu] made ink. Later, he abandoned ink[-making] and made seals, letter paper and pictorial prints.... His seals achieved the transmitted methods of Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322).” Wang’s preface is undated, but another preface to the same volume, written under the name Xingtian jushi 醒天居士, is dated to 1633, considered the terminus ante quem for this catalogue. Thus, prior to this date Hu had begun carving seals as one facet of his business.

Hu Zhengyan’s seals reflect the revived interest in the late Ming dynasty in ancient seal scripts, and particularly in Han-dynasty seals. He was a follower of

He Zhen 何震 (1541–1607; *zi* Zhuchen 主臣, *hao* Xueyu 雪漁), considered the founder of the Huizhou 徽州 school of seal carving, whose seals are characterized by an antique flavor in the choice of scripts and in composition. He Zhen also replicated some of the effects of use and age that could be seen in early seals, such as ragged edges and losses, by making use of the natural fracture lines in stones.⁶⁰ The impressions in Hu Zhengyan's various *yinpu* communicate a similarly antiquarian bent. Hu draws upon a variety of Han and pre-Han writing styles, but his characters are somewhat angular and stiff in comparison to authentic early script forms, and his compositions are clearly structured and, in general, carefully balanced around a vertical axis. Archaistic features that imitate wear and damage, seen in He Zhen's seals, are not particularly apparent in Hu's work.

If Zhou Lianggong's statement in *Yinren zhuan* that "[Hu] creates miniature stone carvings with ancient seal script inscriptions for travelers to fight over and treasure" can be taken at face value, then Hu's reputation as a seal carver must have spread outside Nanjing, and his seals were purchased by visitors to that city, perhaps as mementos. However, judging from extant publications, it was not until 1647 that Hu began publishing *yinpu* that celebrated this particular skill. All of the *yinpu* compiled by Hu and his sons were printed in the post-Ming period, between 1647 and 1663, approximately. If one counts the editions of *Yincun chuiji* printed in seal paste and in black ink as a single work, one half of Hu's post-Ming publications are *yinpu*, suggesting a concerted effort to promote Hu Zhengyan's reputation as a seal carver. His other early-Qing publications showcase Hu's abilities as a calligrapher specializing in seal script and other early styles.

The issuance of these seal impression catalogues over a period of approximately sixteen years toward the end of Hu Zhengyan's life suggests a concerted effort to promote Hu's reputation as a seal carver. In light of the content of the biographical writings on Hu from this same period—the poem by Gu Mengyou composed about 1654, the entry in *Yinren zhuan* written by Zhou Lianggong some time after 1664, and the essay by Du Jun produced around 1674—which focus on Hu's skills in calligraphy and seal carving and the aid he rendered to the court of the Southern Ming, the motivation to publish consecutively several similar texts becomes clear. Specifically, the catalogues of seal imprints, as well as individual seals produced by Hu, can be understood as oblique references to his role in carving the imperial seal for the Prince of Fu during his brief reign in Nanjing. Thus, Hu Zhengyan's *yinpu* served as one element in the construction of his persona as an *yimin*, or "leftover citizen" of the Ming dynasty.

This project was not solely, or perhaps even primarily, engineered by Hu Zhengyan. Other Ming *yimin* assisted in the building of this reputation, including a small core of persons who repeatedly contributed prefaces to Hu's publications

and who produced the biographical writings on Hu. Hu Zhengyan's sons, particularly Hu Qiyi, also played important roles. They took more active part in the family business in these later years, as they are listed in editorial capacities on several early Qing publications, including all three of the *yinpu* as well as the collection of their father's copies of ancient epigraphical writings. Moreover, the prominent mentions of Hu Qiyi in Gu Mengyou, Zhou Lianggong, and Du Jun's writings on his father are evidence of his active solicitation of these encomia, and to the ways in which he shaped his father's biography. Thus, the creation of Hu Zhengyan's reputation as a Ming loyalist, even further enhanced in later writings, was a joint project carried out by Hu himself, his family, and a coterie of like-minded friends and acquaintances.

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NOTES

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1. The date of the first edition of *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* is uncertain. Some or all of the eight sections of the manual may have been issued individually before the complete set was published. The earliest internal date is 1619, in an inscription by Cheng Sheng 程勝 in the “Calligraphy and Painting Volume,” often called the “Miscellany Volume.” This same volume bears a preface written by Xingtian jushi 醒天居士 which is dated equivalent to 1633; however, some scholars believe that this preface was added to a later re-issue. See Wang Bomin 王伯敏, *Zhongguo banhua shi* 中國版畫史 (History of Chinese prints) (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1961), 117. In addition to various issues taken from the original blocks, *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* was recut and published in 1879 by the Jiaojing shanfang 校經山房. Wang Bomin states that a recut edition was produced by the Jiezi yuan 芥子園 (Mustard Seed Garden) during the Kangxi 康熙 period and describes specific features of such editions, specifically the addition of seal impressions reading “Jiezi yuan,” “Li Shi” 李氏 (Master Li, referring to Li Yü 李漁, proprietor of the Mustard Seed Garden), etc. Wang Bomin, “Hu Zhengyan ji qi Shizhuzhai de shuiyin muke” 胡正言及其十竹齊的水印木刻 (Hu Zhengyan and the woodblock prints of his Ten Bamboo Studio), *Meishu yanjiu* 美術研究, no. 3 (1957): 80. An anonymous reader of this article has expressed doubt about the existence of a Kangxi-period Jiezi yuan edition of

Shizhuzhai shuhuapu, and no such publication is known to me. Thomas Ebrey, who has undertaken a comprehensive study of extant versions of the calligraphy and painting manual, reports that there is an 1817 recut *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* published by a Jiezi yuan, which appears to be unrelated to the studio of that name owned by Li Yü. I would like to thank Dr. Ebrey for allowing me to read his unpublished manuscript, “The Editions, Superstates, and States of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Painting and Calligraphy*.”

Chinese-language publications on Hu Zhengyan and *Shizhuzhai* are numerous. Among the most notable are sections of Wang Bomin, *Zhongguo banhua shi*; the essays collected in *Shizhuzhai yanjiu wenji* 十竹齊研究文集 (Collected research papers on the Ten Bamboo Studio) (Nanjing: *Shizhuzhai yishu yanjiubu*, 1987), and Ma Meng-ching 馬孟晶, “Wan Ming Jinling *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu Shizhuzhai jianpu yanjiu*” 晚明金陵《十竹齊書畫譜》《十竹齊箋譜》研究 (Research on *Ten Bamboo Studio Manual of Calligraphy and Painting* and *Ten Bamboo Studio Catalogue of Letter Paper Designs* of late Ming Jinling) (master’s thesis, Guoli Taiwan daxue, 1993), as well as various articles cited in this work. Two articles that cover some of the same ground as this essay are Ma Meng-ching, “Wenren yaqu yu shangye shufang—*Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* he *jianpu* de kanyin yu Hu Zhengyan de chuban shiye” 文人雅趣與商業書坊—十竹齊書畫譜和箋譜的刊印與胡正言的出版事業 (The refined taste of literati and the book trade: The printing of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Manual of Calligraphy and Painting* and *Catalogue of Letter Paper Designs* and Hu Zhengyan’s publishing business), *Xin shi xue* 新史學 10.3 (September 1999): 1–54;

- and Chun Shum (Shen Jin) 沈津, “Hu Zhengyan yu Shizhuzhai” 胡正言與十竹齋 (Hu Zhengyan and Shizhuzhai), *Duoyun* 朵雲, no. 3 (May 1988), 131–34. Western-language sources include Robert T. Paine, Jr., “The Ten Bamboo Studio: Its Early Editions, Pictures, and Artists,” *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 5 (1951): 39–54; and several works by Jan Tschichold, the most substantial of which are *Chinesisches Gedichtpapier vom Meister der Zehn bambushalle* (Basel: Holbein-Verlag, 1947), and *Der Holzschnitzer und Bildrucker Hu Cheng-yen* (Basel: Holbein-Verlag, 1943).
2. Liao Tengkuai 廖騰燾 and Wang Jinzheng 汪晉徵, eds., *Xiuning xian zhi* 休寧縣志 (Gazetteer of Xiuning county) (1693; repr. Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970), 923–24. Wenchangfang is not found on contemporary or historical maps; however, there is a modern-day town of Wenchangwu 文昌邬, located approximately nine kilometers north of the city of Xiuning.
 3. See note 1 regarding the internal date of 1619 in *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu*.
 4. Liao and Wang, *Xiuning xian zhi*, 924. The year of Hu’s ninetieth birthday is found in “Preface on Palace Penman Hu Yuecong’s 90 years of long life,” Du Jun 杜濬, *Bianyangtang wen ji* 變雅堂文集 (Collected writings of Bianya hall), in *Bianyangtang yi ji* 變雅堂遺集 (Posthumous collection of Bianya hall), ed. Gan Pengyun (Huanggang: n.p., 1894), vol. 2, j. 5:18a.
 5. Gu Mengyou 顧夢游, *Gu Yuzhi shiji* 顧與治詩集 (Collected poems of Gu Yuzhi) (n.p.: Jiangshi Shenxiu shuwu, 1916) j. 6:16b.
 6. Zhou Lianggong 周亮工, *Yinren zhuan* 印人傳 (Biographies of seal carvers) (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshu, 1910), j. 1.7b.
 7. Du, *Bianyangtang wen ji*, vol. 2, j. 5:18a–20b.
 8. Zhou Lianggong, *Yinren zhuan*, j. 1.7b. A number of Hu Qiyi’s poems are recorded in Zhu Xuzeng 朱緒曾, *Guochao Jinling shizheng* 國朝金陵詩徵 (Collected poems of Jinling from the [Qing] dynasty) (China: n.p., 1886), j. 1.2b–7b.
 9. According to the editors of the 1959 edition of *Nanjiang yishi* published by Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, the forty *juan* of biographies that form the central portion of the 1915 edition published by Shanghai Guoguang shuju 國光書局 is the complete original work. The Zhonghua shuju edition consists of fifty-six *juan*, fifty-two of which are biographies. It contains additions and emendations to the Guoguang edition. Finally, there is an 1830 edition comprised of thirty-two *juan* from the original version (the discrepancy in the number of *juan* is not explained) with twenty-six *juan* added by Li Yao 李瑤, who contributed a preface to this edition. See Wen Ruilin 溫睿臨, *Nanjiang yishi* (Lost history of the southern regions), 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 1:1–3. There is no substantial difference between the biographies of Hu Zhengyan as they appear in the Guoguang shuju and Zhonghua shuju editions.
 10. This seems to be a reference to the publication of *Huang Ming zhaozhi* 皇明詔制 in 1634. The editor of this collection of edicts by the emperors of the Ming dynasty was Kong Zhenyun 孔貞運 (1576–1644), Right Vice Minister in the Ministry of Rites. Hu Zhengyan is listed in the text as supervisor of carving. See Chun Shum, *Meiguo Hafo daxue Hafo Yanjing tushuguan Zhongwen shanben shuzhi* 美國哈佛大學哈佛燕京圖書館中文善本書志 (Record of Chinese rare books in the Harvard-Yenching Library of Harvard University, America) (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1999), 153.
 11. Presumably this *Minor Learning* was a reprint of an educational text for students written by Zhu Xi 朱熹. No such work published by the Shizhuzhai is extant, to my knowledge. A Shizhuzhai edition of *Huangming biao zhong ji*, published in 1633, is in the National Library of China (Zhongguo guojia tushuguan 中國國家圖書館), formerly the Beijing Library.
 12. Wen Ruilin, *Nanjiang yishi*, 306–7.
 13. The establishment and demise of the Hongguang court is detailed by Lynn Struve, “The Southern Ming, 1644–1662,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, 7: *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part I*, ed. Frederick W. Mote and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 641–60.
 14. The “Eastern Grove” refers to the Donglin 東林 movement of the late Ming which aimed to restore integrity to the workings of the Ming court. See Ray Huang, “The Lung-ch’ing and Wan-li Reigns, 1567–1620,” in Mote and Twitchett, *The Ming Dynasty*, 532–50; and William Atwell, “The T’ai-ch’ang, T’ien-ch’i, and Ch’ung-chen Reigns, 1620–1644,” in Mote and Twitchett, *The Ming Dynasty*, 592–601.
 15. Ma Shiying was instrumental in placing the Prince of Fu 福王 on the throne as the Hongguang emperor and was granted the posts of Minister of War and Grand Secretary. Ma arranged for his friend Ruan Dacheng to be given a position as Junior Vice-Minister of War; at the beginning of the Chongzhen reign (1628–1644) Ruan had been barred from holding office because of alleged collaboration with the eunuch Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢. See Struve, “The Southern Ming,” in Mote and Twitchett, *The Ming Dynasty*, 642–58, *passim*.
 16. *Shufu* was an unofficial term for Commissioner of the Bureau of Military

- Affairs in the Song dynasty according to Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 435. Exactly what position is meant here is unclear.
17. Presumably this refers to the virtues of the “three friends of winter”: pine, bamboo and plum. Pine and bamboo survive the cold without obvious effect and plum blossoms bloom in winter, symbolizing endurance through difficult times.
 18. Wen Ruilin, *Nanjiang yishi*, 307.
 19. A reference to the capture of Beijing, and of the imperial seals of state, by the Manchus.
 20. This quote is from the explication of the top, *yin* 陰 (broken) line of the hexagram *shi* 師, “the army,” which concerns the sovereign’s control and use of his military forces. The commentary explains that if a petty man is used, he will “throw the realm into chaos.” Based on Richard John Lynn, trans., *The Classic of Changes: A New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted by Wang Bi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 181.
 21. The first half of this quotation comes from the *Shijing* 詩經 (Classic of poetry) Mao 毛 #236 (i.e., poem number 236 in the edition of this work preserved by Master Mao), “Da ming” 大明 (Great brightness): “Heaven cannot be trusted; Kingship is easily lost.” The second is from Mao #288: “By Heaven all is seen; Its charge is not easy to hold.” Translations are from Arthur Waley, trans., *The Book of Songs: The Ancient Chinese Classic of Poetry* (New York: Grove Press, 1960), 261 and 234.
 22. *Zhongshu sheren* is translated by Hucker as “Drafter in the Secretariat..., principally a handler of central government documents....” Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, 193–94.
 23. Chen Liang is primarily known for his philosophical debates with Zhu Xi (1130–1154). Carsun Chang offers a slightly different version of Chen’s motivations than that attributed by Du Jun to Hu Zhengyan. Chen presented memorials on revitalizing the government in 1169 and again in 1178. He was eventually offered a minor position but refused, saying “What I want to do is to carry out a policy.” In other words, he wanted a position of greater authority. See Carsun Chang, *The Development of Neo-Confucian Thought* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1957), 312.
 24. Du, *Bianyatang wen ji*, vol. 2, j. 5:18a–20a.
 25. An edition of *Zhuanshu zheug*, apparently a later reprint from Shizhuzhai blocks, can be found in the East Asian Library, Princeton University.
 26. See prefaces by Han Shi 韓詩 and Du Jun, and postfaces by Wu Qi 吳奇 and Peng Yuan 彭源, in Hu Zhengyan, *Yincun chuji* 印存初集, vol. 1091 of *Xuxin siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1995–99), 361, 365, 416, and 417. The definition of “*zhonghan*” is from Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, 190.
 27. Wang Bomin states that this text was preserved in Japan in a manuscript copy transcribed by one of Cheng’s students, Lu Dingfang 陸定方. A small number of photographic copies of the fragmentary text were published, of which Wang saw one. The most complete information on this text can be found in Wang Bomin, “*Menwai oulu chu shi*” 「門外偶錄」初識 (First impressions of *Menwai oulu*), *Da gong bao* 大公報, February 20, 1966.
 28. For example, in *Wanli yehuo bian* 萬曆野獲編, Shen Defu 沈德符 (1578–1642) writes that the Xuanzong 宣宗 emperor (r. 1426–35) offered this title to a group of calligraphers whose duties included writing paired couplets to be pasted on either side of doorway. Sung Hou-mei, “The Formation of the Ming Painting Academy,” *Ming Studies* 29 (Spring 1990): 37.
 29. The characteristics and history of the *pian* 片 form are detailed in William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed and comp., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1986), 656–60.
 30. An entry on *baguwen* is included in Nienhauser, *The Indiana Companion*, 641–43.
 31. This book is available in a modern reprint: Hu Zhengxin and Hu Zhengyan, *Wanbing yanfang* (Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1991).
 32. The forward to the modern edition of *Wanbing yanfang* states that the text is also known as *Jianyi bei yanfang* 簡易備驗方. Hu and Hu, *Wanbing yanfang*, 3. In his compiled records of Ming-dynasty woodblock printed books, Du Xinfu 杜信孚 includes an entry for *Dingbu Jianyi bei yanfang* dated to Chongzhen 4, or 1631. Du Xinfu, *Mingdai banke zonglu* 明代版刻綜錄 (Collected records of Ming dynasty printed works), 8 *juan* (Yangzhou: Jiangsu guanling guji keyinshe, 1985), j. 1.2b.
 33. Both of these texts are included in the list of Shizhuzhai publications in Chun Shum, “Hu Zhengyan yu Shizhuzhai,” 133. According to Du Xinfu, *Shizhuzhai kan xiuzhenben yishu shisan zhong* is also known by the title *Xue shi yian jiu zhong* 薛氏醫案九種 (Nine medical cases of Master Xue), consisting of medical cases of the early Ming doctor Xue Ji 薛己 (ca. 1488–1558). I am not aware of the whereabouts of extant editions of either of these texts. For a discussion of *shanghan*, “injury by cold,” which in modern usage means typhoid fever, but in traditional texts is broader in

- meaning, see Helen Dunstan, "The Late Ming Epidemics: A Preliminary Survey," *Ch'ing shih wen t'i* 3:3 (November 1975): 23 and 36–40.
34. Ma, "Wan Ming Jinling," 20 n. 5.
 35. For a sampling of the range of prints produced in Nanjing around this time, see Zhou Wu 周蕪, ed., *Jinling gu banhua* 金陵古版畫 (Ancient woodblock prints of Jinling) (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1993).
 36. Woodblock print reproductions of Hu's calligraphy can be found in some of the Shizhuzhai publications. The only extant original work of calligraphy attributed to Hu Zhengyan that is known to me is in the collection of the Shanghai wenwu shangdian 上海文物商店 (Shanghai cultural store), reproduced in *Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianding zu* 中國古代書畫鑒定組, ed., *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 中國古代書畫圖目 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1993), 12:145.
 37. The edition of *Zhuanshu zheng* seen by me, in the East Asian Library of Princeton University, states on the title page that the blocks for this text are owned by Yongkui Studio 永奎齋; this information suggests that this edition may be a later reprint from the original woodblocks.
 38. This 1663 Shizhuzhai edition may be a reissue, possibly with additions. An entry for a Shizhuzhai *Qianwen liushu tongyao* in 2 *juan* published during the Chongzhen period (1628–1644) is included in Du Xinfu's catalogue and in *Xidi shummu* 西諦書目 (Xidi's book catalogue), which catalogues items in Zheng Zhenduo's collection as well as some other texts. Du, *Mingdai banke*, j. 1.3a; and Beijing tushuguan 北京圖書館, ed., *Xidi shummu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1963), j. 1.10a.
 39. The lists of Hu Zhengyan's publications compiled by Chun Shum and by Wang Guichen and Wang Dawen both state that Shizhuzhai produced an edition consisting of both Zhou Boqi's *Shuowen ziyuan* and *Liushu zheng'e*. Chun Shum, "Hu Zhengyan yu Shizhuzhai," 132, and Wang Guichen 王貴忱 and Wang Dawen 王大文, "Hu Zhengyan suo ke tushu jianshu" 胡正言所刻圖書簡述 (A brief account of the books published by Hu Zhengyan), in *Shizhuzhai yanjin wenji* (Collected research papers on Ten Bamboo Studio), ed. Shizhuzhai yishu yanjiubu (Nanjing: Shizhuzhai yishu yanjiubu, 1987), 88.
 40. *Jiao tai yun* is reproduced in volume 251 of *Xuxiu siku quanshu* (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1995–99). Lü Kun's biography is included in L. Carrington Goodrich, ed., *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368–1644* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1976), 1:1006–10.
 41. Du, *Mingdai banke*, j. 1.3a. For information on Mei, see his biography in Goodrich, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, 2:1061–64.
 42. Chun Shum, "Tan Ming Hu shi Shizhuzhai ke ben Chongding Siliu yuanyang pu" 談明胡氏十竹齋刻本《重訂四六鴛鴦譜》, *Dongnan wenhua*, no. 1 (1996): 135–37.
 43. Several woodblock-print reproductions of *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* are available. An excellent version is *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* (Shanghai: Duoyun xuan, 1985?), based on the earliest edition in the National Library of China and an edition in the Liaoning Provincial Museum.
 44. Hu and Hu, *Wanbing yanfang*, preface 1–2.
 45. See "Guochao ducheng tu" 國朝都城圖 (Map of the capital city of the [Ming] dynasty) in Chen Yi 陳沂, *Jinling gujin tukao* 金陵古今圖考 (Ancient and modern pictorial studies of Jinling) (1516; rpt. [Nanjing]: Zhong she, 1929), unpaginated.
 46. Ma, "Wan Ming Jinling," 29–30.
 47. For Qian Shisheng's biography, see Goodrich, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, 1:237–39.
 48. Chun Shum, *Meiguo Hafo daxue*, 153.
 49. Suzanne E. Wright, "Luoxuan biangu jianpu and Shizhuzhai jianpu: Two Late-Ming Catalogues of Letter Paper Designs," *Artibus Asiae* 63.1 (2003): 76 n. 32.
 50. Some of Hu's reasons for producing this catalogue are suggested in the preface to *Shizhuzhai jianpu* written by Li Kegong. For a full translation of this preface, see Suzanne E. Wright, "Visual Communication and Social Identity in Woodblock-Printed Letter Papers of the Late Ming Dynasty" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1999), 47–52.
 51. Zhou Lianggong includes a biography of Chen Danzhong, also known by the name of Chen Minzhao 旻昭 and the Buddhist name of Daoxin 道昕, in his *Duhua lu* 讀書錄 (Record of looking at paintings). Zhou Lianggong, *Duhua lu*, j. 1.8a–9a, in Zhou Lianggong, *Yinren zhuan, Duhua lu, Shuying, Min xiaoji, Tongshu* 印人傳·讀書錄·書影·閩小紀·同書, vol. 342 of *Gugong zhenben congkan* 故宮珍本叢刊, ed. Gugong bowuyuan (Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2000), 39–40. For an English translation, see Hong-nam Kim, "Chou Liang-kung and his 'Tu-hua-lu' (Lives of Painters): Patron-Critic and Painters in Seventeenth Century China" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1985), 28–30. The calligrapher of Du Jun's preface was Gu Mengyou, who wrote the poem for Hu's eightieth birthday.
 52. Han Tianheng 韓天衡 *Lidai yinxue lunwen xuan* 歷代印學論文選, 2 vols. (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 1985), 2:609.

53. Wang Xiangye, “Yincun xu” 印存序 (Preface to *Yincun*), in Hu Zhengyan, *Yincun chuiji*, 366.
54. Zhou, *Yinren zhuan*, j. 1:7b. Wang Guichen and Wang Dawen consider Hu’s *Yin shi* to be a separate publication, and also list a two-juan *Yincun chuiji*, in their own collection, as well as the four-juan edition. They state that the two-juan edition is more or less the same as the first two juan of the four-juan edition. See Wang and Wang, “Hu Zhengyan suo ke tushu jianshu,” 86–87.
55. *Siku quanshu zongmu* (General index of the complete library of four branches of books), in *Wenyuange Siku quanshu dianzi ban* (Hong Kong: Dizhi wenhua chubanshe youxian gongsi, 2004): j. 114.35b. Wang and Wang also note this entry in *Siku quanshu zongmu*, but cite the name of the ink-printed edition as *Yincun xuan lan* 印存玄覽. This may be a typographical error; in any case, a comparison of extant editions of *Yincun chuiji* and *Yincun xuan lan* proves that these were not the same publication, as discussed in my text. Wang and Wang, “Hu Zhengyan suo ke tushu jianshu,” 87.
56. Hu Zhengyan, *Shizhuzhai yinpu* (Seal catalogues of the Ten Bamboo Studio) (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1982?).
57. This falls somewhere in the mid-range of known prices of late Ming books. Evelyn Rawski has calculated the average cost of a printed book in the collection of the Ming book collector Mao Jin 毛晉 as 4.9 *liang* 兩, or ounces, of silver. See Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch’ing China* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1979), 120. However, Mao’s collection included many rare and therefore expensive items, raising the average price. Isobe Akira 磯部彰 gives the prices of three late Ming texts in his article on *Journey to the West*: an edition of the novel *Feng shen yan yi* 封神演義 (Investiture of the gods) at two ounces silver; *Zeng Nanli xiansheng wen ji* 曾南豐先生文集 (The collected writings of Mr. Zeng Nanli) at eight *qian*; and a collection of lyric verse, *Xindiao wanqu changchun* 新調萬曲長春 (A long spring of myriad tunes, newly carved) at one *qian* two *fen* 分. Isobe Akira, “Minmatsu ni okeru Seiyūki no shutaiteki juyōsō ni kansuru kenkyū” 明末における「西游記」の主體的受容層に關する研究 (A study of the primary audience of *Journey to the West* in the late Ming period), *Shūkan Tōyōgaku* 集刊東洋學 44 (October 1980): 55. Ten *qian* equal one *liang*; ten *fen* equal one *qian*.
58. See Hu Yi 胡藝, “Hu Zhengyan shiban yinshu—ji Shizhuzhai linggu zhuanwen fatie” 胡正言石版印書—記《師竹齋臨古專文法帖》, (Hu Zhengyan’s prints from stone blocks—record of *Ten Bamboo Studio* copies of ancient model calligraphy in seal script), *Duoyun*, no. 2 (November 1981): 157–58. This publication is in Hu Yi’s private collection according to Wang and Wang, “Hu Zhengyan suo ke tushu jianshu,” 86.
59. Hu Yi, “Hu Zhengyan shiban yinshu,” 157.
60. Regarding He Zhen’s style of carving, see Qianshen Bai, *Fu Shan’s World: The Transformation of Chinese Calligraphy in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 52–53. Also, Ye Yiwei 葉一葦 gives a brief biography of He and reproduces a number of his seals in *Zhongguo zhuanke de yishu yu jiqiao* 中國篆刻的藝術與技巧 (The art and skill of Chinese seal carving) (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 2004), 34–37.

TABLE

Shizhuzhai or Digutang publications

Several scholars have attempted to inventory the publications of the Ten Bamboo Studio. These include Wang Guichen and Wang Dawen, "Hu Zhengyan suo ke tushu jianshu" (A brief account of the books published by Hu Zhengyan), in *Shizhuzhai yanjiu wenji* (Collected research papers on Ten Bamboo Studio), ed. Shizhuzhai yishu yanjiubu (Nanjing: Shizhuzhai yishu yanjiubu, 1987), 84–90; Ma Meng-ching, "Wenren yaqu yu shangye shufang: Shizhuzhai shuhuapu he jianpu de kanyin yu Hu Zhengyan de chuban shiye" (The refined taste of literati and the book trade: the Printing of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Calligraphy and Painting Manual* and *Letter Paper Catalogue* and Hu Zhengyan's publishing business), *Xin shi xue* 10, no. 3 (September 1999): table 1; and Chun Shum (Shen Jin), "Hu Zhengyan yu Shizhuzhai (Hu Zhengyan and the Ten Bamboo Studio) *Duo yuu* 3, no. 5 (May 1982): 131–34. In the table accompanying my article, an asterisk precedes the titles of those works seen by me, in the original or in reproduction. Works marked with a cross are among those seen by Chun Shum and listed in his article.

Title	Author(s)	Date
* <i>Shizhuzhai shuhuapu</i> 十竹齋書畫譜	Hu Zhengyan 胡正言, ed	1633? ⁱ
* <i>Wanbing yanfang</i> 萬病驗方 (also titled <i>Dingbu Jianyi bei yanfang</i> 訂補簡易備驗方 16 j.)	Hu Zhengxin 胡正心, Hu Zhengyan	1631, 1641
† <i>Shizhuzhai kan xiuzhenben yishu shisan zhong</i> 十竹齋刊袖珍本醫術十三種, 23 j., also titled <i>Xue shi yian jiu zhong</i> 薛氏醫案九種 ⁱⁱ	Hu Zhengxin, ed.	1632
† <i>Shanghan san zhong xiuzhenben</i> ⁱⁱⁱ 傷寒三種袖珍本	Hu Zhengxin, Hu Zhengyan, eds.	1633
* <i>Geyan leibian</i> 格言類編, 6 j.	Hu Zhengyan	1633
* <i>Huang Ming biao zhong ji</i> 皇明表忠記, 10 j., <i>shou</i> 首 1 j., <i>fulu</i> 附錄 1 j.	Qian Shisheng 錢士升 (1575–1652)	1633
* <i>Huang Ming zhaozhi</i> 皇明詔制, 10 j.	Kong Zhenyun 孔貞運 (1576–1644), ed. Hu Zhengyan, supervised carving	1634 ^{iv}
* <i>Siliu yuanyang pu</i> 四六鴛鴦譜, 6 j. ^v	Su Yan 蘇琰 (j.s. 1613) Hu Zhengyan, collated	1634
* <i>Liushu zheng'e</i> 六書正譌, 5 j. ^{vi} (<i>Shuowen ziyuan</i> 說文字原, 1 j.)	Zhou Boqi 周伯琦 (1298–1369) Hu Zhengyan, verified and carved	1634 ^{vii}
* <i>Shi tan</i> 詩譚 10 j., <i>xulu</i> 續錄 1 j.	Ye Tingxiu 葉廷秀 (d. 1646) Hu Zhengxin, Zhengyan, Zhengxing 胡正行, collators	1635
* <i>Gu jin shi yuzui</i> 古今詩餘醉, 15 j.	Pan Youlong 潘游龍, Ming Hu Zhengyan, collated and carved	1636

† <i>Gujin ci ming da</i> 古今辭命達, 8 j.	Hu Zhengxin, comp. Hu Zhengyan, collated and verified Fan Wenguang 范文光, ed.	1639 ^{viii}
* <i>Siliu xiasi</i> 四六霞肆, 16 j. ^{ix}	He Weiran 何偉然, comp. Hu Zhengyan, collated and carved	1640 ^x
* <i>Paitong fuyu</i> 牌統浮玉, 4 j.	Zhong Li yushi 鍾離迂士 (Qiyunzi 栖筠子) Hu Zhengyan, collated and wrote preface	1640
* <i>Sishu dingben bianzheng</i> 四書定本辨正	Hu Zhengxin, Zhengyan edited and corrected	1640-1
* <i>Shizhuzhai jianpu</i> 詩竹齋箋譜	Hu Zhengyan	1644, reissued 1645
* <i>Shufa bi ji</i> 書法必稽, 1 j.	Hu Zhengyan, collected and verified	Undated, Chongzhen?
* <i>Su Mi tan shi guang</i> 蘇米譚史廣, 6 j. ^{xi}	Guo Hua 郭化 (Ming) Hu Zhengyan, collator	Undated, Chongzhen?
* <i>Leixuan Tangshi zhudao weiji</i> 類選唐詩助道微機, 6 j.: <i>Zhu dao weiji huo wenji</i> 助道微機或文紀, 1 j. <i>Shao Kangjie xiansheng shi chao</i> 邵康節先生詩抄, 1 j. <i>Yang Cihu xiansheng shi chao</i> 楊慈湖先生詩抄, 1 j.	Zhou Rudeng 周汝登 (j.s. Wanli 5) Fang Ruqi 方如騏 (Ming), ed. Shao Yong 邵雍 (1101–1177) Yang Jian 楊簡 (1141–1226) Hu Zhengyan, two colophons	Undated, Chongzhen?
† <i>Yunfa hengtu</i> 韻法橫圖, 1 j., <i>Yunfa zhitu</i> 韻法直圖, 1 j.	Li Jiashao 李嘉紹 (fl. 1614) Mei Yingzuo 梅膺祚 (fl. 1570–1615)	Undated, Chongzhen?
* <i>Jiao tai yun</i> 交泰韻, 2 j. ^{xii}	Lü Kun 呂坤 (1536–1618) Hu Zhengxin, Zhengyan, and Zhengxing, participated	Undated, Chongzhen?
* <i>Yincun chuji</i> 印存初集, 2 j. and 4 j. (Originally titled <i>Yin shi</i> 印史; versions in black ink alone titled <i>Yuan shang</i> 元賞 or <i>Yincun yuan lan</i> 印存元覽) ^{xiii}	Carved by Hu Zhengyan Sequenced by Hu Qipu 其樸 and Hu Qiyi 其毅	1647 ^{xiv}
<i>Shizhuzhai lingzhu zhuanwen fatie fatie</i> 十竹齋臨古篆文法帖 ^{xv}	Hu Zhengyan Hu Qiyi and Hu Qipu, collated	1656, or later
* <i>Zhuanshu zheng</i> 篆書正, 4 j.	Dai Mingyue 戴明說 (j.s. 1634), comp. Hu Zhengyan, collated and wrote colophon	1657 Digutang
* <i>Yincun xuan lan</i> 印存玄覽, 4 j.	Hu Zhengyan, carved Hu Qiyi and Hu Qipu, collated	1660–61 Digutang
* <i>Hu shi zhuan cao</i> 胡氏篆草, 1 j. or 2 j. ^{xvi}	Hu Zhengyan, <i>zhuan</i>	1663, or later? Shizhuzhai/ Digutang
* <i>Qianwen liushu tongyao</i> 千文六書統要 2 j.; <i>Zhuanfa pianpang zheng'e ge</i> 篆法偏旁正譌哥, 1 j.	Li Deng 李登 (fl. 1593) Li Zhongqing 李仲卿 and Li Xiangyan 李香巖 authenticated and verified Hu Zhengyan, edited and carved	1663 ^{xvii}

TABLE NOTES

- i. See note 1 for information about the dating of this publication. There are two publications attributed to Hu Zhengyan that may be individually published sections of *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* or may have once formed part of the complete catalogue but have been separated from the other volumes: *Shi pu* 石譜 (Catalogue of Rocks), 1 *juan*, in the *Zhongguo guojia tushuguan* (formerly the Beijing tushuguan), and *Liyunguan zhu pu* 梨雲館竹譜 (Catalogue of bamboo from the Pear Cloud Hall), 1 *juan*. See Wang and Wang, "Hu Zhengyan suo ke tushu jianshu," 86.
- ii. According to Du Xinfu, *Shizhuzhai kan xiuzhenben yishu shisan zhong* and *Xue Shi yian jiu zhong* are the same work. Du Xinfu, *Mingdai banke zonghu* (Collected records of Ming dynasty printed works), 8 *juan* (Yangzhou: Jiangsu guanling guji keyinshe chubanshu, 1985), 1.2b.
- iii. Chun Shum not only includes *Shanghan sanzhang* in his list of *Shizhuzhai* publications, but also quotes extensively from Hu Zhengyan's preface to *Shanghan biyao* 傷寒秘要, one of the three texts included in this compilation. Chun Shum, "Hu Zhengyan yu Shizhuzhai": 132, 133.
- iv. The last entry of the edition of *Huang Ming zhaozhi* in the Harvard-Yenching Library seen by me is dated Chongzhen 8 (1635), but the style of carving of the last few entries is different from most of the text, and these appear to be a later addition.
- v. This title is in the Fung Ping Shan Library, Hong Kong University. Chun Shum, "Tan Ming Hu shi Shizhuzhai ke ben *Chongding siliu yuanyang pu*" *Dongnan wenhua*, no. 1 (1996): 135–37.
- vi. The lists of Hu Zhengyan's publications compiled by Chun Shum and by Wang Guichen and Wang Dawen each state that *Shizhuzhai* produced an edition consisting of both Zhou Boqi's *Liushu zheng'e* and *Shuowen ziyuan*. Chun Shum, "Hu Zhengyan yu Shizhuzhai," 132, and Wang and Wang, "Hu Zhengyan suo ke tushu jianshu," 88. However, the Ming edition of *Liushu zheng'e* seen by me in the East Asian Library, Princeton University, and two Qing editions that appear to be printed from the same blocks do not have *Shuowen ziyuan* appended.
- vii. An edition of *Liushu zheng'e* in the library of the Chinese University of Hong Kong has a date of Chongzhen 7, equivalent to 1634, according to the library database. The *Shizhuzhai* edition in the East Asian Library, Princeton University does not bear this date, however.
- viii. Chun Shum gives Hu Zhengxin as the author and dates the text to Chongzhen. A copy in the East Asian Library, Princeton University identifies Fan Wenguang and Hu Zhengyan as participants in its publication and has a preface by Fan of 1639.
- ix. A *Shizhuzhai* edition of *Siliu xiasi* in the collection of the Zhejiang library is reproduced in volume 223 of *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書 (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe chubanshe, 1997), 1–449.
- x. An edition of this work in the collection of the Chinese University of Hong Kong is given the date of 1640 in library databases. Elsewhere it is dated only to the Chongzhen period.
- xi. A *Shizhuzhai* edition of *Su Mi tan shi guang* in the collection of a branch of the National Library of China is reproduced in volume 85 of the *shi bu* (history section) of *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, ed. *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu bianzuan weiyuanhui* 四庫全書存目叢書編纂委員會 (Liuying xiang, Taiwan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1996), 1–70.

- xii. A Shizhuzhai edition of *Jiao tai yuu* in the collection of the Nanjing library is reproduced in volume 251 of *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, ed. *Xuxiu siku quanshu bianzuan weiyuanhui* 續修四庫全書編纂委員會 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995–99), 459–93.
- xiii. See note 35 regarding the various titles given this publication. There are, apparently, two- and four-*juan* versions of *Yincun chuiji*. All of the versions that I have seen—the editions in the National Library of China and the Harvard-Yenching Library as well as reproductions of an edition in the Zhejiang library and another of unknown provenance are in four *juan*. The latter two are found in Hu Zhengyan, *Shizhuzhai yinpu* (Seal catalogues of the Ten Bamboo Studio) (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1982?), unpaginated, and volume 1091 of *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, ed. *Xuxiu siku quanshu bianzuan weiyuanhui* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995–99), 357–418, respectively. Wang and Wang state that they owned a two-*juan* version that was almost identical in content to the first two *juan* of a four-*juan* edition in the Zhongshan library, Guangdong, but with the seal impressions printed in black rather than in red. A two-*juan* edition was also recorded in *Siku quanshu zongmu*; the entry says the *Yincun chuiji* was printed in red, while the version printed in black alone was known as *Yincun yuan lan* (First view of seals preserved). *Siku quanshu zongmu* (General index of the complete library of four branches of books), in *Wenyuange Siku quanshu dianzi ban* 文淵閣四庫全書電子版 (Hong Kong: Dizhi wenhua chuban youxian gongsi, 2004): j. 114.35b. However, Zhou Lianggong said that editions printed in black ink alone were titled *Yuan shang* (Great treasure). Zhou, *Yinren zhuan*, 1:7b.

- Wang and Wang also state that the *Siku quanshu zongmu* gives the title of the ink-printed edition as *Yincun xuan lan*. There is extant a four-*juan* edition of *Yincun xuan lan* originally published in 1660 and reproduced in vol. 1091 of *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1995–99), 419–74. Wang Guichen and Wang Dawen note the existence of this four-*juan* edition but had not seen it at the time of publication of their article and were not sure how its contents compared with the other seal impression catalogues published by Hu. Wang and Wang, “Hu Zhengyan suo ke tushu jianshu,” 87. A comparison of this with *Yincun chuiji* reveals substantial differences between the two. *Yincun xuan lan* reproduces Wang Xiangye’s preface from the earlier publication, but also contains new prefaces by Chen Shitai (j.r. 1630, *zi Jiaofu*) and Ji Yingzhong (*zi Bozi*). Also, a comparison of the first *juan* of each catalogue, each page of which bears two large seal impressions, with transliterations of their legends, proves that they have only a single seal imprint in common.
- xiv. The volume of *Yincun chuiji* included in the exhibition “Word as Image,” a reproduction of which appears with this article, is dated to 1661, according to the exhibition catalogue. See Jason C. Kuo, *Word as Image: The Art of Chinese Seal Engraving* (New York: China Institute in America, 1992), 66 and 84. All volumes of this text seen by me bear dates of 1647; the Hu family frequently reissued texts, however, sometimes with changes in content.
- xv. According to Hu Yi this volume consists of prints taken from stone carvings of calligraphic writings by Hu Zhengyan. Hu Yi, “Hu Zhengyan shiban yinshu—ji *Shizhuzhai lin gu zhuanwen fatie*” (Hu Zhengyan’s prints from stone blocks—

- record of *Ten Bamboo Studio* copies ancient calligraphic models in seal script), *Duoyun*, no. 2 (November 1981): 157–8. This publication is in Hu Yi’s private collection according to Wang and Wang, “Hu Zhengyan suo ke tushu jianshu,” 86.
- xvi. *Hu shi zhuan cao* seems to exist in both 1-*juan* and 2-*juan* versions. See my text, pages 141–42.
- xvii. This may be a reissue of a Chongzhen period text, with additions. See note 38.

APPENDIX

Text A

為國子監上舍生。南京禮部檄令纂輯詔制全書較刊。欽頒小學表忠記諸書。以勞咨銓部當授翰林院職。未赴。而京師陷。

逸史曰。當金陵之建。士大夫奔走勢要如鶩。雖自號東林老宿。不難反顏攻正人。以冀馬阮之憐而收之。其後卒獻國以自媚。正言試官中書。得日與樞輔接席。豈非趨名位者一機哉。而囂囂然不顧。寧屏居守正。而以窮死。其抱歲寒之節者歟。夫貧名敗檢之夫。叢集于上。而堅貞直諒者。泯沒以老。此世之所以終否也。

Text B

余所以深服翁者翁忠愛骨鯁負倣儻之畫策。非常人也。當甲申之歲天崩地坼亡其六璽。時留京立君。封拜紛然。須璽書急無有。翁素精籀斯法而身在輦下。目擊新政無終歲之計。乃作而歎曰斯何時哉而可以如此乎。吾觀自古國家不幸而遭難則太學諸生往往忘軀效忠。吾其有以處此矣。於是齋戒致誠閉閣考古。手鐫御寶而撰大寶箴一篇。籍寶以獻蓋其用意在箴不在寶也。言甚切直。尤足慨者。謂祖宗大寶自天啟七年以來為宦豎所弄。寶墜於地。雖繼以明聖有堯禹之憂勤而獨力無輔。僅能援既墜之寶。至於十七載而終於不能久留。以有今日則今日當何如痛心疾首祈天永命用光復此寶。易曰開國承家小人勿用。詩曰天難諶斯命不易哉。守寶之道在斯而已。其略如此。不作韻語慮弗省覽也。既得上諭所司收新寶而官本生中書舍人以示恩獎。然意在寶不在箴矣。改弦易轍無聞也。翁語所親曰昔南宋陳亮上書言天下大計。朝廷不能用。議量與一官。亮不受曰吾欲為國家開數百年之基。豈用以博一官乎。即日渡江東歸。吾雖才不逮亮而所遭適類是。天下事真不可為矣。自是遂絕口不及世務。

Text C

餽板有三難。畫須大雅又入時眸。。。其次則鐫忌剽輕尤嫌痴鈍易失本藁之神。又次則印拘成灋不悟心裁恐損天然之韻。去其三疵備乎眾美而後大巧出焉。然虛衷靜氣輕財任能主人之精神獨有。籠罩於三者之上而瀾漫其間者是譜也。

Text D

有十數人不以工匠【相?】稱朝夕研討十年如一日。諸良工技藝亦日益加精。。。良工十指皆工具也。指肉捺印有別。指甲指尖有別於姆指也。初版尤可見曰從指紋。豈不妙哉!

THE WORLD'S A STAGE

The Theatricality of Chen Hongshou's Figure Painting

Abstract

Theatricality, which characterizes much of Chen Hongshou's (1599–1652) figure painting, brings out the complexity of his art in a playful yet poignant manner. This essay explores the ways in which the theatrical devices of Chinese opera inspired him to create innovative pictorial strategies to critique or comment on society, culture, and his personal predicament. Special emphasis is placed on the use of figural dramatization to convey a sense of irony. Underlying Chen's approach was the contemporary view that the world is a stage and people are occasional actors. The origin, nature, and implications of his ironic portrayal of historical personages are best understood as a reflection of late Ming historical revisionism. Contrary to their scholarly images in the existing painting tradition, Chen portrayed them as self-conscious actors in order to point up the inconsistencies between their public personae and their private selves.

THE LATE MING PERIOD (1368–1644) marked a high point in the history of Chinese painting, when the arts of the literati interacted with those produced for a much broader audience in a vital and sophisticated way. The figure painting of Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (1599–1652) is representative of this permeability of boundaries.¹ His art, among the most original and complex of the period according to traditional and modern critics alike, has often been described as strange or extraordinary.² Besides natural ingenuity, scholars have related his distinctive style to the rise of archaism, to exposure to Western and Japanese arts, and to visual stimulation from contemporary theater and woodblock illustrations.³ This essay explores the ways in which operatic performance inspired new strategies to broaden the expressiveness of his figure painting, especially the use of a theatrical style to convey a sense of irony.

In discussing Chen Hongshou's portraiture, James Cahill points to the self-conscious mannerism in some of Chen's subjects, and emphasizes the irony imbedded in such figural theatricality as key to grasping the meaning of those paintings.⁴ Richard Vinograd convincingly demonstrates "the presence of the theatrical," which includes "the masklike exaggeration" of the figures' facial expressions, their "conscious posturing," their awareness of the external viewer, and the analogy of the pictorial space to the stage.⁵ Equally importantly, Li-ling Hsiao, Xu Wenmei, and Tamara Heimarck Bentley firmly link certain new features in the woodblock illustrations of the Wanli period (1573–1619) and by Chen Hongshou to the stage performance of contemporary theater, which will be discussed in greater detail below.⁶

The references to theater in Chen Hongshou's painting grew in diversity and sophistication through time. Building on earlier scholarship, this paper focuses

on Chen's adaptation of the theatrical to the pictorial at a more advanced level than what has been observed in former studies. It argues that underlying Chen's figural dramatization is the contemporary notion that the world is a stage and people are occasional actors. He appropriated devices of operatic performance to comment in pictorial terms on society, culture, and his personal predicament. The origin and nature of the much-discussed irony evident in his historical portraiture is best understood when defined in accord with late Ming historical revisionism. I will begin with a selective introduction to Chen Hongshou's life as it pertains to the topic addressed here. Following this biographical section, the argument consists of three parts. Part I examines Chen's direct citation of theatrical elements in operatic performance. Part II explores more indirect analogies between the painter and the playwright. Part III interprets Chen's dramatization of historical figures in light of the contemporary view of them as actors.

Chen Hongshou's Life

Chen Hongshou was descended from an eminent scholar-official family in Zhuji 諸暨, near Shaoxing 紹興 in Zhejiang Province. Both his great-grandfather and grandfather attained high ranks in the national bureaucracy. His father, however, could not pass the provincial level of the Civil Service Examinations until the year he died, and never served in an official post.⁷ Though still affluent, the social prestige of the Chen family gradually declined. Chen Hongshou showed his talent for painting at a very young age, but his goals were fixed on entering officialdom through the examination system. He passed the prefectural level of the examination in 1618. He registered for the higher Provincial Examination in 1624, and took it in 1627 and 1630, but failed on both occasions.⁸ His political aspiration, however, remained strong. From 1631 to 1633 and from 1640 to 1643 he was in the capital, presumably to find an alternative route to becoming an official.⁹ He purchased a studentship at the Imperial Academy in 1642, which led to the offer of a position as painter-in-attendance. He turned it down probably because his goal was political rather than artistic, and the position was not a respectable one due to its close association with eunuchs.¹⁰ Chen eventually returned home in 1643. Less than a year later, the alien Manchus took over the Ming regime. When they sacked his hometown in the summer of 1646, he lost his family property and lived as a monk in a Buddhist monastery for a few months to survive the chaos. Afterwards he returned to Shaoxing and then Hangzhou, and lived as a professional painter until he died in 1652.¹¹

Without civil service qualification and the necessary social connections, Chen Hongshou could hardly associate with the cultural elite on an equal footing. At the age of thirty-three in 1631, he deplored the fact that he was not entitled to the

status of a gentleman (*junzi* 君子).¹² In a number of writings he complained that people in his social and familial circles slighted him.¹³ After the fall of the Ming, selling art became his sole livelihood. This new status of professional artist, making profit through what was considered a gentlemanly pursuit, alienated him even further from elite circles. The moderate breakdown of the traditional social hierarchy in the late Ming hardly changed people's view of professional artists as a lowly class—a view, ironically, endorsed by Chen Hongshou himself.¹⁴ In the 1672 edition of the gazetteer of Zhuji, the earliest one compiled after Chen's death, he was listed in the lowest category, that of artisans (*fangji* 方伎), rather than that of scholars or literate men.¹⁵ Although he had been acquainted with a few eminent officials, notably Qi Biaoqia 祁彪佳 (1602–1645), Ni Yuanlu 倪元璐 (1593–1644), and Zhou Lianggong 周亮工 (1612–1672), the former two died during the dynastic change and Zhou was serving in Yangzhou and Fujian from 1645 to the mid-1650s.¹⁶

Repeated frustrations in political pursuits drove Chen Hongshou to seek sensuous distractions whenever possible. Opera, originally a crude entertainment for the masses, had by this time become a respectable art of great sophistication and refinement that appealed to people from every stratum of society.¹⁷ Wealthy families, like those of his close friends Zhang Dai 張岱 (1597–1680/81) and Qi Zhijia 祁豸佳 (1594–after 1682), kept private troupes that performed on seasonal festivals and family occasions.¹⁸ Zhang Dai moonlighted as an amateur playwright; Qi Zhijia personally taught his favorite singer.¹⁹ Chen Hongshou's life was intimately involved with theater. He exchanged his calligraphy and paintings for admissions to operatic performances, and taught his sons to sing ditties from operas.²⁰ He mingled with actors and musicians, and illustrated and wrote heart-felt commentaries for contemporary publications of plays.²¹ In his preface to the drama *Jiao Hongji* 嬌紅記 (The Love Story of Jiaoniang), Chen wrote,

Nowadays there are people who gather disciples and give lectures. Their solemn words and righteous arguments prohibit people from vicious deeds, but everyone ridicules and laughs at them. Actors present their performances. Their joy, laments, sorrow, and tears alter people's temperament instantly. Good people all champion virtue; bad people all condemn evil. Obviously, the teaching of a hundred masters of the Way cannot match the power of a single actor.²²

More than mere entertainment, opera for Chen Hongshou had an edifying function that could have a powerful influence on people.

To many late Ming intellectuals, theater offered a new way of viewing the world.

Li Zhi 李贄 (1527–1602), a highly influential thinker of the late Ming period,²³ once commented,

Theater is acting, but it has to look real. As to the real, why not see it as theater? Nowadays, theater is considered only acting [not real], while reality is considered only real [not acting]. Both views are wrong.²⁴

Li Zhi had a great following in his late years. His writings became extremely popular in the first half of the seventeenth century, despite being officially banned in 1602 and again in 1625.²⁵ His view on theater foregrounded the issue of authenticity. It inspired people to redefine the nature of reality and acting, and to note that ordinary people are occasionally actors in real life.

The interpenetration of theater and real life in the late Ming was most vividly recorded by Zhang Dai. His *Tao'an mengyi* 陶庵夢憶 (Dream recollections of Tao'an) is one of the best sources on late Ming cultural life. He related with pride how he once had his family troupe perform in a famous monastery after midnight without notifying the monks in advance and left without explanation; the monks were left wondering whether the performers were humans or ghosts, the singing and music acting or real ritual.²⁶ In another entry he recorded how a fabulous actor became known as the character he played, while his real name was forgotten.²⁷ The most telling account appears in "West Lake on the Fifteenth of the Seven Month."²⁸ Zhang distinguished five types of moon-gazers. Only the last one really watched the moon, while the majority went to the Lake to watch people and to be watched. West Lake became a natural stage buzzing with actors and onlookers, and people shifted easily between the two roles. Acting, under such circumstances, is a fact of life, more inevitable than immoral. Zhang Dai himself apparently went to the Lake to watch people under the pretense of moon-gazing. Chen Hongshou was close to Zhang Dai before the Manchu conquest, and may have shared Zhang's view that the world is a stage.²⁹

More importantly, some late Ming scholars recognized that people were occasional actors in real life, and that this applied to the ancients as well as to those living in the present. In his preface to Zhong Xing's 鍾惺 (1574–1625) *Shi huai* 史懷 (Meditations on History), Zou Zhilin 鄒之麟 (*jinshi* 1610) discussed history in theatrical terms. He wrote,

History ... is a compilation of actors on stage through thousands of years and the judgments of their audiences through thousands of years. ... The theatrical performances through thousands of years are the visible projections of the [players'] minds.³⁰



1
Chen Hongshou, *Raising the Siege* (Jie wei), 1639–1640. Woodblock illustration to *Xixiang ji*. Two of twenty pages, each 20.6 x 13.5 cm, varying slightly. Zhejiang Provincial Museum. After Wan-go Weng, *Chen Hongshou: His Life & Art* (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1997), vol. 3, 124–25.

In other words, historical personages were perceived as wary of the judgmental gaze of posterity. Implicit in this view is a skepticism of these individuals' public images, which underlies Chen Hongshou's portrayals of some of them.

I. Direct Theatrical Citations: Appropriation of Actor's Image

The characterization and the positioning of the figures in some of Chen Hongshou's paintings suggest a direct link to theatrical performance. He also used more complex strategies to adapt the theatrical to the pictorial to express, not just mood or casual thoughts, but intellectual ideas.

Before turning to the theatricality of Chen Hongshou's figure painting, it is important to summarize the appropriations of specific features of late Ming opera in the woodblock drama illustrations of the Wanli period (1573–1619) and in Chen's own designs for such prints. As Li-ling Hsiao demonstrates in her brilliant study on this subject, the format of certain Wanli-period illustrations, in which the title of the scene was written horizontally across the top of the picture and a couplet written in a pair of vertical columns sometimes placed at the left and right frame, may have derived from the actual stage design of contemporary theater. The stylized postures and gestures of the figures and their viewer-oriented poses,



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2
Chen Hongshou, "The Lesser Master of Fate (Shaosiming)," from *The Nine Songs*, 1616. Woodblock illustration printed in 1639, 20 x 13.2 cm, Shanghai Library. After Wan-go Weng, *Chen Hongshou: His Life & Art* (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1997), vol. 2, 15.



3

3
Chen Hongshou, "Mistress of the Xiang River (Xiang Furen)," from *The Nine Songs*, 1616, woodblock illustration printed in 1639, 20 x 13.2 cm. Shanghai Library. After Wan-go Weng, *Chen Hongshou: His Life & Art* (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1997), vol. 2, 14.



4

4
Chen Hongshou, "The Soul of Ritual (Li hun)," from *The Nine Songs*, 1616, woodblock illustration printed in 1639, 20 x 13.2 cm. Shanghai Library. After Wan-go Weng, *Chen Hongshou: His Life & Art* (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1997), vol. 2, 18.

in scenes in which they should be responding to each other, recall the image of actors on stage. And elements in illustrations sometimes directly refer to the stage structure and props.³¹

Xu Wenmei's and Tamara Heimarck Bentley's studies on Chen Hongshou's designs for prints establish their connection with theatrical performance. As Xu points out, in his illustration to *Xixiang ji* 西廂記 (The romance of the Western Chamber) Chen depicted only one episode for each chapter. This corresponds to a common operatic practice of performing selective scenes rather than an entire play.³² Not only did Chen endow his figures with stylized postures for dramatic effect, but he also evoked particular character traits of certain figures by exaggerating their costumes, a practice customarily seen on stage. In his illustration to "Raising the Siege," for instance, the military figure at the left is distorted into an s-curve by the disproportionately large armor on his belly (fig. 1). The costume was exaggerated, as in a theatrical performance, to enhance the personal quality of prowess and dignity.³³

Bentley identifies the particular hand gestures and "acrobatic maneuvers" of several figures in Chen Hongshou's *Shuihu* 水滸 cards as taken directly from stage performance.³⁴ Similar appropriations of theatrical props and poses characterize Chen's *Xixiang ji* illustrations. The "heart-protecting mirror" worn by the general and his attendant in the above-mentioned scene is one of the accessories prescribed for military characters on stage (see fig. 1).³⁵ The pointing gesture of the index finger and the positioning of the feet of the figure at the left also conform to codified operatic poses.³⁶

As Hsiao and other scholars demonstrate, late Ming woodblock illustrations to drama evidently and frequently allude to stage performance. It was a practice that Chen Hongshou knew well and adopted in his own illustration designs. It was only natural that he cited features of theater in his figure painting as well. Such citations can be direct or indirect. The direct ones, I suggest, took two forms: figures viewed from the back, and the mannered style of the images. The former



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Chen Hongshou, "Hua Rong," from warriors in *The Water Margin*, ca. 1616, album of 40 leaves, ink on paper, 12.6 x 5.3 cm. Private collection. After Wang-guo Weng, *Chen Hongshou: His Life & Art* (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1997), vol.3, 3.



6

Chen Hongshou, "Lei Heng," from warriors in *The Water Margin*, ca. 1616, album of 40 leaves, ink on paper, 12.6 x 5.3 cm. Private collection. After Wang-guo Weng, *Chen Hongshou: His Life & Art*, Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1997), vol.3, 3.

Chen Hongshou, "Xie Zhen," from warriors in *The Water Margin*, ca. 1616, album of 40 leaves, ink on paper, 12.6 x 5.3 cm. Private collection. After Wang-guo Weng, *Chen Hongshou: His Life & Art* (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1997), vol.3, 4.

Chen Hongshou, "Zhang Shun," from warriors in *The Water Margin*, ca. 1616, album of 40 leaves, ink on paper, 12.6 x 5.3 cm. Private collection. After Wang-guo Weng, *Chen Hongshou: His Life & Art* (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1997), vol.3, 8.



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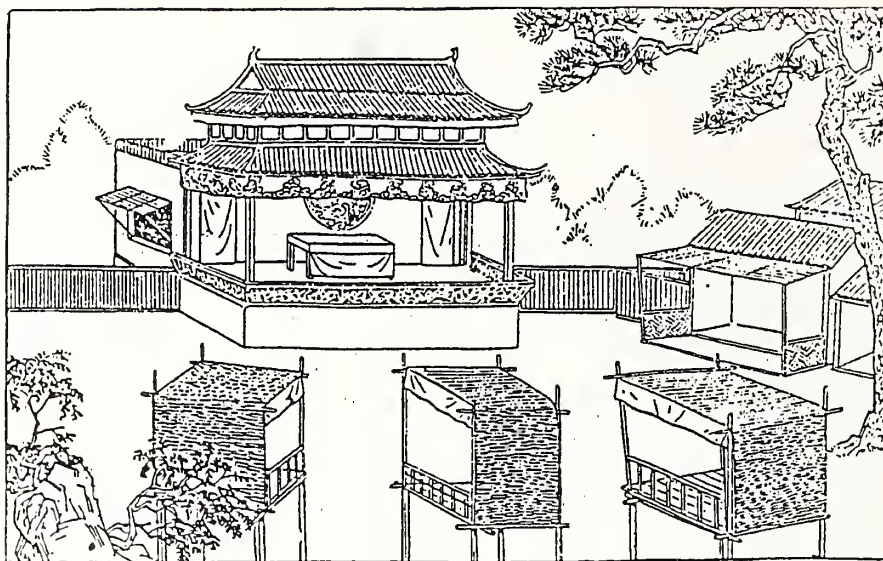


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is exemplified in a group of imaginary portraits of deities and heroes that presents the subjects in full or nearly full back view. Since standard portraiture relies on a frontal view to establish the subject's identity, Chen's back view portraits are baffling. In earlier paintings, mainly of the Tang dynasty (618–907), figures occasionally appear in back view in order to fulfill certain narrative functions, such as interacting with other figures or watching something of interest in the painting. But there is no perceptible narrative in the portraits by Chen Hongshou. The subjects simply turn their backs on us, either standing still or moving toward the blank background.

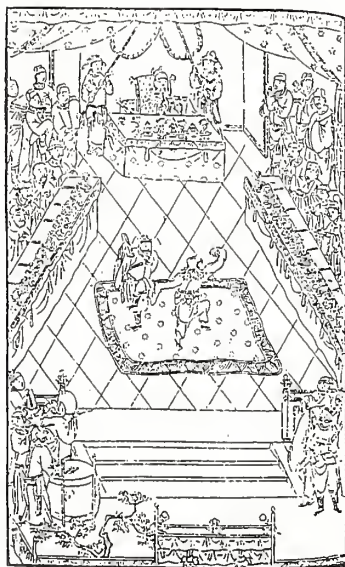
Chen Hongshou broke this convention of portraiture repeatedly. In his illustrations to *Jiu ge* 九歌 (The nine songs, 1616), one of the nine mythological deities appears in full back view (fig. 2) and two in nearly full back view (figs. 3, 4). In his portraits of the warriors in *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳 (The water margin, ca. 1616), one appears in full back view (fig. 5) and three in nearly full back view (figs. 6–8). His persistence suggests deliberate experiment with novel visual effects.

Chen Hongshou's innovation may have been inspired by operatic performance. Chinese opera was performed on two types of stages during the Ming and Qing periods. One was an outdoor platform of brick or wood, rectangular in shape.³⁷ While this stage could be open on four sides, the back was usually blocked from view. A backstage was marked off from the front stage by a temporary wall or a curtain, through which two gates were made for actors to enter and exit (fig. 9).³⁸ The other type was set in an indoor tavern or banquet hall. The dining tables were arranged in a "U" shape surrounding the stage in the center (fig. 10). The fourth side, like the back wall of the platform-stage, was left open to serve as entrance and exit.³⁹ The stage was usually empty except for a table and two chairs in certain scenes. Actors, having finished their part in a scene, had to turn around to exit. The exiting procedures were as carefully choreographed as all other movements on stage, and the actors' back views made powerful, distinctive images against



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Drawing from an 1805 reprint of a seventeenth-century Chinese theater stage. After Wang Anqi, *Mingdai chuanqi zhi juchang ji qi yishu* (Taipei: Taiwan Xuesheng Shuju, 1986), 31, fig. 8.



10
Woodblock illustration of an imperial banquet scene in *The Water Margin* edited by Yang Dingjian, 1614. After Wang Anqi, *Mingdai chuanqi zhi juchang ji qi yishu* (Taipei: Taiwan Xuesheng Shuju, 1986), 23, fig. 1.

the empty stage. The subjects of Chen Hongshou's back-view portraits sometimes appear more elaborate than those presented in frontal or side views. Even though their faces are not visible, their postures, costumes, and specific accessories make their identity unmistakable. Set against a blank ground, their poses recall the exit movements of actors on stage.⁴⁰ The hidden faces of the deities and warriors thwart the viewer's instinct to identify people by their facial features. Their back views thus create a mysterious aura that makes them more intriguing or intimidating than if they were shown from the front.

The other form of direct theatrical citation in Chen Hongshou's painting is his appropriation of actors' gestures and poses. This practice first appears in his prints. But later in his paintings he intensifies the theatricality of his figures by adding a distinct sense of self-consciousness to stylized gestures and poses. A typical example of this kind of theatricality is apparent in his *Scenes from the Life of Tao Yuanming*, an illustration to the biography of the beloved poet Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365–427), painted in 1650, now in the Honolulu Academy of Arts.⁴¹ In popular myth, Tao happily abandons his official career to live close to nature by farming, while indulging himself in poetry and wine. Contrary to the conventional image of Tao as an unassuming recluse,⁴² Chen Hongshou portrays him as a self-conscious actor striking mannered postures in several scenes, as Cahill has observed.⁴³

One such scene, entitled "Relinquishing the official seal," shows Tao Yuanming resigning from his official post after serving only eighty-odd days because he refused to dress up to receive a visiting inspector (fig. 11). Tao is depicted in an exaggerated, theatrical pose. Contrary to expectation, Tao does not face the clerk as he hands over his official seal. Instead, he turns briskly to his left, causing his wide left sleeve and the sashes hanging from his chest to swing backwards in an undulating line. Meanwhile, he tilts up his nose and chin, while throwing back his right arm in a grand sweep to return the seal. It is a calculated display of arrogance and elegance, oriented toward the external viewer rather than the clerk he is addressing. His image recalls the appearance of an actor on stage.

Another section of the scroll entitled "Planting glutinous rice" illustrates a



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11
Chen Hongshou, "Relinquishing the Official Seal," section from *Scenes from the Life of Tao Yuanming*, 1650, hand scroll, ink and light color on silk, 30.3 x 308 cm. Honolulu Academy of Arts, Purchase, 1954 (1912.1).



12

12
Chen Hongshou, "Planting Glutinous Rice," section from *Scenes from the Life of Tao Yuanming*, 1650, hand scroll, ink and light color on silk, 30.3 x 308 cm. Honolulu Academy of Arts, Purchase, 1954 (1912.1).

dispute between Tao Yuanming and his wife over the use of their land (fig. 12). Tao wanted to use his entire official allotment to grow glutinous rice for making wine. It was only after his wife's strong objection that he relented and allowed one-sixth of it to be used to grow regular rice for food. In the painting, Tao raises his left hand in a gesture of contemptuous dismissal, while his wife points her index finger at her uncaring husband. This image of Tao Yuanming is dramatically flip-pant. His head and body are twisted into a contrapposto pose with studied sensual charm. His face, with an exaggerated tilt to one side, is oriented more to the viewer than to the woman with whom he quarrels. The wife's hand gesture is adapted from codified operatic performance. To rest her wrist on the other hand while pointing is an aestheticized movement for actresses rarely seen outside the theater. The pointing index finger is one of a set of standardized gesticulations known collectively as the "Orchid Finger." In a nineteenth-century woodblock illustration to an operatic performance, for instance, the female character at the right employs the same hand gesture (fig. 13).⁴⁴

II. Indirect Theatrical Citations: Painter as Playwright

In some cases Chen Hongshou used indirect, more sophisticated strategies for adapting theatrical devices to painting. In the two handscrolls discussed below, for instance, Chen distinguishes one figure from the rest, making him the pictorial equivalent to the prologue-speaker in a play in one and to the buffoon in the other. It is important to note that the prologue-speaker and the buffoon are the only two dramatic roles that speak in the voice of the playwright. The prologue-speaker summarizes the overall plot and the moral of the play in an authoritative tone at the very beginning, but is not seen or heard from again. The buffoon, while playing a petty character in the play, occasionally turns to the audience to make a humorous but specific comment on the preceding or current action on stage, before resuming his character part. Like the prologue-speaker and the buffoon, who relate the author's viewpoint, the lone figures in Chen Hongshou's two paintings interject his.



13

13
Scene in "Battle at Wancheng," woodblock illustration to operatic performance produced by the Yangliuqing Workshop, Beijing, nineteenth century. After *Jingju banhua*, comp. Wang Shucun (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe), 25.



14

14

Chen Hongshou, *An Elegant Gathering*, ca. 1646–47, hand scroll, ink on paper, 29.8 x 298.4 cm. Shanghai Museum.

The hand scroll entitled *An Elegant Gathering*, presumably painted between the ninth and the eleventh month of 1646, depicts in a garden setting a gathering of nine men active at the turn of the seventeenth century, each identified by an inscription near his image (fig. 14).⁴⁵ The group, composed of eight scholars and officials and a Buddhist monk, is centered around the eminent Yuan brothers, who were pious Buddhists and founders of the Gong'an 公安 School of poetry.⁴⁶ Each sits or stands in a different pose and, with the exception of the hooded figure at the center, has individualized facial features. The faces of the two Yuans, Hongdao 袁宏道 (1568–1610) and Zongdao 袁宗道 (1560–1600), who sit at the left end, even exhibit a certain familial resemblance as well as distinction of age between them.⁴⁷

A tall tree divides the composition into two uneven sections. The presence of the tree, with its roots and top extending beyond the picture frame and its dark foliage making a stark tonal contrast with the rest of the painting, is emphatically disruptive. The main section to its left features eight men sitting in a semi-circle around an icon of a bodhisattva with a sutra-reader at the center.⁴⁸ Completely cut off from this group by the tree is a lone figure at the beginning of the scroll (at the right end).

Not only is this man physically removed from the others, but his image is also characterized differently (fig. 15). In terms of posture, he sits with his back to the self-absorbed group behind the tree. Instead of looking at the sutra-reader like the others, he turns his head to his right to gaze out toward the external viewer. In the



use of personal accessories, he is noticeably plainer than the others. He wears a most basic hairclip without a cap, while each of the other scholars wears a prominent cap of different shape. Even the monk, to the right of the sutra-reader, is finely dressed in a patterned robe with decorated bands and a rope belt with delicate tassel. As to pose, the men in the circle either stand or sit on a mat, while the lone figure sits on a chair with high rattan back on top of a mat, which accords him a more authoritative status. As Cahill points out, Chen Hongshou modeled his composition of this painting on earlier depictions of the Lotus Society, a group of monks and laymen devoted to Pure Land Buddhism allegedly founded by the Buddhist abbot Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416) at the monastery on Mount Lu.⁴⁹ Several depictions of the Lotus Society circulated in the late Ming period.⁵⁰ In the one attributed to Li Gonglin 李公麟 (ca. 1049–1106), now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., the master sits on such a chair on a mat, while his disciples kneel or sit on the ground (fig. 16). Chen Hongshou's conferral of the master's seat to the lone figure, therefore, could not have been accidental.

In both spatial positioning and imagistic characterization, the lone figure in *An Elegant Gathering* corresponds to the prologue-speaker in opera. The designated function of the prologue-speaker, as Wang Anqi explains, is to deliver the opening remarks to the audience at the beginning of a performance, speaking in the voice of the playwright to summarize the scenario, reveal the moral of the story, and introduce the major characters.⁵¹ In Chen Hongshou's painting, the figures' names are inscribed near their images. The lone figure, positioned at the



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Detail from fig. 14.



16

16
Li Gonglin (attr.), section from
The Lotus Society, hand scroll, ink
on paper, h. 30.1 cm. Freer Gallery
of Art, Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, D.C., gift of Charles
Lang Freer (F1911.201).

beginning of the scroll, represents Tao Shiling 陶奭齡 (1571–1640), the youngest of the nine men, who outlived all the others. Appropriately, he was chosen to introduce the other members and to tell their stories. He distances himself from the group and turns toward the viewer, like the prologue-speaker who, rather than addressing other characters in the play, delivers the opening remarks directly to the audience. While the prologue-speaker assumes the omniscient persona of the playwright on stage, the lone figure, seated in a high-backed chair on a mat, occupies a comparable authoritative position. In addition, the relative plainness of the lone figure reinforces his association with the prologue-speaker who, simply dressed and with little makeup to distinguish himself from the actual participants in the drama, is the plainest of all characters on stage.⁵²

Previous discussions of this painting, though stimulating, have not linked its compositional anomaly to its meaning.⁵³ Viewed by itself without the opening section, the gathering scene elicits multiple interpretations. But the presence of the lone figure, the pictorial equivalent to the prologue-speaker/playwright in opera and persona of its author Chen Hongshou, imposes a limit to plausible interpretations. His opinion of the group is voiced through body language. By adamantly turning his back to the group behind the double barrier of the tall back of a chair and the accentuated dark tree, he expresses his dissidence without need for words.

Judging from his unusual treatment of the Buddhist elements in the painting and the anti-naturalistic style of the landscape, Chen Hongshou may disagree with the coterie of the Yuan brothers on two issues, one religious and the other artistic. In the religious aspect, since several members of the group were Pure Land Buddhists, it is not coincidental that Chen Hongshou modeled the scene of the gathering after earlier paintings of the Lotus Society, but he made essential changes to convey new meanings that are virtually opposite to the original ones. In those earlier paintings, such as the one attributed to Zhang Ji 張激 (act. early twelfth century) in the Liaoning Provincial Museum (fig. 17), the icon of Manjusri is obviously the focus of the devotees' attention. In the Freer scroll mentioned earlier, the disciples sit or kneel around their master who sits next to a statue of Manjusri placed on the table (see fig. 16). The close proximity of the two makes the bodhisattva an integral part of the central focus of the disciples. In Chen Hongshou's painting, however, as Vinograd and Burkus-Chasson point out, the nine men simply ignore the prominent presence of the bodhisattva placed at the center



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17
Zhang Ji, section from *The Lotus Society*, early twelfth century, hand scroll, ink on paper, 34.9 x 848.8 cm. Liaoning Provincial Museum. After *Liaoningsheng Bowuguan cang shuhua jingpin ji*, 1989, 10.



18

18
Detail from fig. 14.

of the semi-circle that the group forms around it.⁵⁴ This peculiar irreverence of the members contradicts their biographies. Their religious piety is discredited in Chen Hongshou's deliberate misrepresentation of their attitude.

Chen Hongshou also deliberately misrepresented the bodhisattva in the painting. His depiction of the bodhisattva has no parallel in the tradition of Buddhist painting. Bodhisattvas, either in male or female form, have customarily appeared with fine facial features and graceful poses.⁵⁵ The bodhisattva in Chen Hongshou's painting is a blatant parody (fig. 18). It appears to be in the female form, but is far from beautiful or graceful. On her puffy face, shapeless eyebrows droop over the corners of her eyes. A disproportionately large nose hangs over thick lips. The curves of her heavy double chin echo the multiple wrinkles on her neck. Anatomically, the head is too large for the body, which is aggravated by the over-size headdress. The deity is demeaned to an uncomely human.⁵⁶ Her animal mount is also a parody of standard iconography. The prototype, as in Zhang Ji's painting of the Lotus Society, is a lion with tufts of curly hair like swirls of clouds on its neck, tail, and hind legs (see fig. 17). In Chen Hongshou's humorous exaggeration or distortion, the animal seems to be drowning in its own hair with its snout barely above the cluster of swirls.

As Hsing-li Tsai and Burkus-Chasson note, the identity of this deity is controversial.⁵⁷ Although her lion-like mount is a major attribute of Manjusri, a container for liquid held in her right hand is not. On the other hand, in the Ming period Guanyin was sometimes depicted riding a similar animal named *hou* 猴.⁵⁸ The deity in Chen Hongshou's painting, however, does not have Guanyin's essential attributes of an image of Amitabha in her elaborate headdress or a vase or bowl for purifying water in her hand. It is noteworthy that Chen Hongshou had been associated with Buddhist monks and laymen and painted Buddhist images since his youth. In late 1646, when he painted *An Elegant Gathering*, he was a tonsured Buddhist monk, producing Buddhist paintings for temples and secular patrons.⁵⁹ The confusion and absence of the essential attributes of Manjusri and Guanyin



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Chen Hongshou, detail from
Children at Play, hanging scroll, ink
and color on silk, 149.5 x 67.5 cm.
Palace Museum, Beijing.

suggest deliberate disregard for accurate representation rather than ignorance. Most interestingly, for Guanyin's plain vase or bowl for purifying water Chen substituted a gaudy pot with an s-shaped spout and a lid with pearl ornament that usually serves wine, a substance forbidden to strict Buddhists. The bodhisattva's power to bring deliverance was thus given a playful, and somewhat blasphemous, twist.

Chen Hongshou's humorous irreverence toward Buddhism as a religion can be seen in his other paintings and poetry. For instance, in *Children at Play*, one of the boys playing in front of a statue of the Buddha prostrates himself with bare buttocks resting on bare feet (fig. 19). The action of dropping one's pants while paying homage to a deity is so shockingly inappropriate that another boy stares at the exposed flesh with crossed eyes and gaping mouth.⁶⁰ In the fourth of a set of six poems entitled "Kexiao" 可笑 (The laughable) written, according to the last poem, after his monastic experience in the summer and autumn of 1646, Chen ridiculed Buddhist monks and their monastic practices in general. It reads,

Laughable are those conceited and those greedy,
Blabbing about emptiness and non-being in the halls.
Wouldn't it be better just to cast your staffs in fire
To warm the wine and cook the pig and give me a treat!⁶¹

Like many late Ming intellectuals, Chen's involvement in and appreciation of Buddhism did not amount to faith in a religious sense. While he produced iconographically accurate Buddhist paintings for religious patrons, he sometimes showed irreverence in works intended for non-Buddhists. In the case of *An Elegant Gathering*, the recipient, Tao Xing 陶涇 (1618–1649), was a compassionate Confucian scholar.⁶²

The highly stylized landscape setting in this painting, on the other hand, reveals a fundamental difference between Chen Hongshou and the Yuan brothers concerning artistic expression. The Yuan brothers were innovative poets and theorists. The Gong'an School of poetry they founded provided a vital and fresh vision much needed in the final chapter of Ming poetry.⁶³ It celebrated spontaneity of expression in disregard of generic decorum and embraced everyday, traditionally considered unpoetic subjects. In the 1590s Yuan Hongdao brought his new aesthetic to such extremes as to verge on crudeness. In his preface to a friend's poetry collection written around 1628, Chen Hongshou bluntly denounced Yuan Hongdao's forthright style and colloquial diction.⁶⁴ Chen's own poetry is fraught with allusions to earlier texts, a practice the Gong'an poets strongly opposed.⁶⁵ In the mid 1640s, when he painted *An Elegant Gathering*, he was inspired most clearly and persistently by Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770). In the chaos following the Manchu takeover of his hometown, he composed four lengthy odes on the ravages of war in direct imitation of Du Fu.⁶⁶ Besides appropriations in his other poems of Du's style and phrases, his friends asked him to versify after the rhyme schemes of Du's works such as the famous "Eight Poems on Autumn Moods."⁶⁷ Du Fu's poetry, characterized by refined language, rich allusions, and concerns with national affairs, embodied an aesthetic quite opposite to that of the Gong'an poets.

Chen Hongshou expressed his dissent with the poetics of the Gong'an School in the painting's treatment of the setting. In the conventions of portraiture, the setting is supposed to reflect the subject's personality in both style and choice of motif. Chen Hongshou, however, took an opposite approach. In contrast to the naturalistic human figures, the setting is a consummation of pictorial artifice. Its stylized distortion of trees and rocks, inconsistent spatial relationships between motifs, and willful violation of perspective defamiliarize the intimate garden setting. These features evoke instead archaic otherworldliness, distanced from the here and now which distinguishes Gong'an poetry. To place the Gong'an poets in such an uncongenial world of archaic artifice suggests Chen Hongshou's distaste for their ideas. Tellingly, Yuan Zhongdao 袁中道 (1570–1623), the youngest of the Yuan brothers and a severe critic of the Gong'an School's radicalism during its heyday, is not included in Chen's depiction of the group.



20

20
Chen Hongshou, sections from
*Seven Worthies of the Bamboo
Grove*, ca.1648, hand scroll, ink and
color on silk. Walter Hochstadter
Collection. After James Cahill, *The
Compelling Image: Nature and Style
in Seventeenth-Century Chinese
Painting* (Harvard University Press,
1982), 132–33, figs. 4.34–4.35.

The other hand scroll by Chen Hongshou that creates a parallel between the lone figure and the playwright is the *Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove* (fig. 20). Painted in the late 1640s, it depicts a group of third-century poets, philosophers, musicians, and officials who were said to engage themselves in metaphysical discourse in a bamboo grove while enjoying music and wine.⁶⁸ In its main section, six men gather in an enclosed space framed by trees, rocks, and bamboo stalks. Toward the end of the scroll at a considerable distance from them stands the seventh Worthy, completely disconnected like the lone figure at the beginning of *An Elegant Gathering*. His configuration sets him apart from the rest, too. As Ellen Johnston Laing has observed, the images of the six Worthies in the central section resemble in both style and iconography the engravings of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove on the tiles of a late fourth-early fifth century tomb in Nanjing:

In some cases the garments are clearly of Chin [Jin] and Six Dynasties type: a long skirt which extends in pleats above the waistband or a garment with wide shoulder straps. ... The ends of the long sleeves and the edges of the robes spread out on the mats or rocks in looping forms. Details of the poses, such as the figure who clasps one raised knee while the other leg is out-stretched or the figure who sits with one leg drawn up horizontally in front of the body and the other leg out-stretched, clearly derive from Chin [Jin] prototypes.⁶⁹

The lone figure at the end, by contrast, wears a tall, wide-brimmed hat of braided straw or bamboo strips, a type customarily worn by travelers.⁷⁰ Whereas the Worthies almost always appear seated with bare feet when visible, this figure stands straight with his shoes on, the standard pose and attire of servants in traditional representations of this subject.⁷¹ To the self-contained world of the other six he seems an outsider of a lower status, left out of the central stage where actions take place.⁷²



Compared with the relaxed expressions and casual poses of the engraved images of the Seven Worthies in the Nanjing tomb and later depictions following this prototype, the figures in Chen Hongshou's painting appear mannered and tinged with theatricality. The faces of the six men in the central section are variations of a common type. Where visible, they are long and rectangular, a characteristic of Six Dynasties and Tang figure painting often seen in Chen's works. Their eyes and eyebrows, which slant unnaturally toward their temples, however, resemble those of the lead characters on an opera stage. Their facial expressions appear consciously restrained, which also resonates with those of the lead characters who show their emotions through codified gestures but scarcely on the face.



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20
Chen Hongshou, sections from
*Seven Worthies of the Bamboo
Grove*, ca.1648, hand scroll, ink and
color on silk. Walter Hochstadter
Collection. After James Cahill, *The
Compelling Image: Nature and Style
in Seventeenth-Century Chinese
Painting* (Harvard University Press,
1982), 132–33, figs. 4.34–4.35.

The other hand scroll by Chen Hongshou that creates a parallel between the lone figure and the playwright is the *Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove* (fig. 20). Painted in the late 1640s, it depicts a group of third-century poets, philosophers, musicians, and officials who were said to engage themselves in metaphysical discourse in a bamboo grove while enjoying music and wine.⁶⁸ In its main section, six men gather in an enclosed space framed by trees, rocks, and bamboo stalks. Toward the end of the scroll at a considerable distance from them stands the seventh Worthy, completely disconnected like the lone figure at the beginning of *An Elegant Gathering*. His configuration sets him apart from the rest, too. As Ellen Johnston Laing has observed, the images of the six Worthies in the central section resemble in both style and iconography the engravings of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove on the tiles of a late fourth-early fifth century tomb in Nanjing:

In some cases the garments are clearly of Chin [Jin] and Six Dynasties type: a long skirt which extends in pleats above the waistband or a garment with wide shoulder straps. ... The ends of the long sleeves and the edges of the robes spread out on the mats or rocks in looping forms. Details of the poses, such as the figure who clasps one raised knee while the other leg is outstretched or the figure who sits with one leg drawn up horizontally in front of the body and the other leg outstretched, clearly derive from Chin [Jin] prototypes.⁶⁹

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21
Detail from fig. 20.



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22
Detail from fig. 20.

Although the figures sit in informal poses, they carry themselves with prescribed grace. Their long sleeves and robes flow along the sides of the body in elegant, concentric folds. The man in the back view sits rigidly upright. Holding a fan in his right hand and a cup in his left, he is exemplary of formal symmetry. The same quality can be applied to the partially concealed figure at the left end playing the *qin* 琴 instrument. The figure sitting in a three-quarter frontal view on an animal-skin mat raises his left hand up to his chest with upright fingers and outturned palm (fig. 21). This stylized gesture becomes his actor-like face with slanting eyes and eyebrows but no trace of emotion. The figure reclining on the stone couch represents a different form of mannerism (fig. 22). He sits with his legs bent at the knees in opposite directions to rest his right foot on his left knee. This peculiar posture, as Laing points out, derived from the engraved image of Wang Rong 王戎 (234–305) of the Seven Worthies in the Nanjing tomb (fig. 23).⁷³ Chen Hongshou exaggerated the contortion of the body by inserting a staff and placing the figure's left arm across it to touch his right foot.

Significantly, as Laing and Cahill have observed, the lone figure at the end is characterized differently from the group in the central section.⁷⁴ His face shows emotions; the languid eyes and drooping mouth reveal dejection and mistrust. His posture, with feet wide apart and arms hanging from sinking shoulders, is rather ungainly, especially when compared with the graceful six. Even the man reclining on a stone couch with exposed calves exudes a certain dignity. Instead of looking toward the others and participating in their activities, the detached last Worthy stares out of the picture at the viewer.⁷⁵

The difference between this lone figure and those in the central section corresponds to that in opera between the main characters and the buffoon, who, as stated earlier, occasionally speaks in the playwright's voice. In opera, major characters' faces are painted with prominently tilted eyes and brows to look dignified or dramatic, while the buffoons' faces are decorated with color patches for comic effects. In Chen Hongshou's painting, as noted above, the members of the group are depicted with such tilted eyes and brows on a straight face. The last figure, on the other hand, appears "slightly absurd" due to his pitiable facial expression and ungainly pose.⁷⁶ Even without the proper makeup of the buffoon, the comic pettiness of his appearance makes him a pictorial equivalent.

It is significant that the group and the lone figure relate themselves to the viewer in different ways, and the landscape setting for each is represented in different



23

23

Wang Rong, rubbing of a detail of an engraved picture depicting The Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove in a tomb in Nanjing. After Audrey Spiro, *Contemplating the Ancients: Aesthetic and Social Issues in Early Chinese Portraiture* (University of California Press, 1990), 53, fig. 22.

styles. While the group encloses itself within an archaic, forbiddingly fantastic world with bizarre rocks and trees, the lone figure looks out of a more naturalistic and accessible setting with delicate vegetation to engage the viewer. By communicating with the viewer, he momentarily steps out of antiquity and enters the world of the viewer. This momentary anachronistic twist is a common theatrical device. During an operatic performance a minor character, usually the buffoon, occasionally turns toward the audience and addresses it directly, commenting on the action that just took place, or even reminding the audience that this is theater, not reality.⁷⁷ Any other characters on stage would simply immerse themselves in their own activities, ignoring the buffoon's momentary shift from the dramatic world to that of the audience.⁷⁸ In Chen Hongshou's painting, the lone figure, who communicates with the viewer in his clownish image, is completely ignored by the group absorbed in its scholarly pursuits. His configuration and positioning in the painting correspond to those of the buffoon in operatic performance, while the group of six plays the lead role. The former watches the latter act out dramatic events seldom encountered in his own life.

As Cahill suggests, Chen Hongshou might have inserted the image of a contemporary to represent the last Worthy.⁷⁹ Since the buffoon, when stepping out of his role to address the audience, functions as the persona of the playwright, we may regard this comic figure in the painting, who engages the viewer in the eye, as a self-projection of the painter. The questions that follow, then, are why Chen identified himself with the buffoon, a simpleton incapable of reaching his goals,⁸⁰ and what separated him from the group of cultured gentlemen.

The Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove were known as cultivated, self-indulgent eccentrics.⁸¹ Although they all held office for various periods of time, their appeal lies in large measure in their proud trivialization of their official status in favor of withdrawal. Their official status, however, remained crucial in social recognition. In writing the earliest biography of them as a group, Yuan Hong 袁宏

(328–376) not only attached their birthplaces to their names, as was customary, but also the highest of their official titles.⁸² Xi Kang 嵇康 (223–262) and Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210–263), the two writers among them, were persistently referred to with their official titles in literary criticism.

Chen Hongshou's cultural sophistication and indulgence in wine should have readily entitled him to any Ming counterpart of this coterie, but he was acutely aware of being excluded. The lack of qualification for civil service alienated him from the elite scholar-official class.⁸³ To him the elegant gesture of withdrawal was beyond reach. In the late Ming, to withdraw did not mean to move to the mountains, but to resign from officialdom. One needed to serve, however briefly, in order to enjoy the prestige associated with withdrawal. There was nothing respectable in the forced reclusion of a failed examination-candidate like Chen Hongshou. His despair often surfaced in his poetry. For instance, he said in a poem,

In my hometown, people treat winners and losers so differently
That I dare not return to my thatched hut [home of the recluse or non-official].
Don't I understand the causes?
In my heart I feel so ashamed. ...⁸⁴ (lines 1–4)

The title of another poem reads, "After I Failed the Examination Several Times, Only [Shan] Jizhi [fl. early seventeenth c.] Still Keeps Me Company. Stirred by the Rain, I Wrote This Poem. Jizhi is My Bosom Friend."⁸⁵ In addition to the taunting townsmen, his former friends abandoned him. Later in life, as he fell into the class of professional artisans after the Manchu conquest, he was even slighted by an old friend whom he had known for over thirty years.⁸⁶ When a life-threatening crisis occurred in his old age in Hangzhou, he was literally reduced to a wretch with no one to turn to.⁸⁷

Despite his art, Chen Hongshou was not in the revered scholar-official class, whose members won praise for their withdrawal, as embodied by the Seven Worthies. Chen could neither serve nor withdraw. After repeated failures to enter officialdom, he ended up at the other end of the social hierarchy as an artisan. Like the buffoon who rarely succeeds in his scheme, Chen Hongshou was inept in realizing his ambitions. He stands at the end of the scroll, excluded from the world of which he aspired to be part. With his arms hanging at his sides, he seems resigned to his fate.

III. Dramatization as a Revisionist Strategy in Painting

Chen Hongshou's portrayals of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove and Tao Yuanming as actors on stage are ironic revisions of their conventional images because these ancients are most admired for their freewill ingenuousness. In his

analyses of Chen's paintings of historical figures, Cahill calls attention to the irony embedded in their dramatized images.⁸⁸ The irony, according to him, "is not directed toward the subjects of the prints and paintings; the images of heroes, martyrs, and recluses of antiquity carried the same moral authority as before. Ch'en Hung-shou's wry twists on established imagery suggest instead the distance of these noble models from his own time and the impossibility of realizing fully the ideals they stood for."⁸⁹ Although Cahill's interpretation of the irony in Chen's works is an important one, I would like to propose an alternative interpretation based on a prevalent trend in late Ming thought that tends to deconstruct rather than idealize the ancients.

As Andrew Plaks points out, "a fundamentally critical attitude" in the intellectual sphere of the sixteenth century brought forth "what might be called the flowering of an 'age of criticism' across the entire spectrum of late Ming cultural life." One manifestation of this new ethos is the rise of "historical criticism," which involves "the frequent practice of engaging in revisionist interpretations of major figures and episodes in the national past."⁹⁰ The revisionist thinkers, historians, and critics, as Willard Peterson observes, took a "relativist" approach to historical judgment, arguing that "there is no single, unchanging, correct viewpoint; there are multiple, disjunctive, conditional meanings."⁹¹ Most exemplary of this new attitude was Li Zhi's *Cang shu* 藏書 (A book to hide, 1599), which overturned conventional views about hundreds of historical personages.⁹²

The ironic characterization of heroes and saints in sixteenth-century historical novels, as Plaks demonstrates, witnesses the influence of historical criticism on the creative arts.⁹³ Their awe-inspiring images falter; their coherent character breaks apart. The ensuing ambiguity and ambivalence critically undermines the idealization of them in earlier writings.⁹⁴ From the revisionists' viewpoint, as will be summarized below, the Seven Worthies and Tao Yuanming were occasional actors in real life, whose inner disturbances and ambition were smothered behind a detached facade. Chen Hongshou's theatrical portrayals of them, I suggest, embody this ironic revision of their images from ingenuous to performed.

The revisionist view of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove in the late Ming is exemplified in the writings of Li Zhi and Zhong Xing. Li Zhi discussed five of the Seven Worthies in *A Book to Hide*, and Zhong Xing commented on six in *Meditations on History* (*Shi huai*), written in the late 1610s.⁹⁵ Drawing on official biographies and the Worthies' extant writings, they interpreted their subject in terms of worldly engagement rather than detachment.⁹⁶ And the Worthies turn out to be quite the opposite of their nonchalant public persona.

For the two court ministers, Shan Tao 山濤 (205–283) appeared as a master of political maneuver, and Wang Rong as avaricious for possessions.⁹⁷ Xi Kang was

placed in the category of famous officials as a political figure.⁹⁸ Ruan Ji's support of a usurper to the throne was raised for scrutiny.⁹⁹ Not only was there worldly ambition behind the Worthies' unworldly appearance, but also anguish and fear, as Zhong Xing pointed out.

I have never read about the lives of Ruan Ji, Xi Kang, and their coterie without quitting in the middle and sighing. I deplore that for educated men born in a chaotic time, it was so difficult to stay unharmed. Their profound anxiety and fear over their inability to protect themselves lay at the core of their eccentric behavior. ... There are people who generalize and label [the Worthies'] temperament with one word "transcendent," apparently envious of, but unable to attain, their joy in the bamboo grove themselves. They are really ignorant, living in a peaceful time and never placing themselves in [the Worthies'] place. ...¹⁰⁰

As a group, the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove are known in popular myth for their uninhibited eccentricities. It is most ironic that they may have performed their spontaneity for self-fashioning or self-protection. Chen Hongshou dramatized their images in such a way as to reappraise their integrity, emphasizing the contradiction between their appearance and their interior concerns. In doing so, he might have taken his cue from Zou Zhilin's comparison of historical figures to actors on stage. The Worthies were portrayed as mannered actors because they either consciously cultivated the eccentric image much admired at the time, or practically needed such a facade to survive. By way of theatrical representation, Chen Hongshou made explicit their double identities and the performed nature of their behavior.

It is noteworthy that in the central section of the painting, Wang Rong, the avaricious minister, is placed at the center reclining on a stone couch (see fig. 22), while Xi Kang, the purest and most revered of the group, is marginalized to the left end, playing his *qin* among trees whose dense foliage and fantastic roots seem to engulf his presence. It may not be gratuitous that his mouth is concealed by leaves, an unusual violation of the subject's facial integrity, suggesting the existence of unspoken messages in the painting. Wang Rong, whose calculating mind seems implied by the exaggerated contortion of the body, is depicted as the most rustic of all with bare calves and free-flying hair. The ironic clash of image and character, emphasized by its positioning at the center of the composition, may be the moral of the painting.

The painting *Scenes from the Life of Tao Yuanming* discussed earlier is another example of Chen Hongshou's theatrical representation of ancient figures. I would

like to suggest that the portrayal of Tao Yuanming as an actor, like those of the Seven Worthies, was integrally related to the reassessment of him in late Ming thought, in which his conventional image as an ingenuous recluse was called into question. The Seven Worthies may have acted for personal gain or survival; Tao presents still another motive for acting.

Tao Yuanming's withdrawal from office was viewed in the late Ming as more complex than in earlier times. Although in Chinese literature he is best known for his poetry on the simple joys of country life and transcendence over the vicissitudes of life, a significant portion of his oeuvre tells of profound sorrow over the fate of the state and over his own unrecognized talent.¹⁰¹ The controversy over his character had grown from casual comments in the sixth century to a thorough reassessment in the late Ming period.¹⁰² Probably due to the sense of impending doom felt by many intellectuals and the consequent surge of patriotism, eminent scholars not only considered Tao's joyous serenity to be a facade covering hidden disturbances, but also regarded the latter as his normal mentality. Yuan Zhongdao, a major critic, poet and thinker of his time, challenged Tao's status as a model recluse:

The most important thing for a recluse is to understand the Way. Once he understands the Way, his heart will rest in peace. Only those whose hearts rest in peace without recourse to external things are true recluses. Tao Yuanming's reclusion fell short of resting in peace. I read his poetry. His innermost heart was entangled in deep worries and sorrows. He often seemed about to burst into tears when touching on issues of life, death, and changes. He merely used wine to suppress [inner disturbances]. How could he truly enjoy himself!¹⁰³

Echoing this view, Huang Wenhuan 黃文煥 (act. 1620–1644), arguably the best and most important commentator on Tao Yuanming of the late Ming period,¹⁰⁴ questioned the genuineness of Tao's withdrawal from politics.

In his evaluation of Tao Yuanming, Zhong Rong 鍾嶸 [ca. 468–ca. 518, a major literary critic] merely regarded him as the forebear of recluses. If one shrouds Tao Yuanming as a recluse, [the real] Tao will become veiled. If one analyzes him from his anxiety over the chaotic time, his hope to revive the Jin dynasty and to resist the dynastic change, his passion for governing the state, and his words revealing the causes and effects, which rush up like the surging tides and rise high like a flying sword, then Tao Yuanming's heart and guts will emerge.¹⁰⁵



24

24

Chen Hongshou, "Composing Eulogies for Fans," section of *Scenes from the Life of Tao Yuanming*, 1650, hand scroll, ink and light color on silk, 30.3 x 308 cm. Honolulu Academy of Arts, Purchase, 1954 (1912.1).

Huang Wenhuan's conviction that Tao was a care-worn patriot under the guise of a detached recluse rings through the prefaces to most early-seventeenth-century editions of Tao's anthologies.¹⁰⁶ The importance of prefaces of anthologies cannot be overstated. Editors explained their critical priorities and overall assessments of authors in the preface rather than in the fragmentary comments on individual works. Several late Ming editors compared Tao Yuanming to some of the most committed statesmen, generals, and martyrs in Chinese history, such as Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234), Zhang Liang 張良 (act. early second century BCE), Qu Yuan 屈原 (ca. 343–ca. 277 BCE), Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (708–784 CE), Boyi 伯夷 and Shuqi 叔齊 (twelfth century BCE).¹⁰⁷ They also praised Tao's uncompromising integrity. Tao's carefree unworldliness, however, passed almost without notice. Interestingly, Zhang Pu 張溥 (1602–1641), founder of the Fu She (Revival Society) devoted to dynastic renewal through active engagements, affirmed Zhen Dexiu's 真德秀 (1178–1235) elevation of Tao's work to the same height as *Shi jing* 詩經 (The book of songs) and *Chu ci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu), the two classics interpreted in traditional scholarship primarily as political allegories.¹⁰⁸ Given the frustrating political situation of the late Ming and the current advocacy of social commitment and pragmatism, the shift of value in interpreting Tao Yuanming was almost certainly conditioned by factors external to genuine scholarship.¹⁰⁹ Purist eremitism was virtuous, but patriotism nobler. These late Ming scholars took Tao Yuanming's professed serenity as a disguise for gnawing patriotic sentiment. He was an actor, strictly speaking, but in Confucian ethics such doubleness was a virtue rather than a vice. His ultimate inability to stop caring only made him more respectable and endearing than as an unconcerned recluse.¹¹⁰

The assumption that Chen Hongshou was aware of and endorsed the revisionist view of Tao Yuanming is further supported by his insertion of the episode “Composing eulogies for fans” in his illustration to Tao’s biography, an episode never illustrated before. It depicts a man seated with mannered poise by a table on which lie painted fans (fig. 24). The inscription reads,

Living in the Jin-Song periods [344–479],
Holding hands with those of the Shang and Zhou dynasties [16th century–221 BCE],
With pine-soot ink and crane-feather brush,
I write down my sorrows.

By describing Tao Yuanming as psychologically dislocated, longing for the past while anxious over the present, Chen underscores the part of Tao’s writings that laments unappreciated talents like himself and extols heroic figures in history.¹¹¹ He dramatized Tao as self-consciously displaying a detached facade, while referring to his hidden “sorrows” in the inscription.

In addition to “Composing eulogies for fans,” Chen Hongshou inserted two other episodes in *Scenes from the Life of Tao Yuanming* that had not previously been illustrated. They also address the irony of insouciant appearance versus dark reality, but on a familial level. The first one, entitled “Planting glutinous rice,” as introduced in Part I, relates a dispute between Tao and his wife regarding the use of their land (see fig. 12). In his inscription Chen Hongshou verbalized Tao’s contempt for people such as his wife, who are wrapped up in mundane concerns and ignorant of the bliss of wine.

For those stuck in the rice barrels, competing for food is the struggle;
For those immersed in the maddening drug [wine], what’s the need for food?

Chen Hongshou’s portrayal of the Tao couple, as Cahill points out, is modeled after the section featuring an emperor and his consort in the painting *Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies*, attributed to Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (344–405).¹¹² This pictorial quotation goes beyond formal interest. The *Admonitions* scroll is an illustration to a text composed in the year 292 CE on a set of ten rules of female conduct.¹¹³ In this particular section, a conscientious emperor rebuffs his consort when she tries to please him with her beauty rather than her virtue. It is a most appropriate choice for iconographic allusion; not only is the emperor’s gesture of dismissal readily adaptable for Tao Yuanming’s action here, but thematically both



25

25

Chen Hongshou, "Go Begging,"
section of *Scenes from the Life of Tao
Yuanming*, 1650, hand scroll, ink
and light color on silk, 30.3 x 308
cm. Honolulu Academy of Arts,
Purchase, 1954 (1912.1).

works present a marital dispute. The different nature of the two disputes, therefore, stands out in contrast. The emperor's advocacy of family morals casts Tao Yuanming's egocentric neglect of his family in negative light. The royal consort was snubbed for her lack of virtue, whereas Tao's wife incurred the same treatment for her concerns for their five sons.

Tao's privileging of the spiritual over the material, ironically, infringes on the sacred bonds between parents and children and between husband and wife. In a letter to his sons, Tao Yuanming expressed deep guilt for the hunger and cold to which they were subjected.¹¹⁴ He was not unaware of, nor insensitive to, their suffering for his cause. It was a choice, conceivably painful, of self-absorption over the family's well-being. He was at once a paragon and a knowing delinquent of Confucian ethics, another double-sidedness of his character. Chen Hongshou's dramatization of Tao's image intimates the contradiction between high-minded behavior and guilty conscience.

The other episode, entitled "Go begging," goes beyond "Planting glutinous rice" to expose the dark consequences that Tao Yuanming's purist virtue brought on himself as well as his family, and questions his wisdom (fig. 25). It illustrates a poem by Tao entitled "Begging for food," which relates how he went to someone's house out of hunger, shared wine and poetry with the hospitable host, then left in gratitude.¹¹⁵ After abandoning his official career, Tao tried to make a living by farming, only to bring his whole family into dire straits. Even interpreted as a manifestation of Tao's transcendence over the worldly distinction between honor and shame, as some scholars have suggested, the incident of begging certainly does not mark a proud moment in his life.¹¹⁶ It is curious that Chen Hongshou

chose to illustrate this episode. And he portrayed Tao not striding as if feeling no shame, but as a shambling wanderer, a real beggar accompanied by a boy shouldering a patched-up bag. The inscription reads, “He who resigns office has to beg for food.” It is a blunt defacement of Tao’s lofty image, and resonates with Zhong Xing’s denunciation of soliciting scholars of his time:

If an educated man wants to fulfill his lofty ambition, he should first take care of his meals and clothing. Only after he becomes self-sustained can he avoid soliciting others to meet his needs. Nowadays, people often put on the air of elegant taste in dealing with others, and label those who endeavor to manage their livelihood as vulgar. When they become impoverished themselves, they either solicit the rich or go begging. Whether they get what they need or not, they have lost their principle and bearing. How can the shame of it compare with being vulgar!¹¹⁷

These remarks, in significant measure, reflect the late Ming view of Tao’s begging for food.

The moral ambiguities in some of Tao Yuanming’s actions had been noticed and discussed for centuries before Chen Hongshou’s time. The debate became more intense toward the late Ming. The art world, however, did not catch up with the more complex view of Tao until the time of Chen Hongshou. One characteristic of the earlier Ming illustrations to Tao’s biography, as Hironobu Kohara observes, is the frequent smile on the poet’s face.¹¹⁸ It is easy for a literary critic to describe the two sides in Tao’s personality, but to address such psychological complexity in pictorial terms takes genius. By way of dramatization, Chen Hongshou presents the revisionist view of Tao Yuanming as a conflicted and flawed human being whose appearance often belied his mind.

Conclusion

Chen Hongshou’s integration of theatrical elements in painting, as his imaginary portraits of the deities in *The Nine Songs* suggest, may have started in his late teens, either for amusement or as an artistic experiment. Dramatized images and adapted theatrical devices persisted in his work throughout his career. Despite its originality in the painting tradition, a late Ming literatus would have had little difficulty in discerning the references to theater in many of his works. His art was paradoxically new yet familiar, which doubtless contributed to his popularity as a figure painter. He endorsed the prevalent view of the world as a stage and people as occasional actors, playing various roles that not only shift back and forth, but ultimately render authenticity in real life a non-issue. That is, it is sometimes only

natural to be false. This insight, which refutes any simple claim regarding right and wrong in ethics, may have intensified Chen Hongshou's concern with artistic authenticity. To the question how to make an authentic statement about a world where moral positioning is admittedly unstable, he found a formal solution in a style that declares itself to be self-conscious. His operatic references remind the viewer that he was in no way attempting a manifestation of false pieties. In doing so, he succeeded in playing his role as a great artist, creating the most authentic representations of his subjects.

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NOTES

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1. Chen Hongshou's date of birth and its correspondent year in the Western calendar are controversial. See Huang Yongquan's discussion in his *Chen Hongshou nianpu* (Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1960), 141–44. Huang's argument that Chen Hongshou was born in the *wuxu* year (1598) is convincing. However, since Chen's birthday was late in the twelfth month of that year, and the fifth day of the twelfth month of the *wuxu* year was already New Year's Day of 1599 in the Western calendar, I follow Wu Gan's argument that Chen Hongshou was born in January 1599. See Wu Gan, "Preface," *Chen Hongshou ji* (Collected Writings of Chen Hongshou, hereafter as *CHSJ*), ed. Wu Gan (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Guji Chubanshe, 1994), 3 with n. 1. This book includes the 1888 edition of Chen Hongshou's *Baolun Tang ji* 寶綸堂集 (Collected Writings from the Baolun Studio) and other miscellaneous writings by or related to the artist. There is a Kangxi (1662–1722) edition of *Baolun*

tang ji (Jiyang: Chen shi Baolun Tang, preface dated 1705; hereafter as *BLTJ*) in the Harvard-Yenching Library of Harvard University. It recorded several poems that were not in the 1888 edition. My sincere gratitude to Mr. Chun Shum for granting me access to this rare book.

2. For instance, see Hu Qiyi's 1705 preface to *BLTJ*; Zhou Lianggong's remarks in *Duhua lu* 讀畫錄 and *Laigu tang ji*, recorded in *CHSJ*, "Fulu," 598, 608 respectively; Lan Ying (1585–ca. 1664) and Xie Bin (b. ca. 1614) et al., *Tuhui baojian xucuan*, recorded in *CHSJ*, "Fulu," 600; Richard M. Barnhart, "Touch, Gesture, and Presence in the Art of Chen Hongshou," lecture delivered at the international symposium titled "Chinese Art of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties," Art Institute of Chicago, July 1996; Richard M. Barnhart, "Survivals, Revivals, and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Figure Painting," in *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1972), 182–89; Wen C. Fong, "Archaism as a 'Primitive' Style," in *Artists and Traditions: Uses of the Past in Chinese Culture*, ed. Christian F. Murck (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1976), 102–9; James Cahill, *The Distant Mountain: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty, 1570–1644* (New York: John Weatherhill, Inc., 1982), 244–62; James Cahill, *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 106–45; Hironobu Kohara, "An Introductory Study of Chen Hongshou, Part I and II," trans. Anne Burkus, *Oriental Art* 32 (Winter 1986): 398–410 and 33 (Spring 1987): 67–83; Richard Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits, 1600–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 30–36.

3. For instance, see the works by Barnhart, "Touch, Gesture, and Presence" and "Survivals, Revivals"; Cahill, *The Distant Mountain and The Compelling Image*; Kohara, "An Introductory Study of Chen Hongshou"; and Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, cited above, n. 2. See also Richard M. Barnhart, "Some Possible Elements in the Transformation of Late Ming Landscape Painting," paper presented at the Association for Asian Studies annual meeting in Boston, 1999; Xu Wenmei, "Chen Hongshou Zhang Shenzhi zheng Beixixiang miben banhua yanjiu" (master's thesis, National Taiwan University, 1996); Kobayashi Hiromitsu, "Chin Koku no hanga katsudo – Sutei juninen (1639) kan *Cho Shinshi Sensei bon Seisho hihon* no sashie o chushin to shita ichikosatsu," *Kokka* 1061 (3/1983): 25–39, 47–48; *Kokka* 1062 (4/1983): 35–51; Tamara Heimark Bentley, "Authenticity in a New Key: Chen Hongshou's Figurative Oeuvre, 'Authentic Emotion,' and the Late Ming Market" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2000); Shi-yee Liu, "An Actor in Real Life: Chen Hongshou's *Scenes from the Life of Tao Yuanming*" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2003).
4. Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, 122–45; Cahill, *The Distant Mountains*, 252–53.
5. Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 31–33. In discussing Chen Hongshou's 1651 album *Yinju shiliu guan* (Sixteen Views of a Hermit's Life) in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, Kohara also noted that the figures were "depicted as though they were entering a stage," but he did not elaborate. See Kohara, "An Introductory Study of Chen Hongshou, Part II," 71.
6. Li-ling Hsiao, *The Eternal Present of the Past: Illustration, Theater, and Reading in the Wanli Period, 1573–1619* (Leiden and Boston: E. J. Brill, 2007); "Banhua yu juchang: Cong Shidetang kanben *Pipa ji* kan Wanli chuqi xiqu banhua zhi tece" (Woodblock prints and theatre: Characteristics of the 'Drama Illustrations' of the early Wan-li period as revealed in Shih-te T'ang's edition of the *P'i-p'a Chi*)," *Study of the Arts* 5 (1991): 133–84. See also Xu, "Chen Hongshou," and Bentley, "Authenticity in a New Key."
7. On the civil service examination system in imperial China, see Benjamin A. Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600–1900*, ed. Alexander Woodside and Benjamin A. Elman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Miyazaki Ichisada, *China's Examination Hell: The Civil Service Examinations of Imperial China*, trans. Conrad Shirokauer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).
8. For further discussion on Chen Hongshou's struggle with the examination system, see Anne Burkus-Chasson, "Elegant or Common? Chen Hongshou's Birthday Presentation Pictures and His Professional Status," *Art Bulletin* 76.2 (June 1994): 281–82.
9. For Chen Hongshou's trips to the capital and related problems, see Yin Dengguo, "Chen Hongshou yanjiu" (master's thesis, National Taiwan University, 1975), 141–62.
10. Cao Jiaju (Qing dynasty), *Shuo meng*, quoted in Wan-go Weng, *Chen Hongshou: His Life and Art* (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1997), 1: 24.
11. See Hsing-li Tsai, "Ch'en Hung-shou's 'Elegant Gathering': A Late-Ming Pictorial Manifesto of Pure Land Buddhism" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1997), 16–19.
12. See the poem "*Shanglin* (On Farming)" in *CHSJ*, chap. 4, 83.
13. See, for instance, "Su shuiliu huaxiang xiaolou wenku," *BLTJ*, chap. 4, 31b; "Shi gou ji," *CHSJ*, chap. 2, 32; "Yu shuo buyu, wei Jizhi shuo yuyou, jiuzhong ganfu, Jizhi wu zhiyou ye," *CHSJ*, chap. 5, 96.
14. A poem by Chen Hongshou on making paintings reads in part, "Selling paintings in the cities / I am unable to sell my best ones. / By changing my career to make a living / I disgrace the [Confucian] Way, for which I cannot forgive myself." See *BLTJ*, chap. 4, 34b.
15. See *Zhuji xianzhi* (1672), chap. 11, 24a. The categories of biographies in local gazetteers were arranged in a strict hierarchy, beginning with prominent officials, scholars/literary men, moral paragons, and recluses, and ending with virtuous women, monks, and craftsmen (artists and physicians). The order of the last three categories might vary. In the late Ming, craftsmen often lay at the bottom of the biographical hierarchy. For instance, in the 1596 edition of the gazetteer of Xiushui, a town not far from Shaoxing, craftsmen were not even included in the section of Personal Biography but in that of the Miscellaneous, placed after the category of monks. In the 1685 edition of the gazetteer of the same town, artists ranked thirteenth in the fifteen categories of biographies, followed by monks and physicians. See both *Xiushui xianzhi* in *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng* (Shanghai: Shanghai Shudian, 1993), 31: 542 and 716 respectively.
16. Qi Biaoqia never appeared in Chen Hongshou's extant writings. In Qi's diary which covered the years from 1631 to 1645, only five of Qi's daily entries mentioned Chen Hongshou (7/5/1636, 9/11/1636, 7/15/1639, 6/23/1640 and 5/15/1645). Among the five, only the second and the fifth record personal encounters between them.

Chen Hongshou's association with Zhou Lianggong was marked by long intermissions. They first met in Chen's hometown in 1624 when Zhou was thirteen. They met again in the capital seventeen years later in 1641. Their last two meetings were both in Hangzhou; one in 1650 when Zhou traveled from Fujian to the capital, and the other in 1651 on Zhou's return to Fujian. Zhou admired Chen's art. Except for a brief period around 1641, however, Chen Hongshou was never in his social circle.

Chen Hongshou's association with Ni Yuanlu, a high-ranking official and accomplished artist from Shaoxing, in the capital in the early 1640s, was not recorded anywhere. When Chen returned home in 1643, he gave Ni a painting as a farewell present, and Ni responded with a set of five poems. See Huang Yongquan, *Nianpu*, 73–74. Their relationship, seemingly artistic and parochial in nature, does not suggest close contact.

17. Lu Eting, *Kunju yanchu shigao* (Shanghai: Shanghai Wenyi Chubanshe, 1980), 44–58, 134.
18. Lu Eting, *Kunju yanchu shigao*, 80–81, 116–32. On Zhang Dai, see the comprehensive and in-depth study by Jonathan D. Spence, *Return to Dragon Mountain: Memories of a Late Ming Man* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2007). See also He Guanbiao, “Zhang Dai bieming zihao jiguan ji zunian kaobian,” in *Ming mo Qing chu xueshu sixiang yanjiu* (Taipei: Taiwan Xuesheng Shuju, 1991), 169–213; Xia Xianchun, *Zhang Dai* (Shenyang: Chunfeng Wenyi Chubanshe, 1999). On Qi Zhijia, Qi Biaojia's elder cousin, see Zhou Lianggong, *Duhua lu* (first printed in ca. 1673) (*Yishu congbian* edition comp. Yang Jialuo, 1962), chap. 1, 12; Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi* (Shanghai: Shanghai

- Guji Chubanshe, 1982 reprint), chap. 4, 39; Kawakami kei, “Ch'i Chai-chia no denkyu,” *Bijutsu kenkyu* 269 (1970): 36–39. For Qi Zhijia's dates, see Harrie A. Vanderstappen, “The Style of Some Seventeenth-Century Chinese Paintings,” in *Artists and Traditions*, 157 n. 15.
19. Wang Anqi, *Mingdai chuanqi zhi juchang ji qi yishu* (Taipei: Xuesheng Shuju, 1986), 97–98; Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi*, chap. 4, “The Zhang Family Troupe” and “Qi Zhixiang's Obsessions,” 37–38, 39.
20. See the poems “Willow Catkins” and “Untitled” in *CHSJ*, chap. 9, 338, 339 respectively.
21. See Xu, “Chen Hongshou,” 33–51; Yuan Zhenyu and Liu Mingjin, *Mingdai wenxue piping shi* (Shanghai: Guji Chubanshe, 1991), 765–66; Huang Yongquan, *Nianpu*, 58–60, 62.
22. From Chen Hongshou's “Preface” to Meng Chenshun's 孟稱舜 opera *Jieyi yuanyangzhong Jiao Hong ji* 鴛鴦塚嬌紅記 (1638), in *Quan Ming chuanqi*, ed. Lin Youshi (Taipei: Tianyi Chubanshe, 1985).
23. For an introduction to Li Zhi's life and major ideas, see Rong Zhaozu, *Li Zhuowu pingzhuan* (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1973); K. C. Hsiao's entry on him in *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368–1644*, ed. L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 1: 807–18; Willard Peterson, “Confucian Learning in Late Ming Thought,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, ed. Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 8:745–54; W. Theodore de Bary, “Individualism and Humanitarianism in Late Ming Thought,” in *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, ed. W. Theodore de Bary et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 188–225; Ray Huang, 1587, *A Year of No Significance: The Ming Dynasty in Decline* (New

- Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 189–221; Hok-lam Chan, *Li Chih 1527–1602 in Contemporary Chinese Historiography: New Light on His Life and Work* (White Plains, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1980).
24. This is Li Zhi's comment on the play *Pipa ji*, quoted in Yuan Zhenyu and Liu Mingjin, *Mingdai wenxue piping shi*, 364.
25. Pei-kai Cheng, “Continuities in Chinese Political Culture: Interpretations of Li Zhi, Past and Present,” *Chinese Studies in History* 17.2 (Winter 1983–84): 24, n.1; Wolfgang Franke, “Historical Writing during the Ming,” in *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 7:733.
26. Zhang Dai, “Jinshan yexi (Night Drama in the Jinshan Monastery),” *Tao'an mengyi*, chap. 1, 4.
27. Zhang Dai, “Yangshenmiao taige (The Parade of Religious Icons at the Yangshen Temple),” *Tao'an mengyi*, chap. 4, 32–33.
28. Zhang Dai, “Xihu qiyue ban (The West Lake on the Fifteenth of the Seventh Month),” *Tao'an mengyi*, chap. 7, 62–63.
29. Several entries in Zhang Dai's *Tao'an mengyi* provide intimate anecdotes about Chen Hongshou's life of sensuous indulgence before the dynastic change, which indicates the closeness of the two men. Several entries in Zhang Dai's *Tao'an mengyi* provide intimate anecdotes about Chen Hongshou's life of sensuous indulgence before the dynastic change, which indicates the closeness of the two men. See, for instance, “Baiyang chao (The Tidal Waves at Baiyang),” chap. 3, 23; “Chen Zhanghou (Chen Hongshou),” chap. 3, 29; “Buxi Yuan (The Garden of the Unfastened),” chap. 4, 30; “Shuihu pai (The Water Margin Playing Cards),” chap. 6, 56.
30. Zou Zhilin, “Xu,” in Zhong Xing, *Shi huai*, in *Congshu jicheng chubian*, vol.

- 3560 (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1939 reprint), 1.
31. Li-ling Hsiao, *The Eternal Present of the past*, 87–174. See also Ma Meng-ching, “Ermu zhi wan: Cong *Xixiang ji* banhua chatu lun wan Ming chuban wenhua dui shijuexing zhi guanzhu (Looking through the Frame: Visuality in Late-Ming Illustrations to *The Story of the Western Wing*),” in *Meishushi yanjiu jikan* 13 (September 2002): 212–13.
 32. Xu, “Chen Hongshou,” 59–60.
 33. Xu, “Chen Hongshou,” 61–64.
 34. Bentley, “Authenticity in a New Key,” 213–14.
 35. Bentley, “Authenticity in a New Key,” 86.
 36. Bentley, “Authenticity in a New Key,” 87.
 37. Zhou Yibai, *Zhongguo juchang shi* (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1936), 13–16.
 38. Zhou, *Zhongguo juchang shi*, 11–13.
 39. Wang Anqi, *Mingdai chuanqi*, 159–62.
 40. On the costumes and accessories and their role as identity-indicators in opera, see Wang, *Mingdai chuanqi*, 256–71.
 41. For a comprehensive study of this painting, see Shi-yee Liu, “An Actor in Real Life,” 110–230. For an annotated chronology of Tao Yuanming, see Yang Yong, *Tao Yuanming ji jiaojian* (Taipei: Pangeng Chubanshe, 1979), 400–67.
 42. Tao Yuanming’s biography was first illustrated in the eleventh century with about a dozen episodes from various biographical sources depicted in chronological order. Later illustrations followed this prototype closely. See Kohara Hironobu, “‘Ri Sobo hitsu ‘To Enmei jiseki zukan’ (On ‘Scroll Paintings of Chinese Poet Tao Yuan-ming’s Deeds’ by Li Tsung Mo),” *Yamato bunka* 67 (February 1981): 33–63; Shi-yee Liu, “An Actor in Real Life,” 117–23. Chen Hongshou studied at least one of those earlier illustrations firsthand. See his poem “Xinqing duzhuo Wujian Lou,” in *BLTJ*, chap. 5, 36a. The motifs and compositions of certain scenes in Chen Hongshou’s illustration, for instance section 5 “No wine” and section 9 “Refusing gifts” are doubtless variations on the existing prototype.
 43. Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, 135.
 44. See *Jingju banhua*, comp. Wang Shucun, (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 1959), 25. This particular hand gesture is also seen in the illustrations on pages 127, 143, 177, and 183.
 45. Chen Hongshou signed this painting as “Monk Hui (*Seng Hui*).” He held Buddhist monkhood from the sixth month of 1646 to the spring of 1647, even though he left the Yunmen Monastery in mid-autumn of 1646 and led a secular life afterwards. He stayed at the Qi family estate near Zhuji from the ninth to the eleventh month, and later lived in destitution at Bowu 薄塢 in a nearby mountain until he moved to Shaoxing in the third month of 1647. See Shi-yee Liu, “An Actor in Real Life,” 29–30. In view of the painting’s complexity and remarkably fine execution, it was most likely done during his stay at the Qi family estate when he was relatively peaceful and well provided with material necessities.
 46. On the identity and the Buddhist practices of the nine men and their relationships, see Tsai, “Ch’en Hung-shou’s ‘Elegant Gathering,’” 58–102; Anne Burkus-Chasson, “Between Representations: The Historical and the Visionary in Chen Hongshou’s *Yaji*,” *Art Bulletin* 84.2 (June 2002): 318–20.
 47. Yuan Zhongdao (1570–1623), the youngest of the three Yuan brothers, is not depicted in the painting.
 48. Burkus-Chasson points out the ambiguity of this bodhisattva image as to whether it is a statue or an apparition. See Burkus-Chasson, “Between Representations,” 327–28. In view of the secular setting of this painting and the casual poses of the participants (none kneels), it seems more likely that it is a statue. In addition, the deity only reveals herself in response to sincere prayers of devotees, which like miracles happens very rarely. As Vinograd and Burkus-Chasson point out, none of the nine members of the gathering appears to acknowledge her presence. See Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 36; Burkus-Chasson, “Between Representations,” 314–17, 324–30.
 49. Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, 129; Cahill, *The Distant Mountains*, 256–57. For a discussion on paintings of the Lotus Society, see Tsai, “Ch’en Hung-shou’s ‘Elegant Gathering,’” 108–26; Pan An-yi, “Li Gonglin’s Buddhist Beliefs and His Lotus Society Picture, an Iconographic Diagram of the Bodhisattva Path” (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1997). On Huiyuan and the Lotus Society and related problems, see Tsai, “Ch’en Hung-shou’s ‘Elegant Gathering,’” 109–11; Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*, 2d ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), 204–53.
 50. On the paintings of the Lotus Society circulating in the late Ming period, see Tsai, “Ch’en Hung-shou’s ‘Elegant Gathering,’” 111–18.
 51. Wang Anqi, *Mingdai chuanqi*, 240, 251–52. On the prologue-speaker’s role as an authorial commentator with his own type of makeup and costume, see Tina Lu, *Persons, Roles, and Minds: Identity in Peony Pavilion and Peach Blossom Fan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 234. For a typical example of a prologue-speaker’s opening remarks, see Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖 (1550–1617), *Mudan ting* 牡丹亭 (The Peony Pavilion), Scene

- 1, 233, translated in Cyril Birch, *The Peony Pavilion (Mudan ting)* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 1–2. The examples I cite are from this play because Tang Xianzu was the leading playwright of his time and *Mudan ting* one of his major works. For this play, see Qian Nanyang, ed., *Tang Xianzu xiqu ji*, (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1978), vol.1, 225–501. Published in 1598, it created a great sensation at its premier, and remained popular through the early Qing period. See Shen Defu, *Wanli yelhuo bian*, *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* edition (Taipei: Xinxing Shuju, 1977), 15th series, vol.6, chap. 25, 643. See also Lu Eting, *Kunju yanchu shigao*, 58–60.
 52. The type of facial makeup and sartorial decorum for each role in an opera observes fixed convention. A standard opera cast consists of eleven or twelve members. The lead and the secondary males and females wear heavy makeup and bright costume to enhance their charm. The masculine figure and the buffoon have distinct patterns painted on their faces for dramatic or comic effects, and are dressed like military men or servants. The paternal and maternal figures wear moderate makeup and subdued colors. The prologue-speaker is simply dressed, with little makeup. See Wang Anqi, *Mingdai chuanqi*, 224, 244, 247–52. See also Tina Lu, *Persons, Roles, and Minds*, 234.
 53. For instance, see Burkus-Chasson, “Between Representations”; Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, 129–30; Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 35–36; Tsai, “Ch’ên Hung-shou’s ‘Elegant Gathering,’” 45–46.
 54. Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 36; Burkus-Chasson, “Between Representations,” 315–16, 324–30.
 55. A typical example of the late Ming period is Ding Yunpeng’s (1547–ca. 1628) *Five Forms of Bodhisattva Guanyin* in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. See Wai-kam Ho et al., *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and The Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980), no. 202.
 56. The figures in Chen Hongshou’s painting are sometimes uncomely, even grotesque, which does not necessarily mean disrespect or ridicule on his part. For instance, the old woman in *Lady Xuanwen Instructing the Classics* in the Cleveland Museum of Art is not a beauty because Lady Xuanwen was in her eighties when she gave instructions on the classics and Chen’s painting was a present to his aunt on her sixtieth birthday (See *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, no. 208). It was only appropriate to represent her as old with wrinkles. To depict a bodhisattva in the female form in this manner, however, violates the tradition of Buddhist painting, and indicates that her image is not a straightforward representation.
 57. Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, 129, and Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 36, have identified her as Manjusri. Zheng Wei and Burkus-Chasson believe she is Guanyin. Tsai considers her the combination of the two. See Tsai, “Ch’ên Hung-shou’s ‘Elegant Gathering,’” 47, 102; Burkus-Chasson, “Between Representations,” 323, 333 n. 100.
 58. See Chun-fang Yu, “*Guanyin*: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara,” in *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism 850–1850*, ed. Marsha Weidner (Lawrence, Kan.: Spencer Museum of Art, the University of Kansas, in association with University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 164; Tsai, “Ch’ên Hung-shou’s ‘Elegant Gathering,’” 47.
 59. See above, n. 45.
 60. This painting has at least three versions. Tsai, “Ch’ên Hung-shou’s ‘Elegant Gathering,’” 137–38 n.33.
 61. See *CHSJ*, chap. 9, 336.
 62. Tao Xing was a son-in-law of the Qi family and a kinsman of Tao Wangling and Tao Shiling, two scholars depicted in *An Elegant Gathering*. Tao Xing was two generations younger than the elder Taos. For Tao Xing’s biography, see Tao Jiyao, et al., comp., *Kuaiji Taoshi zupu* (1829), chap. 18, *Liezhuàn* 3, 30a–32a; chap. 8, 216a–b; *Shaoxing xianzhi ziliao*, series 1 (Hangzhou Guji Shudian, 1937 reprint), 72a–b.
 63. On the theory of the Gong’an School and its place in Ming literature, see Yuan Zhenyu and Liu Mingjin, *Mingdai wenxue piping shi*, 441–84; Chih-p’ing Chou, *Yuan Hung-tao and the Kung-an School* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Jonathan Chaves, *Yuan Hung-tao, Pilgrim of the Clouds* (New York: John Weatherhill, Inc., 1978); Jonathan Chaves, “The Panoply of Images: A Reconsideration of the Literary Theory of the Kung-an School,” in *Theories of the Arts in China*, ed. Susan Bush and Christian Murck (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 341–64.
- The Gong’an style of poetry, best represented by Yuan Hongdao, was formed during the 1590s and had wide influence during the decade at the turn of the seventeenth century. Yuan Zongdao, the eldest, died in 1600. By 1598, Yuan Hongdao had already shifted to a more moderate stance. And in 1610 he regretted his former radical arguments as too straightforward and lacking in profundity. Yuan Zhongdao, the youngest, underwent a similar change in thought. See Yuan Zhenyu and Liu Mingjin, *Mingdai wenxue piping shi*, 441–74; Chih-p’ing Chou, *Yuan Hung-*

- tao and the Kung-an School*, 61–90. Chen Hongshou seemed to be commenting on Yuan Hongdao's poetry at its most radical stage.
64. In his "Lu Jishi shi xu," Chen Hongshou said, "I was in the company of Jishi in the *wuwu* year (1618). Jishi and I were born in the same year. I am older than he by some dozen days, and he used to treat me like an elder brother. I once read the line "My feet search for interesting things in the countryside" in his poem. I told him straightforwardly, "This sounds like Zhonglang's [Yuan Hongdao] voice. The use of the word "hua" is callow. The ending line "Why not let the black hat tilt" is very weak. You'd better get rid of these from now on." In the last ten years our intercourse had grown sparse, but I heard that his poetry had been improving day by day. Drinking wine on the lake this year, I read his latest compositions. Some of them resembled Xiangshan [Bai Juyi]; some others resembled Dongpo [Su Shi]. The style was mature with a subtle flavor, approaching artlessness. All the sickening qualities of the 1618 poem were gone. Jishi's trust in me could be described as utmost, and my trust in him now is utmost too." See *CHSJ*, chap. 1, 6.
 65. Some of Chen Hongshou's extant poems, mainly in the more casual genre of five-character-line quatrains, use rather colloquial expressions, but they are far from representative. For instance, see the two quatrains to Wang Wensun (*CHSJ*, chap. 6, 187, 188), and the first three of a series of five quatrains (*CHSJ*, chap. 6, 200). As the quotation above indicates, Chen Hongshou knew the works of Yuan Hongdao well enough to make a qualitative distinction between Yuan's poetry and those of Bai Juyi and Su Shi, whom the Gong'an poets, Yuan Zongdao in particular, admired. Chen Hongshou apparently considered his own colloquial expressions in line with Bai Juyi and Su Shi, whose poetic language, though colloquial, is generally more refined than Gong'an poetry.
 66. Chen Hongshou, "Shi esi xing," *CHSJ*, chap. 7, 213, "Guanjun xing," "Soulao xing," and "Muxia ke," *Ibid.*, "Shiyi" section, 385–87.
 67. Chen Hongshou, "Jiu ri yu Zhu Ji'an zuo Yunmen fu er shi, fu zhu he Shaoling Qiuxing bashou yun yilu, suixu guiwei li Jing zhijin xingcang," *CHSJ*, chap. 8, 231; "Qi Yiyuan yi Du Shaoling ji Wang Zhongyun shi yun suofu, zoubi shushan," *CHSJ*, chap. 5, 120. For other references to Du Fu, see, for instance, the fifth of a series of six poems entitled "Chun xue," *CHSJ*, chap. 5, 111, "Ting yu," *CHSJ*, chap. 5, 128, "You Fengsheng Si," *CHSJ*, chap. 5, 132, "Qiuxing," *CHSJ*, chap. 8, 214.
 68. Studies on the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove include He Qimin, *Zhulin qixian yanjiu* (Taipei: Xuesheng Shuju, 1976); Lin Yaochuan, *Zhulin qixian luanshi yindunzhe* (Taipei: Changchunshu Shufang, 1976); Niwa Taiko, "Iwayuru Chikurin shichiken ni tsuite," *Shirin* 50.4 (1967): 514–59. For its pictorial representation, see Audrey Spiro, *Contemplating the Ancients: Aesthetic and Social Issues in Early Chinese Portraiture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); and Ellen Johnston Laing, "Neo-Taoism and the 'Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove' in Chinese Painting," *Artibus Asiae* 36 (1974): 5–54.
 69. Laing, "Neo-Taoism," 47; for a detailed study of the engravings of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove in the Nanjing tomb, see pp. 10–16 and n.26.
 70. For instance, see the donkey-rider in *Travelers in a Wintry Forest* by an anonymous twelfth-century painter after Li Cheng, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; it is illustrated in Wen C. Fong, *Beyond Representation: Chinese Painting and Calligraphy 8th–14th Century* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 78.
 71. On the features of traditional representations of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove, see Laing, "Neo-Taoism," 45, 48. For the images of the servants in relation to the Worthies, see, for instance, the two early Ming handscrolls on this subject in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, one anonymous and the other with an apocryphal signature of Liu Zhongxian. These two paintings and other images related to the iconography of the engravings of the Seven Worthies in the Nanjing tomb are admirably discussed in Laing, "Neo-Taoism," 15–46.
 72. Though by definition the seventh worthy is one of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove, the exact number does not matter in terms of Chen Hongshou's expressive purpose. What is important is the contrast of the included and the excluded, and the implied discord within the seven.
 73. Laing, "Neo-Taoism," 11, 47.
 74. Laing, "Neo-Taoism," 47; Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, 133.
 75. Laing, "Neo-Taoism," 47; Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, 133.
 76. Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, 133.
 77. Wang Anqi, *Mingdai chuanqi*, 311. For instance, in Scene 40 of *The Peony Pavilion*, Scabby Turtle, the buffoon, after singing a short tune, turns to talk to the audience, commenting on the preceding action. Translated by Birch, *Peony Pavilion*, 225.
 78. For instance, in Scene 45 of *The Peony Pavilion*, the buffoon turns to the audience to make a comment during a

- group conversation, then turns back to join the discussion. The other characters on stage simply ignore his sudden departure and return. See *Tang Xianzu xiqu ji*, vol. 1, 435. Translated by Birch, *Peony Pavilion*, 254–55.
79. Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, 133.
 80. For instance, in Scene 40 of the *Peony Pavilion*, the buffoon receives a scholar's robe as a gift from the lead male character. He puts it on to impress people, but only to be insulted and taken for a thief. See *Tang Xianzu xiqu ji*, vol. 1, 412. See also Luo Di, *Xiqu yu Zhejiang* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe, 1991), 299–300.
 81. The Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove refer to Ruan Ji (210–263), Xi Kang (223–262), Shan Tao (205–283), Xiang Xiu 向秀 (ca. 221–ca. 300), Liu Ling 劉伶 (ca. 221–ca. 300), Wang Rong (234–305), and Ruan Xian 阮咸, Ruan Ji's nephew. Despite remarkable differences in personality and social status, they were grouped together, first by Sun Sheng 孫盛 (ca. 302–ca. 373) and Yuan Hong (328–376), as eccentrics discoursing on metaphysics with wine and music in the bamboo grove. Sun Sheng's account of the Seven Worthies appears in his *Weishi chunqiu*, recorded in *Taiping yulan* (984), ed. Li Fang (925–96), et al., chap. 407, 5b (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1960 reprint), vol. 2, 1882. See also He Qimin, 10. For another early biography of the Seven Worthies, see Dai Kui, “Zhulin qixian lun,” in *Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen*, ed. Yan Kejun, 1887, chap. 137 “Quan Jin wen,” 8a–11a (Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju, 1958 reprint), vol. 3, 2252–254.
 82. The text that identifies the Seven Worthies and their official titles is quoted in the entry on River Qing in Li Daoyuan's (d. 527) *Shui jing zhu*, *juan* 9, 4b, in *Siku quanshu zhenben*, series 3, vol. 157. In the bibliography at the beginning of his book, Li Daoyuan identified the source as Yuan Hong's “Zhulin qixian zhuan.” For a more detailed discussion, see Qin Binglang, “*Shui jing zhu* yinshu kao” (master's thesis, National Normal University, Taiwan, n.d.), 225–26. See also He Qimin, 7, 10.
 83. There were people who succeeded in associating with eminent scholar-officials through family or social connections, even when they did not hold an advanced examination degree. Those, with Chen Jiru as the best known example, were the fortunate few and far from representative of the large population of failed candidates. Among Chen Hongshou's friends mentioned in his writings, Zhang Dai, Qi Zhijia, Qi Hongsun, and Tao Xing were like himself, descendants of eminent families who could not advance themselves in the examination system, while most others left no record in history at all. For Chen's relationship with Qi Biaoqia, Ni Yuanlu, and Zhou Lianggong, see above, n. 16.
 84. Chen Hongshou, “Su shuilu huaxiang xiaolou wenku,” *BLTJ*, chap. 4, 31b.
 85. *CHSJ*, chap. 5, 96.
 86. The harrowing incident took place in 1650 when Chen asked to view a Wang Meng 王蒙 (1308–1385) painting owned by his friend but was refused. Meanwhile, the friend showed it to a student of Chen's who was affiliated with a rich man. See Chen Hongshou, “Wang Shuming huaji,” in *CHSJ*, chap. 2, 26.
 87. In 1649, as a known calligrapher, he inscribed the title of a popular novel at a friend's request. Later a powerful local man, regarding parts of the book as parody of himself and Chen Hongshou as the author, persecuted him ruthlessly. Unable to prove his innocence, in 1651 Chen wrote a proclamation defending himself and begging the real author to come to his rescue. The stunningly pitiable and desperate tone of the text reveals his helpless anguish. For the people involved in this case and the entire text of Chen's proclamation, see Weng, *Chen Hongshou*, 1: 41.
 88. Cahill, *The Distant Mountains*, 258, 260–61; Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, 133–35, 140.
 89. Cahill, *The Distant Mountains*, 253. See Cahill's interpretation of Chen Hongshou's depiction of Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove in *The Compelling Image*, 133–34; and of Tao Yuanming in *The Compelling Image*, 140, and *The Distant Mountains*, 260–61.
 90. Andrew Plaks, *The Four Masterworks of the Ming Novel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 49–50.
 91. Peterson, “Confucian Learning in Late Ming Thought,” 745–54.
 92. Peterson, “Confucian Learning in Late Ming Thought,” 749; for a partial translation of Li Zhi's preface to *Cang shu*, see p. 745. For the Chinese text, see Li Zhi, *Cangshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1962 reprint).
 93. The close relationship between the sixteenth-century historical novels and the rising historical criticism is evident. As Andrew Plaks points, a number of statements in essays in historical criticism on The Three Kingdoms period were actually quoted in the 1522 edition of *Sanguo zhi yanyi* (Romance of the Three Kingdoms). See Plaks, *Four Masterworks*, 403, n. 144.
 94. Such ironic recasts of the noble ancients are numerous, as Plaks points out. See his detailed analyses of the protagonists in the three historical novels *Xiyou ji*, *Shuihu zhuan*, and *Sanguo zhi yanyi*: Plaks, *Four Masterworks*, 223–53, 318–58, 402–95.
 95. Zhong Xing, *Shi huai*, in *Congshu jicheng chubian*, ed. Wang Yunwu (Beijing:

- Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1939), vols. 3560–563. On Zhong Xing, see Nancy Norton Tomasko, “Chung Hsing (1574–1625): A Literary Name in the Wan-li Period (1573–1620)” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1995). In *Shi huai*, Zhong re-evaluated historical figures and events from the Spring and Autumn period (770–476 BCE) to the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420 BCE). Though unable to rival Li Zhi’s impact, *Shi huai* was reputed enough to induce some unprincipled publishers to capitalize on Zhong’s fame as a historian by attaching his name to several major historical writings. See K. C. Hsiao, entry on Zhong Xing in *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, 409.
96. The major criterion employed in *Meditations on History*, Zhong Xing said, was the ancients’ mastery in governing the state (*jingshi* 經世). See his “Letter to Lin Shaoyan,” quoted in Tao Ting’s preface to *Shi huai*, p. 1. For a study on the idea of *jingshi* in Confucian thought, see Zhang Hao, “Song Ming yilai rujia jingshi sixiang shishi,” in *Proceedings of the Conference on the Theory of Statecraft of Modern China* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1983), 3–19.
 97. Zhong Xing, chap. 18, 283 and 284.
 98. Li Zhi, chap. 31, 499–500. Xi Kang’s marriage made him a distant relative of the royal family, but he only served in minor posts intermittently. Li Zhi relates in length how Xi got himself executed, ironically, as a casualty of political warfare. His inclusion of Xi among loyal officials rather than literati or recluses is in itself a thorough recast of Xi Kang’s conventional image.
 99. Li Zhi, chap. 68, 130–132. For Li’s defense of Ruan Ji, see 1132. Zhong Xing, chap. 19, 289.
 100. Zhong Xing, chap. 19, 287–88.
 101. For Tao Yuanming’s poetry written in English, see *The Poetry of Tao Ch’ien*, trans. with commentary and annotation by James Robert Hightower (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); Kang-i Sun Chang, *Six Dynasties Poetry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 3–46.
 102. See Zhong Youmin, *Tao xue shihua* (Taipei: Yunchen Wenhua Shiye Gufen Youxian Gongsi, 1991), 10–124. The idea that the real Tao Yuanming might not be what he appeared to be was first raised as early as the sixth century. In his preface to Tao’s collected writings written in 527, Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531), the leading critic, wrote, “Tao Yuanming’s poetry gives the impression that each poem has wine in it. In my opinion, what he really cared about is not wine; he just hid himself behind it.” See *Liang Zhaoming Taizi wenji*, chap. 4, recorded in *Tao Yuanming yanjiu ziliao huibian*, comp. Beijing University and Beijing Normal University (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1962), 9. See also Zhong Youmin, *Tao xue shihua*, 12–13. His view was affirmed by Han Yu (768–824), leader of the social elite and champion of the orthodox classical tradition in the Tang dynasty. See Han Yu, “Song Wang xiucai xu,” recorded in *Tao Yuanming yanjiu ziliao huibian*, 19. Several distinguished Song scholars such as Huang Tingjian (1045–1105), Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), and Tang Han 湯漢 (ca. 1198–ca. 1275) also argued for Tao’s persistent concerns with state affairs. See Huang Tingjian, “Su jiu Pengze huai Tao ling,” Zhu Xi, *Zhuji yulei*, chap. 140, recorded in *Tao Yuanming yanjiu ziliao huibian*, 37, 74–75 respectively. Tang Han, *Tao Jingjie xiansheng ji*, chap. 3, recorded in *Tao Yuanming shiwen huiping*, comp. Taiwan Zhonghua Shuju (Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua Shuju, 1970), 204. See also Zhong Youmin, *Tao xue shihua*, 70–71. While these Song critics prioritized Tao Yuanming’s loyalist stance, they did not find it problematic in relation to Tao’s popular image of a carefree recluse. By the Yuan dynasty, however, Wu Shidao 吳師道 (1283–1344) regarded Tao’s philosophical transcendence and loyalist pains as contending emotions rather than peaceful co-existence. See his remarks in his *Wu Libu shihua*, recorded in *Tao Yuanming yanjiu ziliao huibian*, 130, and discussed in Zhong Youmin, *Tao xue shihua*, 78.
 103. Yuan Zhongdao, “Preface for Master Li Feng of East Guangdong,” collected in Beijing University, ed., *Zhongguo meixueshi ziliao xuanbian* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1981), 2: 169.
 104. See Zhong Youmin, *Tao xue shihua*, 118–20, for his discussion of Huang Wen-huan.
 105. Huang Wenhuan, self-preface to *Tao shi xiyi*, recorded in *Tao Yuanming yanjiu ziliao huibian*, 152.
 106. For a brief introduction to the Ming editions of Tao Yuanming’s anthology with new prefaces, see Zhong Youmin, *Tao xue shihua*, 108–9.
 107. For instance, see Mao Jin’s (1598–1659) preface dated 1618, Zhang Pu’s inscription, and Zhao Weihuan’s preface in a 1632 edition of Tao anthology edited by Zhang Zilie 張自烈, cited in *Tao Yuanming yanjiu ziliao huibian*, 167, 169, 173.
 108. Zhang Pu, “Ti Tao Pengze ji,” recorded in *Tao Yuanming yanjiu ziliao huibian*, 169.
 109. On late Ming emphasis on pragmatic learning and engagements, see Ray Huang, “Ni Yuan-lu: ‘Realism’ in a Neo-Confucian Scholar-Statesman,” in *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, 425–49; Robert B. Crawford, “Chang Chucheng’s Legalism,” in *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, 367–414; Xie Guozhen,

Mingmo Qingchu de xuefeng (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1982), 1–52.

110. Stephen Owen also questions the genuineness of Tao Yuanming's detachment, but in a way fundamentally different from Yuan Zhongdao and Huang Wenhuan. See Stephen Owen, "The Self's Perfect Mirror: Poetry as Autobiography," in *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice*, ed. Shuen-fu Lin and Stephen Owen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 71–102. Owen thinks that Tao Yuanming's concern with literary immortality belies the transcendent spirit his idyllic poetry projects, which, in my opinion, is not necessarily true. Confucian recluses legitimately seek posthumous fame through literature and scholarship. In fact, it is often the glory after physical death that helps them transcend the disappointments of life. What they despise is trendy fame that is contingent, most typically, to wealth, rank, and social connections. Tao Yuanming's intention to write for future generations does not contradict his image as a recluse. His assertion of casualness in composing poetry, a literary trope, should not be taken as hypocritical.
111. For a discussion on the relationship between Tao Yuanming's poems "Shanshang hua zan (Eulogies for Paintings on Fans)" and the fans in Chen Hongshou's illustration, see Shi-yee Liu, "An Actor in Real Life," 149–56.
112. Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, 135. This important painting, now in the British Museum, has been the subject of many studies, most notably Hironobu Kohara, "Joshi shin zukan," parts 1 and 2, in *Kokka* 908 (November 1967): 17–31 and 909 (December 1967): 13–27. Recently the British Museum organized a three-day international symposium on this work and related issues on June 18–20, 2001. Five articles from this symposium were published in *Orientalism* 32.6 (June 2001) by Shane McCausland, Charles Mason, Julia K. Murray, Yu Hui, and Alfreda Murck.
113. For a thorough study on this scroll, see Shane McCausland, *First Masterpiece of Chinese Painting: The Admonitions Scroll* (New York: George Braziller, 2003).
114. Tao Yuanming, "Yu zi Yan deng shu (Letter to My Sons Yan and the others)," in Yang Yong, *Tao Yuanming ji jiaojian*, 301.
115. For the poem, see Yang Yong, *Tao Yuanming ji jiaojian*, 70–72. For a detailed study of the poem, see Wang Guoying, *Gujin yinyi shiren zhi zong: Tao Yuanming lunxi* (Patriarch of the Reclusive Poets throughout History: An Analytical Study on Tao Yuanming) (Taipei: Yunchen Wenhua Shiye Gufen Youxian Gongsi, 1999), 207–19.
116. For instance, Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) and Wen Runeng (act. late 18th–early 19th c.) both defended Tao Yuanming's begging on the ground of spiritual transcendence. See Wang Guoying, *Gujin yinyi shiren zhi zong*, 211–12.
117. See Zhong Xing's comment on the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo, chap. 19, 288. In his biography of Tao Yuanming in *A Book to Hide*, Li Zhi also commented sarcastically on Tao's lack of foresight in resigning his last post, saying, "He stayed on the job for eighty days only. The regular rice was not ripe yet, nor was the glutinous rice ready for harvest." See chap. 67, 1115.
118. Kohara, "Ri Sobo hitsu 'To Enmei jiseki zukan,'" 46.



GORYEO BUDDHIST PAINTING IN AN INTERREGIONAL CONTEXT

1

Kim Wumun et al., *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara*, 1310, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 419.5 x 101.5 cm. Kagami Shrine, Karatsu City, Saga Prefecture, Japan.

Abstract

Because most Korean Buddhist paintings of the Goryeo period (918–1392) have survived only in the Japanese archipelago, research on them has been carried out primarily within isolated interpretive communities in Japan and Korea. This article surveys the study of Goryeo painted icons in Japan in an effort to identify how the unique reception history of this genre has conditioned its historiography. After considering the various historical factors that led to the movement of large numbers of early Korean Buddhist works to the archipelago, the article demonstrates how these largely anonymous scrolls came to bear attributions to Chinese professional painters of the Ningbo region. The modern Japanese historiography is then surveyed in terms of three successive stages (1932–1967, 1967–1981, 1981–present) characterized in general terms by cataloging projects, iconographic studies, and contextual analyses. A concluding section assesses the legacy of this historiography and future avenues of research that tie Goryeo Buddhist painting to larger questions concerning the nature of the East Asian Buddhist icon in general.

“GORYEO BUDDHIST PAINTING” designates a corpus of early Korean hanging scrolls, close to 160 in number, that has increasingly become the focus of international scholarly attention in recent years. Through symposia, research articles, and exhibitions, the visual and iconographic characteristics of painted Buddhist icons of the Goryeo period (918–1392) have gradually come into focus.¹ Goryeo Buddhist painting evokes a body of work characterized by its sophisticated representation of garment textures, meticulous attention to surface patterns, and abundance of Pure Land subjects with a special emphasis on two celebrated bodhisattvas of the Mahayana pantheon, Avalokiteśvara (K. Gwaneum) and Kṣitigarbha (K. Jijang). These characteristics can be witnessed in a work widely considered to be among the most impressive examples of the genre, *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* from Kagami Shrine in Japan’s Saga prefecture (fig. 1). In its massive scale (4.2 meters in height), chromatic elegance, intricate textile patterns, and silky, gauze-like veil, almost hallucinatory in its diaphaneity, *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* showcases the technical virtuosity of the painting workshops associated with the Goryeo court. The work’s sartorial celebration of its sitter neatly encapsulates the image of Goryeo Buddhist painting shared by most commentators.

Knowledge about early Korean Buddhist painting, however, is shaped by its subsequent exodus from the peninsula: most extant examples were transmitted early on to Japanese temples, where they were sheltered from the frequent foreign invasions, piracy, and internecine political tensions that resulted in the destruction of so many Korean Buddhist artifacts later on. In Japan the geographic ori-

gins of imported Goryeo Buddhist paintings were soon forgotten; within their exilic environments they were often thought to be the works of renowned Chinese masters until the twentieth century, when their peninsular origins were recognized. Since then, however, their expatriate status has caused research on Goryeo Buddhist painting to be carried out within somewhat isolated interpretive communities in both Japan and Korea. Furthermore, although scholarly exchange between these communities has developed rapidly in recent years, new observations and research trends have not always received a proper introduction in the English-language sphere. Because the study of Goryeo Buddhist painting provides so many insights into the nature of East Asian Buddhist art as a whole, its unfamiliarity to a larger international art-historical and Buddhological community is a matter of regret. As one modest effort to facilitate a more global conversation on Goryeo Buddhist painting, this article surveys its reception and study in the Japanese archipelago throughout the premodern and modern eras, including recent research trends and insights. The primary aim of this essay is historiographical, focusing for the most part on Japanese-language scholarship. By understanding the ways in which the archipelagic provenance of most extant examples has framed the Japanese study of early Korean painting, which in turn has shaped the entire field of Goryeo painting studies, it is hoped that certain interpretive prejudices can be recognized, while important vectors of future research are identified. An interregional approach to Goryeo Buddhist painting not only places in higher relief the pictorial qualities, representational habits, and iconographic contours of this refugee genre, but illuminates the fluid mobility and itinerant complexity of visual forms across the entire East Asian region.

Goryeo Painted Icons and Their Diaspora

When the Goryeo dynasty was established by Wang Geon 王建 (877–943) in 918, the Korean peninsula could already boast a long and distinguished tradition of royal Buddhist patronage among the peninsular kingdoms of Koguryo, Paekche, Silla, and the Kaya states. Like its predecessor, the Unified Silla kingdom (668–935), the Goryeo government continued to entrust to Buddhism the task of protecting the nation against natural calamity and outside invasion.² The talismanic efficacy of state-sponsored Buddhist ritual was ensured through lavish aristocratic patronage of the sangha, or monastic community, which increasingly came to be populated with members of the Goryeo elite. Along with land grants to Buddhist institutions and ecclesiastical promotion, an official examination system for monks ensured that monasteries would function as centrifuges for significant intellectual developments of the period. From the ranks of the Buddhist ecclesia emerged scholiasts such as Uicheon 義天 (1055–1101) and Jinul 知訥 (1158–1210),

who would author some of the most sophisticated exegetical writings in the history of East Asian Buddhism.³ It comes as no surprise, then, that the Goryeo court and its surrounding landscape of Buddhist institutions served as a rich matrix for the production of Buddhist icons and ritual implements. The degree to which Buddhist artifacts provided a formal language for the expression of Korean concerns about national security in particular can be gleaned from two major efforts undertaken by the Goryeo court to woodblock-print the entire Tripitaka, or Buddhist canon of sacred texts. The first effort, begun in 1011 but not completed until 1087, was spurred by invasions by the semi-nomadic Khitan Liao from the north. After the first Goryeo Tripitaka was destroyed by a Mongol invasion in 1232, the carving and printing of a second Tripitaka was initiated and completed by 1254. The xylographic reproduction of the entire scriptural canon was no small undertaking; the blocks from the second set, which still survive in Haiensa 海印寺 Temple, total 81,258 in number. The second Goryeo Tripitaka consists of some 1,516 texts in 6,815 volumes. Due to the high quality of its craftsmanship and redaction, this latter version became the most sought-after compilation of the Buddha's word in Northeast Asia.⁴

The abovementioned peninsular invasions by bellicose northern neighbors point to the transience of most artworks commissioned in this era. Although the Goryeo period represents a nearly five-hundred-year span of sustained elite Buddhist patronage, very little remains in Korea itself to document this legacy in material terms. The remarkable nonsurvival of peninsular Buddhist artifacts can be attributed to numerous historical factors, among which the most important are: 1) the ravages suffered by the Goryeo kingdom at the hands of warring northern peoples, most prominently the Mongols during the thirteenth century; 2) the predations of Japanese pirates; 3) the devastating military invasions by the Japanese warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536–1598) in 1592 and 1597; and 4) the periodic suppressions of Buddhist institutions throughout the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910).⁵ Particularly vulnerable to these periodic waves of destruction were those works consisting of fragile materials such as silk and paper. As a result, most painted hanging scrolls and decorated sutras from the Goryeo period are found in the Japanese archipelago, where they were preserved throughout the premodern period. This Japanese archive represents a substantial repository of material with which to assess the Goryeo legacy of elite Buddhist patronage.

As a prelude to such an assessment, it is helpful to consider the reasons why the Japanese islands became the adoptive home for so many early Korean Buddhist paintings. Although little documentation remains to trace the specific contexts for the importation of paintings into the archipelago, it has long been assumed that the Hideyoshi campaigns of the 1590s were the major catalysts of dislodgement.

In the last decade of the sixteenth century, after successfully unifying Japan and bringing to an end more than a century of continuous battle among regional warrior houses, Hideyoshi turned his attention overseas.⁶ In 1592 he launched a full-scale siege of the peninsula, partly because of Korean refusal to grant his armies free passage to China, the original target of his military ambitions. Hideyoshi's armies advanced as far north as the Yalu River before succumbing to a combined Sino-Korean counterattack, eventually retreating from the peninsula altogether by the seventh month of 1593. The warlord mounted a second, less spirited campaign in 1597 that only came to full closure with his death in the following year. Throughout these operations, widespread looting of temple treasures was accompanied by the forced relocation of Korean potters and other craftsmen to the Japanese island of Kyūshū.⁷ While the political, social, and cultural ramifications of Hideyoshi's Korea campaigns are too complex to consider here, suffice it to state that they were responsible for the widespread removal of Buddhist paintings and other artifacts to the archipelago. Scores of Korean paintings of the Joseon period currently found in Japanese temples were most likely deposited there as war booty from the 1592 and 1597 incursions.⁸ And although the importation of Goryeo painting due to these invasions cannot be documented, such a scenario was attached to the biographies of numerous scrolls during the Edo period. A fourteenth-century depiction of the Buddha's *nirvana* in Saikyōji Temple (Nagasaki prefecture), for example, bears an old box inscription stating that it was brought back from Korea as a spoil of war by Matsu'ura Shizunobu 松浦鎮信, the domainal lord of Hirado province and retainer to Hideyoshi.⁹

The spoliation of painted Buddhist icons dating from earlier periods, however, is more likely to have been due to the amphibious assaults of Japanese pirates. While the term "pirates" (J. *kaizoku* 海賊 or *wakō* 倭寇) often evokes the image of bands of rogue buccaneers, during the medieval period it could also refer to a broad range of local heads of littoral communities that controlled transportation arteries along Japanese coastal areas, especially in the Seto Inland Sea.¹⁰ Occasionally these communities would mobilize to mount raids of neighboring countries, and the *Goryeo sa* 高麗史, a chronicle of the Goryeo kingdom compiled in the fifteenth century, records piratical raids of the Korean peninsula as early as the 1220s.¹¹ Japanese freebooting became an especially acute concern to the Korean court from the mid-fourteenth to the early fifteenth centuries, and might even be credited with a defining role in international East Asian diplomatic relations during this period.¹² Whatever the larger ramifications of such piracy, its resulting plunder appears to have fed a small archipelagic market for Korean Buddhist artifacts by the fourteenth century. The Zen priest Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信 (1325–1388), for example, records in his diary that he facilitated the procurement

of a Korean cast-iron bell for the Kamakura temple Hō'onji through a merchant he knew.¹³ An inscription on the Kagami Shrine *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* applied to its surface in 1391, when the painting was donated by a certain monk Ryōken 良賢 to the shrine, suggests that the scroll had been circulating on the market before settling there.¹⁴ As the archipelago decentralized over the course of the late fifteenth and earlier sixteenth centuries, however, pirates continued to be active as independent maritime authorities, until their sea-based suzerainty was weakened by, among other things, Hideyoshi's edict outlawing piracy in 1588.¹⁵ It has been suggested that the many Korean and Chinese paintings found in temples dotting the coasts and islands of the Seto Island Sea were donated by the Murakami family of buccaneers, who governed what amounted to a small-scale thalassocracy in the region and patronized many of its religious institutions.¹⁶

Although Japanese piracy and military aggression certainly unmoored numerous peninsular painted icons from their natal homes, peaceful maritime trade and international diplomacy were also significant engines for the circulation of objects in Northeast Asia. Official diplomatic exchanges between the Joseon kings and various elites in the Japanese archipelago, for example, were common from the late fourteenth through the mid-sixteenth centuries. As Kenneth R. Robinson has demonstrated, whereas East Asian international diplomacy during this period has typically been considered in terms of the Ming tally trade, the Joseon court conceptualized interregional diplomacy with itself at the center of a Confucian order.¹⁷ Its diplomatic transactions were carried out in an accordingly hierarchical manner, with Ryūkyū kings and Japanese shoguns treated as status equals, but local Japanese elites as lesser partners. The latter were interested in carrying on trade with the peninsula and securing the high-quality Buddhist artifacts for which Korea was renowned, including large cast-iron temple bells and printed copies of the Goryeo Tripitaka.¹⁸ The Buddhist canon of scriptures was of special importance and provides a key to understanding the nexus of motivations that lubricated interregionalism in this period.

Due to its craftsmanship and high quality of redaction the "Tripitaka Koreana" was sought after by elites all over Northeast Asia, both as an authoritative version of the Buddhist scriptural canon and as a form of political legitimation. Interested Ryūkyūan and Japanese parties frequently sent embassies to the Joseon court in the hopes of procuring complete sets of the Buddha's teachings; foremost among them were the Ashikaga, whose eagerness to possess copies of the Goryeo Tripitaka frequently took precedence over the observance of diplomatic niceties. On one occasion the fourth shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimochi 足利義持 (1386–1428), even insulted his counterparts by referring to his own embassy as a "Sutra Request Envoy" (J. *seikyōshi* 請經使), in contrast to the Joseon request for

a Reciprocal Envoy (K. *huilesa*, J. *kaireishi* 回礼使).¹⁹ The shogunate and regional warrior houses also procured sutras to offer to temples they sponsored. The late Goryeo and early Joseon courts were interested in stemming the tide of piracy that was plaguing its coastal borders, but established diplomatic ties with local elites in western Japan after quickly realizing that the Ashikaga were ineffectual in its prevention. Sutra grants were used as incentives for cooperation in keeping marauding mariners at bay. Once piracy subsided in the early fifteenth century, diplomatic exchanges were carried on more as a form of Confucian theater in which the strict maintenance of propriety was prioritized. Royal release appears to have been intimately tied to internal Joseon politics, deeply enmeshed in competing discourses of Confucian and Buddhist influence at court. The Korean rulers did not often release sutras and other items to parties other than Ryūkyūan or Japanese rulers and local warrior houses with whom the court had long-standing relations. Yet local elites such as the Ōuchi 大内, Ōtomo 大友, and Sō 宗 families in Kyūshū and western Japan were so desperate to enter the Tripitaka Trade that they even took on imposter identities, not only assuming the face of the shogunate on occasion, but also fabricating Ryūkyūan administrative titles or the names of regional Japanese temples on whose behalf they pretended to request sutra releases.²⁰ In this manner, Northeast Asian diplomacy during the early Joseon period took place within a heterogeneous landscape of varying diplomatic perspectives and radically dissimilar motivations for maritime exchange.

Most of the Korean Buddhist artifacts transferred to Japan through the Tripitaka Trade were sutras and large bells for monastic use. Based on an extensive survey of the numerous inscriptions on Goryeo- and early Joseon-period Korean sutras and cast-iron bells in Japanese collections, Kusui Takashi 楠井隆志 has demonstrated that these objects settled in their current locations as a result of the periodic Joseon release of Buddhist artifacts.²¹ Such artifacts are found primarily in western Japan, in temples and warrior families in Kyūshū and provinces such as Suō and Nagato on the western end of Japan's main island. Their provenance in daimyo families closely linked to Korean-Japanese maritime relations, such as the Ōuchi and Sō families, or in temples sponsored by such families, suggests that rather than stolen booty, they were the objects of official interaction, complicating received etiologies of Korean objects in Japanese collections. Likewise, it is possible that early Korean Buddhist paintings arrived in Japan on the coattails of the Tripitaka Trade, added to sutra requests by Joseon kings but not necessarily chronicled because they were not the main objects of exchange. In 1467, for example, the Joseon king Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455–68) added a “Buddha” to a request by a Japanese woman for a copy of the *Lotus Sutra*.²² Whether this “Buddha” refers to a painting or sculpture is unclear, but it is of interest as an example of a gift that

could occasionally be appended to a royal release. Indeed, instances of such goodwill gestures can be found scattered throughout the documentary record. A 1422 sutra request by the shogunate includes grateful acknowledgement for a portrait of a Buddhist monk it had received sixteen years earlier.²³ In 1464, in addition to the requested *Golden Light Sutra*, an envoy for the Sō family received a painting of a Buddhist deity from the Joseon court.²⁴ It may be that devout kings such as Sejo were particularly generous in adding such bonus items to their sutra releases.²⁵ While only scattered evidence remains, these examples indicate at least some of the possible routes, other than pillage and plunder, by which early Korean painted icons found their way to Japan.

Archipelagic Afterlives

Once in Japan, memory of the geographic origins of Goryeo paintings appears to have faded quickly, in part because these paintings often bore no signatures or inscriptions. The few works that did include dedications, furthermore, employed Chinese era names from the Yuan period, adopted by the Goryeo kingdom late in its dynasty, further obfuscating for later commentators any links to a Korean production context. The earliest surviving attributions to these mostly anonymous works indicate that they were often thought to be by renowned Chinese masters of Buddhist painting; such misrecognitions were common until the twentieth century. Given the authority of Chinese cultural precedent in Japan, it is not surprising that most Korean works in Japanese collections were attributed from the seventeenth century onward to a small cluster of continental painters. Four proper names in particular appear with far more frequency than any others: Wu Daozi 吳道子, Zhang Sigong 張思恭, Xijin Chushi 西金居士, and Lu Xinzong 陸信忠.²⁶ The process by which Goryeo icons came to be incorporated into the evolving Japanese canon of Chinese painting provides insight into the ways painting traditions were imagined in the premodern archipelago, and merits a brief excursus.

Candidates for Buddhist painting attributions were typically drawn from *Manual of the Shogunal Attendant* (J. *Kundaikan sōchōki* 君臺觀左右帳記, hereafter referred to as the *Kundaikan* manual), a connoisseurial guide to Chinese luxury objects and their display compiled by cultural advisors to the Ashikaga shogunate. Over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, successive Ashikaga shoguns accumulated a variety of Chinese objects (J. *karamono* 唐物) used in elaborate display programs for shogunal guests.²⁷ Decorative arrangements of continental ceramics, lacquers, bronzes, and paintings allowed the shogunate to boast an alternative form of cultural refinement to that of the imperial court and aristocracy, while playing an important role in the gift economy of the medieval warrior elite. The collection was curated by three generations of cul-

tural advisors to the shogunate, the most famous of whom were Nōami 能阿弥 (1397–1471), his son Geiami 芸阿弥 (1431–1485), and his grandson Sōami 相阿弥 (d. 1525).²⁸ The Ami advisors initially compiled the *Kundaikan* manual as an internal reference for Ashikaga *chinoiserie* and display practices. In tandem with the decline of the shogunate and exodus of objects from its collection in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, however, the manual circulated widely as a codification of Ashikaga taste. Such was the aura of the Ashikaga cultural sphere that in later generations the *Kundaikan* would become the single most important model for interior display and connoisseurship of Chinese luxury imports among warrior and merchant tea circles.²⁹

Most relevant to the new identities accorded Goryeo Buddhist paintings is the portion of the *Kundaikan* known as the *Painter's List*, a brief compendium of the lives of Chinese painting masters throughout the ages. A typical entry from the *Kundaikan Painter's List* recorded the name of the Chinese painter followed by the subjects for which he was most well-known, thus oftentimes codifying a one-to-one correspondence between a given painter and subject. Although the *Painter's List* was based on Chinese painting texts, most prominently Xia Wenyan's 1365 *Precious Mirror of Painting* (C. *Tuhui baojian* 図繪寶鑑), it was augmented by shogunal advisors with names from signatures found on paintings in the shogunal collection or surrounding monasteries of Kyoto.³⁰ This manner of compilation led to the inclusion of Chinese painters otherwise forgotten on the continent, such as the heads of professional Buddhist painting studios from the Ningbo 寧波 region (present-day Zhejiang province). The port city of Ningbo was long an important waystation for foreign envoys and trade missions to China, as well as the seat of a flourishing Buddhist microculture. Its painting ateliers produced colorful multi-sectarian Buddhist subjects such as the Sixteen Arhats and Ten Hell Kings in large sets for local religious institutions, but these works were also taken back to the archipelago by pilgrim-monks and other Japanese visitors to the mainland.³¹ Ningbo Buddhist painters typically inscribed their names and even their studio addresses on their paintings, possibly as a form of advertisement.³² Not highly regarded according to normative literati aesthetic standards, these scrolls failed to be preserved or recorded by Chinese collectors. Because so many such works were imported to Japan from the twelfth to fourteenth century, however, it is only there that Ningbo painters and their craft have been remembered and appreciated. In all, the names of some thirteen painters from the region are known through inscription, and several found their way into the *Kundaikan Painter's List*, although misprisions could sometimes result in the creation of imaginary masters. In one case, that of Xijin Chushi 西金居士 (act. twelfth century), the names of two separate painters, Jin Dashu 金大受 and Jin Chushi 金處士, were mistak-

only assumed to refer to the same “Layman Jin” (Jin Chushi 金居士), a moniker derived from a misreading of the characters of the second name. The fictitious name was completed when a character (*xi* 西 or “west”) from the studio addresses listed in the two painters’ signatures was mistakenly assumed to be a part of their/his surname, thereby resulting in the illusory persona “Xijin Chushi.”³³

The *Kundaikan Painter’s List* thus came to serve as a source from which Chinese proper names were applied to hundreds of anonymous Goryeo paintings in Japanese collections. Some of these names, such as Wu Daozi, the legendary painter of monastic mural décor in the mid-Tang period, were prominently featured in all standard accounts of Chinese painting. Others, including Zhang Sigong, Xijin Chushi, and Lu Xinzhong, resonated only in Japan. The attribution of anonymous Korean Buddhist paintings to obscure Chinese professional painters by Japanese connoisseurs points both to the fluid mobility of East Asian religious icons as well as the arbitrariness of the identities that could be projected onto them during the premodern era.³⁴

For later generations of Japanese connoisseurs, then, the subjectivity of Goryeo Buddhist painting was buried under the prestige of Chinese textuality and the cultural aura of the Ashikaga shogunate. Nationality was of less concern in the premodern period than the existence of an authoritative proper name, and by extension, genealogy or tradition, to which a painted icon could be linked. It would be a mistake to claim that there was no consciousness of Korean painting in Japan before the twentieth century, however. Early dedicatory inscriptions on the backs of Korean iconic scrolls occasionally make mention of their peninsular origins.³⁵ Unkoku-school painters in western Japan sometimes authenticated anonymous scrolls they came across as “Korean paintings” (J. Koma-e or Kōrai-e 高麗絵).³⁶ Furthermore, a text entitled *Lives of Korean Painters and Calligraphers* (J. *Chōsen shoga den* 朝鮮書画伝), said to be compiled by the literati painter Tani Bunchō 谷文晁 (1760–1841), was in circulation during the mid-nineteenth century.³⁷ Although this publication included entries mostly on scholar-officials who wielded the brush, it does include one Goryeo monk, Hyeheo 慧虛, whose name is found on a Buddhist painting that still survives, the *White-Robed Avalokiteśvara* of Sensōji Temple in Tokyo.³⁸ Nevertheless, Goryeo paintings entered the modern era continuing to be misrecognized as Chinese works, in some cases well into the twentieth century. Early articles introducing these icons in the prestigious art history journal *Kokka* 国華 consistently refer to them by their later continental attributions.³⁹ It is clear from these early twentieth-century publications that the legacy of the *Kundaikan Painter’s List* was still alive, and that early Korean hanging scrolls were being understood as works of Chinese manufacture. More specifically, they were increasingly being grouped under the rubric of the “Zhang Sigong



2

2
Anonymous, *Peacock King*, late eleventh century, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 167.1 x 102.6 cm. Ninnaji Temple, Kyoto, Japan.



3

3
Anonymous, *Amitabha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas*, fourteenth century, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 191.0 x 103.0 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., gift of Charles Lang Freer (Fig06.269).

style” (J. *Chōshikyō yō* 張思恭樣) as earthy, overly decorative, or otherwise slightly unorthodox Chinese works to be contrasted with the naturalism and refinement of Buddhist paintings such as *The Peacock King* (fig. 2) or *Thousand-Armed Avalokiteśvara*, from Eihoji Temple, Gifu Prefecture.⁴⁰ Under the sway of this taxonomy, overseas collectors in the early years of the twentieth century often purchased Goryeo Buddhist paintings under the assumption that they were obtaining a scroll by a Chinese master. When *Amitabha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas* (fig. 3) was purchased by Charles Lang Freer (1854–1919) in 1906, it bore an attribution to Zhang Sigong.⁴¹ The same label was applied to *Kṣitigarbha* (fig. 4), a work purchased by Henry O. Havemeyer in the early twentieth century.⁴² Although such misattributions were connoisseurial miscues adjusted by later generations of cognoscenti, at the time they directly reflected the manner in which East Asian painting history was being authored and understood. Thus the art historian Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908) reproduced both Freer’s abovementioned *Amitabha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas* and another work now known to be of Goryeo provenance, *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* (fig. 5), as representative works of “mystical Buddhist painting in China” in his *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* of 1912. True to his reputation as a leading savant of his time, however, Fenollosa could not



4

4
Anonymous, *Kṣitigarbha*,
fourteenth century, hanging scroll,
ink, colors, and gold on silk, 84.5 x
36.8 cm. Metropolitan Museum of
Art, New York.



5

5
Anonymous, *Water-Moon
Avalokiteśvara*, fourteenth century,
hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold
on silk, 98.4 x 47.8 cm. Freer Gallery
of Art, Smithsonian Institution,
Washington D.C., gift of Charles
Lang Freer (F1904.13).

reconcile the obvious differences between such paintings and works of Ningbo origin such as the *Five Hundred Luohans of Daitokuji*—works that he admired so much.⁴³ He thus revised the attribution of the Freer *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* to that of a Song-period copy of an original by the early Tang master Yan Liben 閻立本, and already recognized in it attributes that would later be identified as signature characteristics of Goryeo Buddhist painting: “The flesh is of gold, always a feature of the Enriuhon [Yan Liben] type, and found thus combined with thick colouring in the costume down to later times in Northern work... The head-dress is built up into an elaborate tiara of coloured gems and flowers. But the peculiar feature of this type is the enshrouding of the whole body in an elaborate lace veil, painted in thin tones of cream over the heavy colours, and which hangs from the top of the tiara.”⁴⁴

The Birth of a Field

Over the course of the century, however, an awareness began to emerge among Japanese scholars that a group of scrolls scattered in various temple, museum, and private collections quite possibly reflected a tradition of early Buddhist painting distinct from that of the Jiangnan region. These works demonstrated certain

stylistic tics and iconographic commonalities that did not fit unproblematically under the rubric of Chinese painting. Furthermore, some of them bore inscriptions hinting at Korean origins, which suggested that a much larger group of anonymous works herded under the banner of Zhang Sigong in fact also originated from the peninsula. It was with this consciousness that the systematic investigation of Korean painting was launched and modern Japanese scholarship on Goryeo Buddhist painting was born. The remainder of this essay will be devoted to an interpretive survey of some of the most important studies and observations made since the inauguration of modern Japanese scholarship on Korean Buddhist painting. For the sake of convenience, it is useful to divide this history broadly into three stages, each culminating in a landmark publication that encapsulates its most important developments. The first stage (1932–67) is characterized by a dawning awareness of a distinct corpus of Korean Buddhist paintings in Japanese collections, as well as initial attempts to introduce and inventory it. The second phase (1967–81) witnesses a focus on the earliest and finest examples of peninsular religious painting from the Goryeo period. During this period a rough profile of the aesthetic and iconographic characteristics of Goryeo Buddhist painting is outlined. Fleshing out the framework established by these earlier periods, the third stage (1981–present) is characterized by a complexification of this profile through numerous contextual studies of individual scrolls or groups of paintings. While these stages are merely intended to provide an easy-to-follow narrative trajectory of Japanese historiography on early Korean Buddhist painting, they are nevertheless useful in highlighting the differing concerns that drove scholarly inquiry on this subject over the years. The changing nature of these concerns can be grasped through a closer look at each of these stages.

The systematic investigation of Korea's cultural heritage by Japanese scholars was a legacy of the colonial period (1910–45). Soon after the annexation of the peninsula, in October 1910, the Office of the Governor General of Korea (J. *Chōsen sōtokufu* 朝鮮總督府) initiated a thorough archaeological study of the Korean peninsula. The results of this survey were published in various multi-volume sets, and had the effect of raising awareness of Korean works in Japanese collections as well.⁴⁵ Sekino Tadashi 関野貞 (1868–1935), an archaeologist at Tokyo Imperial University and a leading figure in the government surveys, wrote in his 1932 *History of Korean Art* (J. *Chōsen bijutsushi* 朝鮮美術史) of the need to investigate systematically the existence of Korean Buddhist paintings in Japanese monastic collections. Here Sekino stated that he “would like to believe that the many Buddhist paintings in Japan that have been attributed to Zhang Sigong are [instead] by the hands of Goryeo painters.”⁴⁶ The proprietary claim that Japanese colonial-era scholars held on peninsular artistic traditions proved to be the earliest catalyst for

modern art-historical inquiry into Korean art.⁴⁷ The discursive framework within which such inquiry was carried out was fraught with ambivalence. On the one hand, Korean art was subsumed under a larger notion of Asian art, both a Western and Japanese colonial construct whose foundations were established by texts such as Okakura Tenshin's *Ideals of the East* (1903).⁴⁸ According to this notion, the aesthetic traditions of Asia were characterized by a spirituality that could be opposed to the rationality of its Western counterparts. On the other hand, Korean art became an exemplar of a simple, intuitive folk aesthetic, something that had been lost by Japan in its rush toward modernization. Along with the government-sponsored surveys of Korean archaeological remains, therefore, this was the era of Yanagi (Muneyoshi) Sōetsu's 柳宗悦 (1889–1961) championing of the anonymous Korean craftsman, “the unknown potter,” an imaginary representative of a distinct craft tradition for Japan's western neighbor.⁴⁹ From a buddhological perspective, an emerging consciousness of a distinct tradition of “Korean Buddhism” during the colonial period also provided a conceptual foundation for later research on Goryeo Buddhist painting.⁵⁰ Research on peninsular religion also began to focus on the study of sutra scrolls produced in Korea, early examples of which were found in abundance all over Japan.⁵¹

It was only after the end of World War II and peninsular occupation, however, that Japanese scholars systematically began to introduce early Korean works in Japanese collections.⁵² Of particular importance in the art-historical arena are studies by Kumagai Nobuo 熊谷宣夫, at the time a researcher at the National Institute for the Research of Cultural Properties in Tokyo. Kumagai's survey of Korean scrolls in 1967 inaugurated the systematic study of Korean Buddhist painting; as a culmination of several decades of slow and steady fieldwork in this genre, it caps the first phase of Japanese historiography.⁵³ The 1967 survey comments on each of seventy-five paintings that Kumagai believed could be of Korean manufacture, dating from the late thirteenth to the late sixteenth centuries. Kumagai's periodization implies that he believes that these works were brought to Japan largely because of Hideyoshi's campaigns of the 1590s, and he does not differentiate between Goryeo works and paintings from the first two centuries of the Joseon period. Kumagai makes several important observations in his 1967 article that bear repeating. He states that the reason why so little research has been carried out on early Korean Buddhist painting might be attributed to the biases of the *Goryeo sa*, the chronicle of Goryeo court history compiled by Confucian advisors to the Jeonju court during the fifteenth century. The *Goryeo sa* is one of the few remaining primary sources for the study of the court during this period; because the officials who compiled it had a vested interest in minimalizing the role of Buddhism in court affairs, their editorial strategy appears to have been reflected in the

chronicle's laconic and minimal discussion of Goryeo Buddhist patronage and ritual among the royalty. In addition, Kumagai articulates some general visual characteristics of early Korean Buddhist paintings for the first time, including its chromatic distinctiveness vis-à-vis Chinese and Japanese works, and a tendency among Goryeo works toward stillness or lack of movement in the depiction of Buddhist icons.⁵⁴ The ultimate value of his study, however, lies in his first attempt at a systematic collation of available information; while Kumagai's outline would require much revision and expansion, it nevertheless established a foundation upon which all future scholars of Goryeo Buddhist painting could base their own efforts.⁵⁵

If Japanese scholarship up until Kumagai's 1967 study was characterized primarily by the urge to inventory, the decade-and-a-half that followed oversaw a sustained effort to define the representational characteristics of what had been inventoried. The focus narrowed to the Goryeo period, which had been fixed in the historical imaginary as the golden era of Buddhist art patronage on the peninsula. The introduction of newly discovered works continued to revise, in some cases dramatically, the horizon of knowledge concerning Goryeo Buddhist scrolls.⁵⁶ This steady stream of research paralleled a systematic survey of Chinese Buddhist paintings in Japanese collections overseen by Suzuki Kei 鈴木敬 of the University of Tokyo, which in excavating numerous works hidden in temple collections helped to significantly advance the understanding of continental religious painting in the Jiangnan region.⁵⁷ For the first time, a comparative perspective could be brought to bear on Buddhist painting in the East Asian region, with fields of production such as "Goryeo Buddhist painting," "Ningbo Buddhist painting," "Chan painting," and the "Yan Hui school" aligned within the same historical and taxonomic space. This was the approach taken in the landmark exhibition *Buddhist and Daoist Figure Paintings of the Yuan Dynasty*, held at the Tokyo National Museum in 1975.⁵⁸ Here for the first time East Asian Buddhist painting was conceived of not as a monolithic entity but as arising from a constellation of semi-discrete production contexts. In turn, the specificity of Korean iconography became the focus of attention, as some subjects appeared unique to the Goryeo kingdom while others represented peninsular variations on region-wide themes.⁵⁹ Many of these observations were on display in an exhibition devoted specifically to Goryeo Buddhist painting at the Yamato Bunkakan Museum in Nara in 1978, the first of its kind.⁶⁰ Bringing together most of the known Goryeo-period paintings and sutras in Japanese collections of the period into one museological presentation, the 1978 exhibition proved a revelation to many who were fortunate enough to view it; the art historian Jon Carter Covell was moved to declare that a "lost legacy has been returned to Korean art history."⁶¹

The real legacy of the Yamato Bunkakan exhibition, however, was the research catalogue published by its organizers three years later.⁶² Edited by Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田宏志 and Kikutake Jun'ichi 菊竹淳一, this volume illustrated over ninety Goryeo paintings and included important research articles on Goryeo religion, the relationship between Goryeo painting and Chinese and Japanese Buddhist painting, iconography, inscriptions, and illustrated sutras.⁶³ By bringing together a variety of perspectives to bear on this growing body of paintings, the 1981 study succeeded in articulating for the first time the art historical parameters of "Goryeo Buddhist painting." This genre was now understood to be a body of work dating from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, characterized by a select iconography, with a particular emphasis on subjects related to Pure Land belief: Amitabha, either alone, in a triadic arrangement, or surrounded by the Eight Great Bodhisattvas; Kṣitigarbha either single or accompanied by the Ten Hell Kings; and most popularly, Avalokiteśvara depicted in her mountain-island abode as the "Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara." A growing menu of iconographic conventions (Kṣitigarbha's head scarf, Avalokiteśvara's transparent veil), representational mannerisms (golden flower roundels on red garments for *tathagata* deities, gold outlines and accents on rock formations), and technical habits (the use of gold ink to the exclusion of cut gold foil) distinguished it from Chinese or Japanese painting, as well as from later Korean painting of the Joseon period.⁶⁴ It was possible to itemize the pictorial qualities that distinguished this group of scrolls from those of nearby regions: general lack of emphasis on figural movement, large disparities in scale between main icons and accompanying figures, minimal emphasis on landscape or illusionistic space surrounding the icons, a palette balancing both strong reds with cool greens and blues, typically overlaid with a softly shimmering web of gold and shell white decoration. Once enumerated, the visual persona of early Korean Buddhist painting was turning out to be highly distinctive.

Crucial to the study of Goryeo Buddhist painting during this period was the examination and ordering of inscribed paintings, which served as nodes around which to situate other works. A small portion of the scrolls bear dated, gold-ink dedications by their patrons, the parsing of which helped to locate more precisely the spatial and temporal coordinates of the genre as a whole. Although the term "Goryeo Buddhist painting" implies a group of works that span the half-millennium encompassed by the Goryeo period, in fact the overwhelming majority of works date only from the last 120 years or so, from around 1270 to the fall of the dynasty in 1392. The only paintings preceding this era are a group of approximately a dozen scrolls depicting one arhat each, believed to be from an original set of *Five Hundred Arhats* on five hundred scrolls dating to the years 1235–36. These paintings are executed in an ink-and-light-color medium and are the only ink



6

6
Anonymous, *Amitabha*, 1286,
hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold
on silk, 203.5 x 105.1 cm. Private
collection (formerly Shimazu
Collection), Japan.

paintings to have survived from the Goryeo period, providing a valuable record of the range of pictorial possibilities available in this period.⁶⁵ Yet *Five Hundred Arhats* is something of an anomaly, and instead it is a group of polychrome iconic images that have become touchstones for research in early Korean Buddhist painting. The earliest extant polychrome painting from the Goryeo corpus is *Standing Amitabha*, formerly in the Shimazu family collection, dated to 1286 (fig. 6). Aside from *Five Hundred Arhats* and the Shimazu *Amitabha*, eleven additional works bear dated inscriptions, including works now canonized as masterpieces of the genre; these include the 1306 *Amitabha*, the 1310 *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* (see fig. 1), the 1320 *Amitabha and Eight Great Bodhisattvas* (Matsuodera temple, Nara), the 1323 *Sixteen Meditations of the Visualization Sutra* (fig. 7), and the 1323 *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara*.⁶⁶ These and other dated works would form an axis along which formal and iconographic patterns would be mapped out in the coming years.

The inscriptions allow the proper names of painters and patrons to be linked to the mostly anonymous corpus of early Korean Buddhist painting, even if in many cases little is known about the inscribers.⁶⁷ In some of the dedications, such as the



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7
Seolchung, *Sixteen Meditations of the Visualization Sutra*, 1323, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 224.2 x 121.9 cm. Chion'in Temple, Kyoto, Japan.

one recorded for the monumental *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* of Kagami Shrine, as many as five painters are mentioned, of various ranks within the court academy, providing clues to the organization of the royal painting atelier.⁶⁸ Some of the patrons are well-known historical actors, such as Yeom Saeng-ik 廉承益 (?–1302) of the Shimazu *Aniitabha*, a powerful retainer in the court of King Chungyeol 忠烈王 (1236–1308), and Queen Sukbi 淑妃 of the 1310 *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara*. Most, however, are obscure and have yet to be identified in other historical sources. Buddhist monks are involved in some commissions, members of the military elite and lay religious confraternities in others. Some of the names are also found on colophons to decorated sutras, providing tantalizing clues to the range of religious activity in which these obscure figures were involved.⁶⁹ The inscriptions also provide an understanding of the range of objectives that motivated the production of such paintings in the first place: the accrual of merit for oneself and one's ancestors, prevention of calamity and personal misfortune, longevity, childbirth, and so forth. Although from an East Asian perspective these goals are fairly standard ones for which to enlist the help of Buddhist icons, in some cases a localized Goryeo court context can be fleshed out.

Such investigations of local contexts are one of the primary thrusts of Japanese historiography on Goryeo Buddhist painting during its third stage (1981–present), which has brought into sharper focus the profile of the genre established in the 1970s. During this span, an increasing number of Korean scholars have joined Japanese researchers in exploring the local political contexts and iconographic idiosyncracies of the genre, while further articulating its visual parameters. Articles introducing newly discovered paintings and exhibition catalogues have continued to serve as the primary venues for reassessments of the genre as a whole,⁷⁰ culminating in a catalogue raisonné at the end of the century.⁷¹ Because the entire span of studies carried out in these decades cannot be done justice with a descriptive summary, instead three influential theses that have attempted to complexify the general picture of Goryeo Buddhist painting will be introduced.

The first concerns a cartography of three general production contexts for Goryeo Buddhist painting proposed by Kikutake Jun'ichi, professor emeritus of art history at Kyūshū University.⁷² Although his concerns in this genre are wide-ranging, Kikutake's greatest provocation to the study of Goryeo Buddhist painting may be his proposal that a stylistic analysis of the extant corpus reflects three production contexts: the Goryeo royal court, monasteries, and "commoner" (J. *minkan* 民間) patrons.⁷³ The proposed court style is represented by a string of dated works, including the 1286 Shimazu *Amitabha* (see fig. 6), the 1306 Nezu *Amitabha*, the 1310 *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* (see fig. 1), and the 1323 *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara*. All bear gold-ink inscriptions to the lower right and left that unambiguously link them to a court context.⁷⁴ As Kikutake points out, all share an interest in depicting their deities as heavily volumetric entities depicted in taut, controlled outlines and bright colors. In addition, they share a cluster of subtler representational techniques, such as those found in the face of the Shimazu *Amitabha* (see fig. 6): a "witch's peak," or slightly pointed arch in the middle of the hairline above the forehead, and three thin, horizontal lines separating the upper and lower lips, two black lines on the side and a red cinnabar line in the middle. Kikutake's monastic style, meanwhile, is represented by works with inscriptions indicating the participation of monks such as the 1312 *Sixteen Meditations of the Visualization Sutra* (Dai'onji Temple), the 1320 *Amitabha and Eight Great Bodhisattvas* (fig. 8), and *Sakyamuni Triad with Ananda and Kasyapa*. As witnessed in these three works, the monastic style tends toward contraction with a crowded distribution of figures and depiction of motifs, an even more meticulous attention to decorative patterns than usual, and a somber palette. Also lacking are the subtle finishing touches to facial representation characteristic of court-related works. Finally, Kikutake's commoner style is represented by the *Amitabha* triptych now divided between the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Seikadō Art Museum in



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Anonymous, *Amitabha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas*, 1320, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 177.3 x 91.2 cm. Matsuodera Temple, Nara Prefecture, Japan.

Tokyo. This denomination is characterized by deities with triangular heads and sharp facial features, pointed fingernails and lotus throne petals, a sensitivity to nuances in pose, and a generally cool chromatic palette.

In the absence of further clues linking Goryeo paintings to specific production contexts, Kikutake's tripartite scheme has the merit of providing an initial visual taxonomy of studio styles. In doing so, it diversifies the one-dimensional image of early Korean Buddhist painting established in earlier periods, adding wrinkles to any easy assumptions of a unified Goryeo style. Yet the idea of three patronage regimes corresponding to three differing types of iconic figuration is not entirely unproblematic. One inadequacy of Kikutake's categorization is its assumption of a stable national identity for the corpus of paintings it takes as its subject. As will be discussed below, recently a Chinese origin has been claimed for many of the works categorized as the commoner style, suggesting the need for a much wider geographical purview when mapping visual discrepancies onto nodes of studio production. From an institutional perspective, furthermore, it is unclear to what degree the court can be separated from the monastic community, especially from the largest and most prestigious Buddhist temples, when it

comes to the sponsorship of ritual and its attendant paraphernalia; the question of nonseparation extends to the “commoner” realm as well, for many members of the Goryeo elite formed lay confraternities (such as the numerous White Lotus societies) that sponsored the production of their own luxury icons.⁷⁵ Until a more nuanced institutional landscape for the patronage of Buddhist artifacts can be articulated, taxonomies of Goryeo Buddhist painting based upon the positing of discrete production contexts will have to remain provisional.

A second notable attempt during the last two decades to introduce variation to the general profile of Goryeo Buddhist painting concerns the question of stylistic change over time. Despite the brevity of the span (just over a century) during which most Goryeo paintings were produced, Chung Woothak 鄭于澤 has proposed a framework for charting a shift in pictorial qualities between the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁷⁶ Whereas Kikutake’s idea of a triad of iconic styles was synchronic, Chung’s developmental schema is diachronic. His proposals concerning stylistic change can be found in his important 1990 publication *Studies in Amitabha Painting of the Goryeo Period*.⁷⁷ Through an analysis of six different Amitabha-related painting themes, Chung offers a variety of new perspectives concerning Goryeo Buddhist painting, but discussion will be limited here to his thesis that Goryeo painting underwent a stylistic shift sometime around 1300 from a more naturalistic mode of representation to a greater emphasis on the decorative dimension.⁷⁸ Chung’s proposal provides the first narrative of stylistic change in this genre, and to this extent merits close attention. The trajectory of this change is difficult to follow fully because of the dearth of dated material, but the volumetricity and pliancy of pose in the earliest dated works such as the 1286 Shimazu *Amitabha* (see fig. 6) and the 1306 Nezu *Amitabha* do indeed distinguish them from most of the other members of the Goryeo corpus. A comparison of two almost identical works of the same subject, *Maitreya Waiting to Descend*, one datable to the early fourteenth century (fig. 9) and the other from 1350, also demonstrates a tendency towards flatness and decorative emphasis in the later painting. This difference, however, might be articulated in a less hierarchical manner, not as one between naturalism and stylization, for most Goryeo paintings evince a similar degree of nonconcern for illusionistic space. In most Buddhist painting, furthermore, the priority placed on representation of a given deity’s iconicity makes a certain flatness inevitable. Instead, the slow and steady transformation of the pictorial effects of Goryeo icons might be viewed in terms of certain representational habits that change over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Earlier works, for example, successfully create a magical “glow” for the flesh of buddhas and bodhisattvas by applying white pigment to the back of the silk so that it shows through the warp and woof of the surface in muted fashion, modeled from



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Anonymous, *Maitreya Waiting to Descend*, fourteenth century, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 121.8 x 92.1 cm. Chion'in Temple, Kyoto, Japan.



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Anonymous, *Kṣitigarbha*, late thirteenth or fourteenth century, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 100.7 x 72.4 cm. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., anonymous gift (S1992.11).

the front in soft red- and yellow-toned pigments. Indeed, this pigmentation of the underside is characteristic of Buddhist painting across East Asia in the premodern period. Later Goryeo paintings, on the other hand, tend to apply a uniformly mat gold paint to signify the deity's flesh, heightening the hieratic quality of the image. This difference can be witnessed in two otherwise similar depictions of a standing Kṣitigarbha, one in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (fig. 10) and the other in the Tokugawa Museum. While neither is dated, the former successfully conjures up the sense of a life-force emanating from the bodhisattva, whereas the golden body of the latter conveys an impression of abstraction, iconic otherworldliness, and distance from the viewer. Whether this distinction is the result of chronological placement requires further study, but based upon a comparison with dated works, the Sackler *Kṣitigarbha* was most likely painted much earlier than the Tokugawa version. Rather than implying a closer proximity to natural models in earlier Goryeo painting, then, Chung's stylistic chronology might be further enriched by articulating such change in terms of differences in technical conventions and painterly habits that might in turn be linked to priorities placed on an icon's visual appearance in certain ritual contexts.



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Anonymous, *Fifteen Thousand Buddhas*, thirteenth century, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 175.9 x 87.1 cm. Fudō'in Temple, Hiroshima Prefecture, Japan.

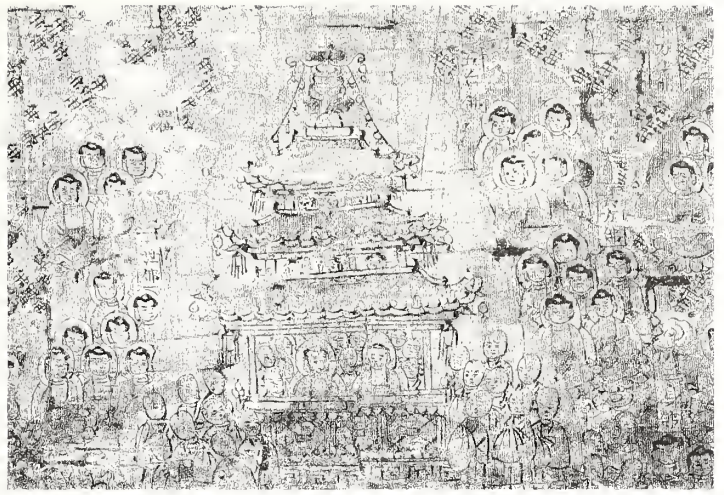
As opposed to the two theses surveyed above, the third attempt to parse the Goryeo corpus for difference discussed here concerns the theological underpinnings of icon production. Ide Seinosuke 井手誠之輔, who has pursued research on Goryeo Buddhist painting from a variety of vantage points, has called attention to the subtle but pervasive doctrinal influence of the *Flower Garland Sutra* (*Avatamsaka Sutra*).⁷⁹ Previously there had been a tendency in the Japanese scholarly community to view Amitabha-related subjects in Goryeo Buddhist painting from an archipelagic religious perspective. This outlook tended to conceptualize Pure Land belief through the ideas of such ecclesiastical figures as Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212) and Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1262), later claimed as founders of the Pure Land and True Pure Land sects respectively. According to this understanding, belief in the Amitabha Buddha and his paradise were imagined primarily through what were known as the “Three Pure Land sutras” (*J. jōdo sanbukyō* 浄土三部経).⁸⁰ Thus many Japanese pictorializations of Amitabha-related imagery were based on the textual foundation provided by these sutras. Ide’s observations concerning the subterranean influence of the *Flower Garland Sutra*, however, has opened up possibilities for the doctrinal recalibration of a wide variety of Goryeo paintings on Amitabha-related subjects.⁸¹

As the longest and one of the philosophically densest texts in the Buddhist canon, the *Flower Garland Sutra* circulated in three different Chinese translations



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Detail, fig. 11.



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Detail, fig. 11.

throughout East Asia, where it exerted a profound influence on various doctrinal communities, arguably serving as a basis for its own “school.” In the Goryeo kingdom it played a crucial role as the foundation for the reconciliation of the two most important Buddhist sects, the Kyo 教 (textual) and Son 禪 (meditative) schools.⁸² Claiming to represent the Buddha’s first sermon after achieving enlightenment, this sutra preached the “infinite interfusion” of all phenomena, the interrelatedness of all worlds, the fact that all beings were manifestations of Vairocana or the Cosmological Buddha. This ecumenical approach made the text a suitable vehicle for the reconciliation of competing doctrinal interpretations of the Buddha’s word. Its influence on Goryeo Buddhist painting had previously been noted in the prevalence of Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara images, which can in part be traced to the story of Sudhana’s pilgrimage recounted in the last chapter of the *Flower Garland Sutra*.⁸³ Yet Ide argued that it also served as the doctrinal basis for paintings such as the *Shimazu Amitabha* (see fig. 6); there, the painting represents Amitabha already in his Pure Land abode, as witnessed by the lotus pond at bottom, gesturing towards his left, in which direction lies the Flower Garland (K. Hwaeom 華嚴) world. This gesture accords with the interpretation in the *Flower Garland Sutra* of the Amitabha Pure Land as a waystation or gateway towards the Hwaeom Universe, which subsumes it, and clarifies the previously poorly-understood inscription on the *Shimazu Amitabha*, which in fact cites one version of the sutra itself. This radical reinterpretation of the Amitabha Pure Land as the antechamber to the Hwaeom world situates it as merely the *penultimate* goal of the believer. The pictorialization of this unusual doctrine is unknown outside of Goryeo Buddhist painting.

The unique pictorial imprint of the *Flower Garland Sutra* can also be witnessed in *Fifteen Thousand Buddhas* (fig. 11), a painting that ranks among the most graceful and dizzyingly virtuosic works in the Goryeo corpus.⁸⁴ The deity that serves as its protagonist sits in a relaxed pose, with knees crossed, looking to his upper right. The title derives from the four-character inscription, “Fifteen Thousand Buddhas,” found on the top band of mounting. Close examination reveals that the painting is indeed composed of thousands of tiny Buddhas, atomistically filling not only the deity itself, but the space surrounding him, and even the mounting, which is completely covered by this teeming multitude (figs. 12 and 13). The



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Anonymous, *Long-Sashed Avalokiteśvara*, early fourteenth century, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 69.6 x 31.5 cm. Kokuseiji Temple, Kyoto, Japan.

pointillistic representation might be traced back to distant precedents in Chinese sculptural representations of Vairocana made under the influence of the *Flower Garland Sutra*, such as the Cosmological Buddha in the Freer Gallery of Art. Yet the identity of the deity in *Fifteen Thousand Buddhas* is ambiguous; continental precedents suggest Vairocana as a suitable candidate, but X-ray photos reveal that a small deity is present in its crown, reflecting an iconographic feature of Avalokiteśvara. Furthermore, the relaxed pose also cites a famous template for Avalokiteśvara's representation by the eleventh-century Chinese painter Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1146–1101), as reflected for example in an early fourteenth-century Japanese painting (fig. 14).⁸⁵ Rather than representing one or the other, the deity of *Fifteen Thousand Buddhas* might reflect the idea that both deities are manifestations of one another. This twinning of Vairocana and Avalokiteśvara ultimately reflects a sophisticated interpretation of the *Flower Garland Sutra* at the visual register. Not just limited to these unique instances, the imprint of the *Flower Garland Sutra* is also found in more subtle ways in the *śrivastas* (auspicious Indian symbols) found on the chests and *cakras* (dharma wheels) on the palms of many Goryeo deities; these are marks of the Vairocana that, by being branded upon other members of the Buddhist pantheon, visually signal the interconnectedness

of all of these deities as manifestations of the Vairocana. In this way, Ide's work has greatly complexified received understandings of the doctrinal underpinnings of the Goryeo corpus and brought about an awareness that even minor details of a deity's accoutrement can provide clues to the textual and iconographic basis for a given representation. The observation that the *Flower Garland Sutra* functioned as a centrifuge for new visual articulations of doctrine serves as a model for the future refinement and diversification of the relationship between text and image in Goryeo painting.

The Symptoms of Japanese Provenance

An examination of iconographic parameters provides a useful starting point for a discussion of how to assess modern Japanese scholarship on Goryeo Buddhist painting. Because of its unusual afterlife, early Korean religious painting was first studied primarily in Japan, where the overwhelming majority of extant works continues to be located. As research in this field globalizes, however, it is worthwhile to pause and ask the question: What has been the imprint, if any, of archipelagic transmission on Japanese historiography in this field? Are there genealogies of thought within Japanese scholarly communities with an interest in Goryeo Buddhist painting that both open up possibilities and impose blind-nesses? In retrospect, it is possible to point out several assumptions within these communities that are coming under increasing stress. The first is the tendency, just discussed, to center the iconographic parameters of Goryeo Buddhist painting narrowly upon Pure Land-related themes. At first glance this appears to be a legitimate approach, given the preponderance of Amitabha-related images and pictorializations of Kṣitigarbha and Avalokiteśvara, which are closely linked to Amitabha and Pure Land belief. Pure Land belief, however, can be a rather slippery historical phenomenon to pin down, one that oftentimes existed not so much as an institutional entity in itself but as an important component of larger belief systems. Such is also the case with Goryeo Buddhism writ large, an umbrella term that covers a highly diverse grouping of Buddhist sects and beliefs. Although the religious infrastructure of the kingdom was dominated by the Kyo and Son sects, their entrenchment did not preclude sustained interest in the *Flower Garland Sutra* and *Lotus Sutra*, esotericism, Tibetan Lamaism, and Amitabha Pure Land belief.⁸⁶ Within this rich matrix of Buddhist doctrines and cultic centers, different groups and confraternities could rally around one or another doctrinal node, and commission rituals and appropriate icons accordingly.⁸⁷ While in the last decade art historians have done a great deal to nuance the understanding of late Goryeo religion that lay behind the production of painting, certainly more can be done in this sphere. Further study is necessary of the



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Anonymous, *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra*, fourteenth century, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 165.0 x 85.0 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

iconographically most unique examples of Goryeo painting, such as the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* (fig. 15)⁸⁸ or the group of paintings previously interpreted as the goddess Marici.⁸⁹ At the same time, a more textured approach to the critical mass of Pure Land-related material will yield further insights into the complexities of peninsular belief in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

A second tendency in Japanese historiography concerns the inclination to link the iconography of Goryeo Buddhist painting directly to precedents found in wall paintings of the Mogao Grottoes near Dunhuang. The four hundred and some painted cave-shrines in these grottoes preserve what amounts to an encyclopedia of Buddhist iconography, both sculptural and pictorial, and almost any later

representation of Buddhist teachings can be linked in some way to this archive. Because Japan has a long tradition of Dunhuang scholarship dating back to the early twentieth-century Ōtani journeys to the Silk Road, moreover, many Japanese commentators have found it natural to link the Goryeo iconography directly to Central Asian precedents.⁹⁰ Particularly attractive was the idea of a “northern route” for the transmission of iconographic variations that did not become widespread on the mainland. A good example of this northern transmission of Buddhist iconography from Dunhuang to Goryeo is the theme of the “hooded Kṣitigarbha.” The Japanese Dunhuang scholar Matsumoto Ei’ichi 松本栄一 (1900–1984) was the first to study systematically this iconography in 1932, and traced its depiction to a local Dunhuang legend concerning the monk Daoming 道明, who dreamt that he had been wrongly taken to hell and was only saved by the intercession of Kṣitigarbha, who wore a head scarf resembling a bandana.⁹¹ Matsumoto noted that this oneiric vision of Kṣitigarbha was represented in numerous paintings in the Dunhuang and Turfan grottoes, and that a substantial number can also be witnessed among Goryeo paintings, although not in China or Japan.⁹² This observation has led many commentators since to posit a special relationship between these two Buddhist cultures, perhaps mediated by northern kingdoms such as the Liao. The idea of a special relationship is attractive in that it minimizes the role of direct continental precedent, thereby enhancing the independence of peninsular pictorial tradition from Chinese influence and allowing for the assertion of a more distinctive aesthetic identity for Goryeo art; it has thus served as a catalyst for scholars to seek other iconographic linkages. Some of the proposed iconographic relationships, however, are clearly tenuous. There is a great deal that is still unclear about Buddhist iconography in continental China during the Song and Yuan periods, when the Goryeo court had extensive ties with the mainland.⁹³ The hooded Kṣitigarbha iconography, for example, has recently been found to exist all throughout the continent and East Asia, including the Beishan grotto-shrines of China’s southwestern Sichuan province, paintings produced in the workshops of Ningbo, and in Japanese iconographic compilations.⁹⁴ Although more intensive study of these relationships is necessary, the current understanding of iconographic distribution in East Asian Buddhist art already indicates that the idea of an exclusively northern route of transmission is untenable.

A third pattern that emerges from a survey of Japanese historiography on Goryeo Buddhist painting is a tendency, once consciousness of this field emerged in the postwar period, to reattribute overenthusiastically those paintings that did not easily fit with prevalent notions of Chinese naturalism to a Korean production context. The nationalities of numerous paintings have been thus debated, oscillating between China and Korea depending upon the criteria employed to define



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Anonymous, *Amitabha Pure Land*,
1183, hanging scroll, ink, colors,
and gold on silk, 150.5 x 92.0 cm.
Chion'in Temple, Kyoto, Japan.

both categories on each occasion. Perhaps the most celebrated such case is the 1183 *Amitabha Pure Land* of Chion'in Temple in Kyoto (fig. 16). This painting had long been treasured as one of the few dated Southern Song works in Japanese collections, but in 1991 the Chinese painting scholar Toda Teisuke 戸田禎佑 published an article arguing that it was a twelfth-century Korean painting.⁹⁵ Toda's primary reason was visual; it did not seem to possess the kind of illusionistic space typical of Southern Song painting, found even in the most iconic Buddhist paintings of the continent.⁹⁶ Subsequently, other scholars and publications have counterargued on both stylistic and iconographic grounds that the *Amitabha Pure Land* is indeed a product of China's Jiangnan region.⁹⁷ Yet Toda's rationale in arguing for a Korean origin exposes the tenacity of concepts such as national style, as well as the subjective and in some cases arbitrary standards by which such shibboleths are applied.

Another revealing debate surrounding the nationality of a Buddhist painting concerns a set of *Ten Hell Kings* scrolls in the Seikadō Museum in Tokyo. This set of thirteen scrolls consisting of the ten hell kings, Kṣitigarbha, and two messengers had long been considered to be of Chinese origin among most Japanese scholars, but in 1999 Cheeyun Kwon, a scholar trained in the United States, published a dissertation arguing for its Korean origins.⁹⁸ Kwon asserts that this unique set was made in the mid-Goryeo period for mortuary rituals at the royal court; she



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Anonymous, *Hell King (Yama)*,
fourteenth century, hanging
scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk,
143.5 x 55.9 cm. Seikadō Museum,
Tokyo, Japan.

describes the incorporation of Ten Kings belief into Goryeo court ritual cosmology during the twelfth century and mobilizes a wide array of iconographic comparisons to make her argument. The Japanese scholar Miyazaki Noriko 宮崎法子 has since made a case for a Chinese attribution, leaving the Seikadō Ten Kings in a suspended state of dual citizenship until its fate is determined.⁹⁹ In similar fashion, the geographic origins of other paintings have also been contested; Ide Seinosuke has recently questioned the long-accepted attribution of a group of paintings to the Goryeo period, including a famous trio of works now split between the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Seikadō Museum (fig. 17).¹⁰⁰ Such debates might be viewed as a symptom of the lack of a nuanced understanding of regional Chinese painting styles and conventions, which have yet to be explored in any depth. Ultimately, the identity politics of Goryeo Buddhist painting reveal that the study

of this field is an interregional enterprise, with progress hinging on simultaneous localized research into continental, peninsular, and archipelagic sources and contexts. Only then will the larger mosaic of East Asian Buddhist painting and its various constituent fields take shape.

Future Vectors

As we have seen, the nationalities of a number of East Asian Buddhist paintings are still in flux, awaiting clarification through future acts of art historical repatriation. In concluding this essay, I would like to propose, along with interregional inquiry, several other avenues of research that may prove fruitful in years to come. The first involves studies of the ritual contexts for Goryeo Buddhist painting. Recent interdisciplinary explorations into the nature of the East Asian Buddhist icon have greatly textured the understanding of the signifying potential of such objects.¹⁰¹ Similar investigations in the Goryeo context might include not only cataloguing the range of possible ritual manuals and liturgies for Buddhist paintings, but also reconstructing the architectural environments and spatial settings for their use.¹⁰² Such localized studies will serve to deepen the current understanding of the role of Goryeo icons in a given ritual program and help to articulate differences in function between them and Buddhist scrolls in other East Asian contexts.¹⁰³

Another promising frontier in the field of Goryeo Buddhist painting is the study of its technical and physical characteristics through conservation and scientific research. The art-historical potential of the knowledge produced in conservation has only recently been recognized in the sphere of East Asian Buddhist painting.¹⁰⁴ The many technical observations that become possible when a scroll is repaired and remounted can provide insights into the unique pictorial effects found in numerous early peninsular works. Already there is some understanding of the specific materiality of early Korean scrolls, such as in Pak Youngsook's observation that the darkened silks of many Goryeo Buddhist paintings may result from the fact that they were originally dyed a pale tea color.¹⁰⁵ Scientific pigment analysis should add to the mineralogical understanding of these works and provide possible explanations for the haunting diaphaneity of the best Goryeo painting. In this regard, recent nondestructive photographic techniques for pigment analysis carried out by Shirono Seiji 城野誠治 at the National Institute for the Research of Cultural Properties, Tokyo, have already yielded new insights into the diversity of the Goryeo painting palette and the sheer complexity of pigmentation techniques in the royal atelier.¹⁰⁶

Other vectors in the study of Goryeo Buddhist painting might involve its relationship to later Buddhist painting of the Joseon period. It was common until recently to assume a break between Buddhist painting production in the late

Goryeo and early Joseon periods. Because painted icons of the Joseon period display a heavy Tantric influence, changed iconographic program, and radically different pictorial qualities, this hiatus was easy to posit. The assumption of a gap in production, however, also originated from preconceived notions concerning the fate of Buddhism after dynastic transition. Standard narratives recount that Buddhism was largely suppressed under the new Korean kings, when it became the target of critique by increasingly powerful NeoConfucian factions at court. Yet the status of Korean Buddhist institutions during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is much more complex than such accounts would have; the degree to which individual rulers embraced the religion and believed in the efficacy of Buddhist ritual fluctuated dramatically, and the fate of institutionalized Buddhism was often prey to court factionalism and international diplomatic conditions.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, the fall of the Goryeo dynasty does not seem to have affected the quantity of Buddhist patronage all that much, as there are numerous examples of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century court-commissioned Buddhist paintings in Japan and elsewhere. Because the iconographic and stylistic features of this group of later works is still poorly understood, the precise nature of the continuities and discontinuities between Goryeo and early Joseon painted icons remains to be articulated. It could be that many works assumed to be from the late Goryeo in fact belong to a later court context.¹⁰⁸

Because the legacy of Goryeo Buddhist painting extends beyond Korea itself, however, another research arena of great interregional significance is the reception and influence of early Korean Buddhist painting in the Japanese archipelago. Aside from tracing the various routes by which these works entered Japanese collections, it is worthwhile to explore the iconographic adjustments and new representational ideas that these works introduced to archipelagic painting practice. It has previously been asserted that the influx of Goryeo Buddhist painting was of very little consequence to the development of Japanese painting practice, due to a paucity of obvious similarities between the two traditions.¹⁰⁹ Yet further investigation could revise this notion. Not only are a growing number of Japanese copies of Goryeo works being discovered,¹¹⁰ but Goryeo painted icons, like their continental counterparts, appear to have served as models for the production of Japanese sculpture. Chinese painting, easier to transport than sculpture, sometimes provided iconographic models for Japanese sculpture during the Kamakura period, such as in the case of the famous *Amitabha Triad* sculpture in Jōdoji Temple (Hyōgo Prefecture), which was based on a Chinese painting that the monk Chōgen 重源 (1121–1206) had in his possession.¹¹¹ Paintings such as the Amitabha images in the former Shimazu and Hagiwaradera Temple collections may have inspired a highly unique iconographic variation on Amitabha in Japanese sculpture, the “Amitabha look-

ing over his shoulder,” of which several examples are known.¹¹² Such instances are of interest in demonstrating the transposition of iconic images from two to three dimensions, and from one medium and set of materials to another, with all of the representational resourcefulness that this entailed. Future investigations may uncover such pictorial translations within Japanese painting as well. Ultimately, however, the lasting traces of the relocation of Goryeo icons are to be sought not in direct models, but in the details, that is to say, the new technical prescriptions and representational traits they inaugurated in Japan. The Goryeo tendency to outline rocks in gold and add gold-ink highlights to their edges, for example, is a feature that begins to appear in fourteenth-century Japanese works, very possibly a symptom of Korean influence. The signification of such gold-ink modeling in Japanese painting seems, however, to oscillate between its assumed original function as the representation of moonlight to a glowing mineralogical accoutrement that heightens the otherworldliness of the setting. Along with iconographic drift, it is the mobility of such visual habits, trademarks, and automatisms that make Goryeo Buddhist painting such an intriguing subject in East Asian art. The subterranean influence of Goryeo Buddhist painting in the archipelago, of which traces can be discerned but which remains largely unexcavated, is one important component of the interregional artistic and religious cross-pollination that characterizes East Asia during this period. One hopes that further study of Goryeo painted icons by an international community of scholars will elevate them to their rightful place alongside the most visually sophisticated artifacts of Buddhist culture anywhere.

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NOTES

The author would like to express his gratitude to Professor Ide Seinosuke of Kyūshū University for generously sharing his knowledge of early Korean Buddhist painting, and to two anonymous readers for their comments. The article was completed in 2003, and regrettably has not been able to take account of the most recent scholarship on Goryeo-period Buddhist painting.

- Recent publications include Kumja Paik Kim, ed., *Goryeo Dynasty: Korea's Age of Enlightenment, 918–1392* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum, 2003), and *Kokka* 1313 (March 2005).
- For a general introduction to Goryeo Buddhism, see Lewis R. Lancaster, Kikun Suh, and Chai-Shin Yu, eds., *Buddhism in Koryo: A Royal Religion* (Berkeley: Center for Korean Studies, Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 1996); and Robert E. Buswell, Jr., "The Koryo Period," in *Buddhist Spirituality II: Later China, Korea, Japan, and the Modern World*, ed. Takeuchi Yoshinori (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1999), 79–108.
- See Robert E. Buswell, Jr., *Tracing Back the Radiance: Chinul's Korean Way of Zen* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992).
- See Ahn Kai-hyon, "Publication of Buddhist Scriptures in the Koryo Period," in *Buddhist Culture in Korea*, ed. International Cultural Foundation (Seoul: International Cultural Foundation, 1974), 81–95; Lewis R. Lancaster, "The Buddhist Canon in the Koryo Period," in *Buddhism in the Early Choson: Suppression and Transformation*, ed. Lewis R. Lancaster and Chai-Shin Yu (Berkeley: Center for Korean Studies, Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 1996), 173–92; Buswell, "The Koryo Period," 103–6.
- On the fate of Buddhist institutions in the early Joseon period see Han U-gun, "Policies Toward Buddhism in Late Koryo and Early Choson," in Lancaster and Yu, *Buddhism in the Early Choson*.
- On Hideyoshi's military campaigns against Korea see Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1982), 207–17 and 232–34; Karl W. Eikenberry, "The Imjin War," in *Military Review* 68.2 (February 1988): 74–82.
- For the importance of the Hideyoshi campaigns on Japanese ceramic history see Louise Allison Cort, "Korean Influence in Japanese Ceramics: The Impact of the Teabowl Wars of 1592–1598," in *Ceramics and Civilization, Volume II: Technology and Style*, ed. W.D. Kingery (Columbus, Ohio: The American Ceramics Society, Inc., 1986), 331–62.
- See Yoshida Hiroshi, "Bunroku Keichō no eki to Chōsen butsuga," *Kikan Seikyū* 15 (February 1993): 10–12. *Dragon and Tiger*, a pair of scrolls by the Korean ink painter I Jeong 李☆ (1578–1607) now in the Koryo Art Museum in Japan, was also probably brought to the archipelago during the Hideyoshi wars. Their presence in Japan is recorded by the Japanese painter Kano Tan'yū in the seventeenth century. See Ide Seinosuke, "Ritei hitsu Ryūko zu ni tsuite," *Yamato bunka* 75 (March 1986): 29–38.
- The painting is believed to date to the late fourteenth century. Concerning the box inscription and its possible veracity, see Kikutake Jun'ichi, "Kōrai jidai no nehan hensō zu – Kagawa Jōtokuji-bon o chūshin ni," *Yamato bunka* 80 (September 1988): 17–35. Takeda Kazuaki, "Kagawa Jōtokuji no nehan hensō zu ni tsuite – sono seiritsu to Chōfukuji-bon to no kankei o chūshin to shite," *Bukkyō*

- geijutsu* 196 (1991): 11–37, has argued that the Saikyōji work is a Japanese painting of the fourteenth century.
10. On Japanese pirates, see Ishihara Michihiro, *Wakō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1964); Murai Shōsuke, *Ajia no nake no chūsei Nihon* (Tokyo: Azekura shobō, 1988); and Kanaya Masato, *Kaizoku tachi no chūsei* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1998).
 11. See Kawazoe Shōji, “Japan and East Asia,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 3: *Medieval Japan*, ed. Kozo Yamamura (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 405.
 12. See Kenneth R. Robinson, “Centering the King of Choson: Aspects of Korean Maritime Diplomacy, 1392–1592,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 59.1 (February 2000): 109–25.
 13. See Kageki Hideo, *Kunchū Kūge nichiyō kōfu ryakushū* (Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1982), 162. Gidō records the bell’s inscription, which indicates that it is the same bell, cast in 1375, now located in Hō’onji. Cited in Kusui Takashi, “Kōrai Chōsen bukyō bijutsu denrai kō,” *Kōrai Richō no bukyō bijutsu ten* (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum, 1997), 96.
 14. The inscription was subsequently removed from the scroll’s surface. See Hirata Yutaka, “Kagami jinja shozō Yōryū Kannon gazō saikō,” *Yamato bunka* 72 (February 1984): 1–14.
 15. See Kenneth R. Robinson, “From Raiders to Traders: Border Security and Border Control in Early Choson, 1392–1450,” *Korea Studies* 16 (1992): 94–115.
 16. Ide Seinosuke raises this possibility in relation to a *nirvana* painting found in Gokurakuji Temple on the island of Naoshima (present-day Kagawa Prefecture) in the Inland Sea; the temple was patronized by the Murakami. Ide formerly believed that the *nirvana* painting was Korean, but later published it as a Chinese fourteenth-century work. See his “Zuhan kaisetsu Kagawa Gokurakuji shozō Butsunehan zu,” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 346 (March 1990): 224–33; *Nihon no Sōgen butsuga*, Vol. 418 in *Nihon no bijutsu* series (Tokyo: Shibundō, 2001), 73–74.
 17. The following section is indebted to Robinson, “Centering the King of Choson,” and Kenneth R. Robinson, “Treated as Treasures: The Circulation of Sutras in Maritime Northeast Asia from 1388 to the Mid-Sixteenth Century,” *East Asian History* 21 (June 2001): 33–54.
 18. For a comprehensive survey of Korean bells in Japanese collections, see Tsuboi Ryōhei, *Chōsenshō* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1974).
 19. This incident is recorded in an entry on 10.13, 1443 of the *Sejong silok* (102: 6b–8a), cited in Robinson, “Treated as Treasures,” 41.
 20. See Kenneth R. Robinson, “The Imposter Branch of the Hatakeyama Family and Japanese-Choson Korea Court Relations, 1455–1580s,” *Asian Cultural Studies* 25 (1999): 67–88.
 21. Kusui, “Kōrai Chōsen bukyō bijutsu.”
 22. See the entry for 11.1467 of the *Sejo silok*, v. 44. Cited in Kusui, “Kōrai Chōsen bukyō bijutsu,” 108.
 23. Entry for 11.1422 of the *Sejong silok*, v. 18. Cited in Kusui, “Kōrai Chōsen bukyō bijutsu,” 108.
 24. Entry for 2.1464 of the *Sejo silok*, v. 11. Cited in Kusui, “Kōrai Chōsen bukyō bijutsu,” 108.
 25. See Kusui, “Kōrai Chōsen bukyō bijutsu,” 99. There is also an extant early sixteenth-century screen painting that was acquired on a mission in pursuit of the Korean Tripitaka. A certain monk Sonkai traveled to Korea on behalf of the warlord Ōuchi Yoshitaka to request a copy of the Buddhist canon for his patron. It was unclear if he was successful, but Sonkai did bring back a folding screen of the “Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers,” which is now in the collection of Daiganji Temple in Hiroshima Prefecture. Sonkai’s trip is mentioned in an inscription on the back of the screen. See Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum, ed., *Muromachi bunka no naka ni miru Ōuchi bunka no iho ten* (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum, 1989), 147–48.
 26. See Ide Seinosuke, “‘Kyōkai’ bijutsu no aidentitii – shōrai butsuga kenkyū no tachiba kara,” Tokyo kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo, ed., *Kataru genzai, katarareru kako* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999): 207–21.
 27. For an overview of the Ashikaga collection, see Yukio Lippit, “The Birth of Japanese Painting History: Kano Artists, Authors, and Authenticators of the Seventeenth Century” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2003), 194–224.
 28. The wide-ranging duties of the Ami family, which included displaying and pricing objects in the collection, are described in Murai Yasuhiko, *Buke bunka to dōbōshū* (Tokyo: San’ichi shobō, 1991), especially 96–120, and Shimao Arata, *Suibokuga – Nōami kara Kanōha e*, Volume 338 of the series *Nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1994).
 29. On the influence of the *Kundaikan* manual upon later generations of connoisseurs, see Lippit, “The Birth of Japanese Painting History,” 224–33. The various recensions of the manual are catalogued in Yano Tamaki, *Kundaikan sōchōki no sōgō kenkyū* (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 1999), 21–73.
 30. The *Precious Mirror* was in turn a kind of digest of earlier Chinese compendia of painters’ biographies. For more on *Precious Mirror of Painting*, see Deborah Del Gais Muller, “Hsia Wen-yen and his T’u-hui pao-chien (*Precious Mirror of Painting*),” *Ars Orientalis* 18 (1988): 131–48.

31. For an overview of Ningbo Buddhist painting, see Ide Seinosuke, *Nihon no Sōgen butsuga*, 36–55.
32. Scholars often interpreted these signatures as indications that Ningbo paintings were specifically made for export, but Ide argues that local demand represents a much more important context for their production. See “Nansō no dōshakuga” in Shimada Hidemasa, ed., *Nansō Kin*, Volume 6 of *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū Tōyō hen* series (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 2000), 123–40.
33. See Ide Seinosuke, “Sakuhin no aidentiti to gaka no jitsuzon – Seikin koji hitsu, Chō Shikyō hitsu to sareru butsuga no baai,” in *Moving Objects: Time, Space, and Context*, ed. National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo (Tokyo: National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, 2004), 239–60, especially 244–48. See also Watanabe Hajime, “Kanki aru Sōgen butsuga” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 45 (September 1935): 14–20, included in *Higashi suibokuga no kenkyū zōho hen* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron bijutsu shuppan, 1985), 229–39.
34. For a case study of the contingency of identities in iconic Zen Buddhist portrait sculpture, see Gregory P. Levine, “Switching Sites and Identities: The Founder’s Statue at the Buddhist Temple Kōrin’in,” *Art Bulletin* 83.1 (March 2001): 72–104.
35. As in, for example, an inscription dated to 1477 on the reverse side of *Amitabha Triad* at Kakurinji Temple in Hyogo Prefecture. See Kikutake Jun’ichi, “Kōrai butsuga ni miru Chūgoku to Nihon,” in *Kōrai butsuga*, ed. Kikutake Jun’ichi and Yoshida Hiroshi (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 1981), 9–16 (the inscription is transcribed on p. 16). Kikutake also records the dedicatory inscription to a no longer extant *Eleven-Headed Avalokitesvara* in Risshōji temple, which dates to 1484 and refers to the scroll’s Korean origins.
36. The painters Unkoku Tōyo 雲谷等與 (1612–1668) and Unkoku Tōteki 雲谷等の (1606–1664), for example, authenticated a screen depicting the “Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers” in the Mōri family collection as a Kōrai-e. Although this term might literally be translated as “Goryeo painting,” “Kōrai” more generally signified “Korea” in premodern Japan. The painting thus authenticated is believed to be the eight-panel folding screen now in the collection of the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs. See Yamato Bunkakan Museum, ed., *Richō no kaiga – rinkoku no meitō na bi no sekai* (Nara: Yamato Bunkakan Museum, 1996), 82.
37. This compilation is preserved in Volumes 50 and 51 of *Reference for Old Paintings* (J. *Koga bikō* 古画備考) by the Kano painter Asaoka Okisada 朝岡興禎 (d. 1856). See Ota Kin, ed., *Zōtei Koga bikō* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1983), 3: 2197–325. The Sensoji painting is found on 3: 2285.
38. The text states that Hyeheo 慧虛 was the painter of the scroll, but Yoshida Hiroshi demonstrates through an analysis of other extant inscriptions on Goryeo paintings that Hyeheo is simply the monk who inscribes the painting, but not necessarily its artist. See Yoshida Hiroshi, “Kōrai butsuga no kinen sakuhin,” in Kikutake and Yoshida, *Kōrai butsuga*, 24–30, especially 27.
39. See, for example, the articles introducing Goryeo paintings as Chinese works in *Kokka* 179 (April 1905), 249 (February 1911), 254 (July 1911), 256 (September 1911), 301 (June 1915), and 340 (September 1918).
40. Consciousness of the Zhang Sigong style is already fully evident in Watanabe, “Kanki aru Sōgen butsuga.” In the late 1940s, Shimada Shūjirō wrote of the *Sixteen Meditations of the Visualization Sutra* in Chion’in Temple that “normally this work falls into the category of Song and Yuan-period Buddhist painting referred to as ‘the Zhang Sigong style,’ and if the painter of this work [薛冲] were not known, it would have been attributed to Zhang Sigong.” Although this scroll is now known to be of Goryeo manufacture, Shimada was under the impression at the time that it was by an unknown Chinese painter who went by the characters 薛冲. See his “Kankyō hensō Setchū nado hitsu,” *Kyōdera ihō shūei* 1 (March 1948), reprinted in *Chūgoku kaigashi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron bijutsu shuppan 1993), 376–79.
41. This attribution is recorded in the curatorial files of the Freer Gallery of Art.
42. The attribution is inscribed on the box in which the painting was stored when it was purchased.
43. Fenollosa’s relationship to the *Five Hundred Luohans* is discussed in Gregory P. Levine, “Rakan in America: Travels of the Daitokuji *Five Hundred Luohan*,” in National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, *Moving Objects*, 96–134.
44. Ernest Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, Vol. 2 (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1963, unabridged republication of the second edition of 1913), 124.
45. See, for example, *Illustrated Catalogue of Ancient Sites of Korea* (J. *Chōsen koseki zūfū*), 14 vols., published by the Office of the Governor General (Seoul: Chōsen sōtokufu, 1934).
46. *Chōsen bijutsushi* (Seoul: Chōsenshi gakkai, 1932), 183.
47. Concerning Japanese archaeological activity on the Korean peninsula during the colonial period, see Hyung Il Pai,

- “Chōsen no kako o meguru seijigaku – Chōsen hantō ni okeru Nihon shokuminchi kōkogaku no isan” *Nihon kenkyū* 26 (December 2002): 15–52. For a related study of Sekino Tadashi’s role in the development of a colonial-era discourse on Chinese architectural history, see Xu Subin, “Tōyō kenchikushigaku no seiritsu ni miru akademii to nashonarizumu – Sekino Tadashi to Chūgoku kenchikushi kenkyū” *Nihon kenkyū* 26 (December 2002): 53–142. Further studies on Sekino and early Japanese archaeology include Hirose Shigeaki, “Meiji ni okeru ‘bunkazai’ hogo gyōsei to Sekino Tadashi – bijutsushi kara kenchikushi, soshite kōkogaku e no tenkai,” and Uchida Yoshiaki, “Nihon kōkogaku no keisei,” both in *Nihon ni okeru bijutsushigaku no seiritsu to tenkai*, ed. Yonekura Michio (Tokyo: Tokyo kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo, 2001), 139–78 and 179–92, respectively.
48. See Karatani Kōjin, “Japan as Museum: Okakura Tenshin and Ernest Fenollosa,” in *Japanese Art After 1945: Scream Against the Sky*, ed. Alexandra Munroe (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1994), 33–39.
49. On *mingei* (folk art) discourse in prewar Japan, see Kim Brandt, “Objects of Desire: Japanese Collectors and Colonial Korea,” *positions* 8.3 (Winter 2000): 711–46.
50. Texts such as Takahashi Tōru’s *Buddhism of the Yi Dynasty* (*Richō bukkyō*) of 1928 played a significant role in this regard. Robert E. Buswell, Jr., discusses the development of a Korean discourse on Korean Buddhism in “Imagining ‘Korean Buddhism’: The Invention of a National Religious Tradition,” in *Nationalism and the Construction of Korean Identity*, ed. Hyung Il Pai and Timothy R. Tangherlini (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1999), 73–107. See also Jackie Stone, “A Vast and Grave Task: Interwar Buddhist Studies as an Expression of Japan’s Envisioned Global Role,” in *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals during the Interwar Years*, ed. J. Thomas Rimer (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 217–33.
51. See, for example, Kamuroji Sukeyoshi (Yūshō), “Kōrai jidai no shakyō ni tsuite,” *Hōun* 25 (1939): 10–24.
52. See Yonezawa Yoshiho, “Ekyō hitsu Suigetsu Kannon zu,” *Kokka* 666 (September 1947); Kumagai Nobuo, “Roei ga kinshitsu Shaka zō shōhei,” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 175 (September 1954): 44–49; and Matsumoto Ei’ichi, “Kōrai jidai no gohyaku rakan zu,” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 175 (September 1954): 39–42. Matsumoto, a renowned scholar of Dunhuang painting, had also earlier published an important article on the iconography of the scarved Kṣitigarbha image, which noted the prevalence of this variation in Korea art; see “Hibō Jizō bosatsu zō no bunpu,” *Tōhō gakuho* 3 (1932). Also of relevance from this period is Miya Tsugio, “Danzan jinja zō Hokke mandara ni tsuite,” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 221 (1961): 23–36, and Shimada Shūjirō, “Kōrai no kaiga,” in Volume 14 of *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1964).
53. See his “Chōsen butsuga chō,” *Chōsen gakuho* 44 (July 1967): 1–114, and a follow-up article, “Chōsen butsuga shiryō shūi,” *Bukkyō geijutsu* 83 (1972): 60–73.
54. Kumagai, “Chōsen butsuga chō,” 2.
55. Kumagai, “Chōsen butsuga chō,” 114.
56. Articles and entries introducing new paintings from this period include Izumi Hironao, “Ri Jōsa hitsu Rakan zu kaisetsu,” *Kokka* 911 (February 1962): 31; Hirata Yutaka, “Kagami jinja shozō Yōryū Kannon gazō,” *Nara kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo nenpō* (December 1968); Kumagai Nobuo, “Zendōji Jizō bosatsu gazō,” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 265 (September 1969): 36–37; Kumagai Nobuo, “Kyūshū shozai tairiku denrai no butsuga,” *Bukkyō geijutsu* 76 (July 1970): 33–48; “Yōryū Kannon zō,” *Gekkan bunkazai* 92 (May 1971): 12; Horioka Tomoaki, “Bosuton bijutsukan zō Chōsen butsuga ni tsuite,” *Bukkyō geijutsu* 83 (January 1972): 53–59; “Kenpon chakushoku Amida nyorai zō,” *Gekkan bunkazai* 104 (May 1972): 12; “Kenpon chakushoku Amida sanson zō,” *Gekkan bunkazai* 116 (May 1973): 6; Hirata Yutaka, “Tsushima, Iki no kaiga,” *Bukkyō geijutsu* 95 (March 1974): 60–69; Hirata Yutaka, “Kyūshū no Chōsen butsuga,” *Nishi Nihon bunka* 100 (April 1974); Yi Tongju, “Kikō Nihon ni okeru Kankoku kaiga,” nos. 1 to 12, *Nihon bijutsu kōgei* 436–47 (January to December 1975); “Kenpon chakushoku nyorai zō,” *Gekkan bunkazai* 164 (May 1977): 13–14; Yoshida Hiroshi, “Shigen nijūsannen-mei Kōrai Amida nyorai zō o megutte,” *Gekkan bunkazai* 186 (March 1979): 22–28; Hayashi Susumu, “Shins-hutsu no Kōrai Suigetsu Kannon zu ni tsuite,” *Bukkyō geijutsu* 123 (March 1979): 46–65.
57. See the series of publications by Suzuki Kei, including *Mindai kaigashi kenkyū—Seppa* (Tokyo: Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1968), and to progress reports on his survey, *Sōgen butsuga – shūchū Rakan zu Jūō zu no kenkyū*, Parts One (March 1970) and Two (March 1973). The complete results of this survey are found in Suzuki Kei, ed., *Chūgoku kaiga sōgō zuroku*, 4 vols. (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppanki, 1982).
58. See the deluxe edition of the exhibition catalogue, Ebine Toshio, ed., *Gendai dōshaku jinbutsu ga* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 1978); also useful in

- assessing the significance of the exhibition is Toda Teisuke, "Gendai dōshaku jinbutsuga kenkyū no shomon-dai," *MUSEUM* 287 (February 1975): 4–17, and Ebine Toshio, "Gendai dōshakuga – kikakusha kara no kansō," *MUSEUM* 287 (February 1975): 18–26.
59. Treatments of Goryeo Buddhist subjects include Nakano Teruo, "Chōsen no Jizō jūō zu ni tsuite," *Bukkyō geijutsu* 97 (July 1974): 124–139; Hayashi Susumu, "Kōrai jidai no Suigetsu Kannon zu ni tsuite," *Bijutsushi* 102 (March 1977): 101–17; Donohashi Akio, "Kōrai no Miroku geshōkyō hensō zu ni tsuite," *Yamato bunka* 66 (March 1980): 1–12.
 60. See Yamato Bunkakan Museum, ed., *Tokubetsu ten Kōrai butsuga – waga kuni ni shōrai saretā rinkoku no konijiki no hotoke tachi* (Nara: Yamato Bunkakan, 1978).
 61. See "Korea's 'Unknown Legacy' from the Koryo Period," *Korea Journal* 18.12 (December 1978): 4–13, in which Covell describes the way in which the exhibition came about. See also her article "A 'Vendetta' Over a Koryo-Period 'Willow Kuanyin,'" *Korea Journal* 19.1 (January 1979): 36–45, in which Covell describes her heated debate with Daitokuji monks over the nationality of that temple's famous *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara*, which according to monastic tradition was an eighth-century Chinese painting attributed to Wu Daozi.
 62. Kikutake Jun'ichi and Yoshida Hiroshi, eds., *Kōrai butsuga* (Tokyo: Benridō, 1981).
 63. Kamata Shigeo, "Kōrai jidai no bukkō," 1–8; Kikutake Jun'ichi, "Kōrai butsuga ni miru Chūgoku to Nihon," 9–16; Ueno Aki, "Kōrai butsuga no shujusō," 17–23; Yoshida Hiroshi, "Kōrai butsuga no kinen sakuhin," 24–30; Hayashi Susumu, "Kōrai jidai no sōshokukyō," 31–38, in *ibid.*
 64. Ueno Aki even speculates that Buddhist painting stops being produced altogether during the early Joseon due to royal suppression, only to be revived later on in the dynasty. "Kōrai butsuga no shujusō," 17.
 65. See Chung Woothak, "Kōrai jidai no rakan gazō," *Yamato bunka* 92 (September 1994): 35–49.
 66. Other paintings with dated inscriptions include *Amitabha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas* and *Kṣitigarbha* of 1307 (Seoul National Museum; the two works are painted on opposite sides of the same screen), *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* of 1320 (Chion'in Temple), *Sixteen Meditations of the Visualization Sutra* of 1323 (Rinshōji Temple), *Sākyamuni Triad* of 1330 (Hō'onji Temple), and *Maitreya Waiting to Descend* of 1350 (Shin'ōin Temple). In addition, *Amitabha Pure Land* of 1183 (Chion'in Temple), *Amitabha Triad* of 1309 (Uesugi Shrine), and *Preface to the Visualization Sutra* of 1312 (Daionji Temple) have all at one point been classified as Korean works, but are now widely believed to be of continental origin.
 67. The 1307 *Amitabha and Eight Great Bodhisattvas* (Seoul National Museum) mentions Noyeong 魯英, the 1310 *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* (Kagami Shrine) lists the five painters Kim Wumun 金祐文, Igwe 季桂, Imsun 林順, Song On 宋連, and Choeseung 催昇; the 1323 *Visualization Sutra* (Chion'in Temple) mentions Seolchung 薛冲 and a certain Li 李; the 1323 *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* (Sen'oku Hakkokan Museum) records Seogubang 徐九方; the 1323 *Sixteen Meditations of the Visualization Sutra* (Rinshōji Temple) lists Seo Jiman 徐智滿; and the 1350 *Maitreya Waiting to Descend* a certain Huijeon 悔前.
 68. The painter of the 1307 screen in the Seoul National Museum, Noyeong, however, also appears in documents concerning the repair of Seononsa 禪源寺 Temple on Kanghwa Island, suggesting that he may have been a priest. See Kumagai, "Roei ga kinshitsu," 46. In addition, *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* at Sensōji (Asakusadera) in Tokyo bears an inscription that has traditionally been understood to mean "painted by the priest Hyeheo [慧虛]," but has subsequently been reinterpreted as simply "inscribed by the priest Hyeheo." See Yoshida, "Shigen nijūsannen-mei," 28. Finally, the name of Hoejon, the painter of the 1350 *Maitreya Waiting to Descend*, implies that he was a monk as well (Yoshida, "Kōrai butsuga no kinen sakuhin," 28).
 69. One such example is the monk Hyeoncheol 玄哲, whose name is found both on the 1350 *Maitreya Waiting to Descend* (Shin'ōin Temple) and on a 1332 *Lotus Sutra*, inscribed in eight scrolls on indigo-dyed paper with silver ink, in the Kagami Shrine collection. See Donohashi Akio, "Kōrai no Miroku geshō kyō hensō zu ni tsuite," *Yamato bunka* 66 (March 1980): 1–12.
 70. To exhibitions in particular deserve special mention for their display of a wide range of Goryeo paintings: Nara National Museum, *Higashi ajia no hotoke tachi* (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1996), and Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum, *Kōrai Richō no bukkō bijutsu ten*.
 71. The catalogue raisonné was first published in a Korean version and then a revised Japanese version. See Kikutake Jun'ichi and Chung Woothak, eds., *Koryo sidae ui pulhwa* (Seoul: Sigonsa, 1997) and *Kōrai jidai no kaiga* (Seoul: Sigonsa, 2000).
 72. Kikutake was formerly a curator at the Nara National Museum as well as university professor, and through

numerous articles and exhibitions has explored Goryeo Buddhist painting and sculpture from a variety of perspectives. Much of Kikutake's research on Goryeo Buddhist painting is synthesized in his 1998 co-edited volume on early Korean art in a multi-volume series on East Asian art history. See Kikutake Jun'ichi and Yoshida Hiroshi, eds., *Kōkuri, Kudara, Shiragi, Kōrai*, Vol. 10 of *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū Tōyō hen* series (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1998).

With an eye towards the relationship between this genre and continental precedents, which he was the first to map out, Kikutake had previously explored the treatment of several Buddhist subjects to understand the specific inflections introduced to them in Goryeo production contexts. See "Kōrai jidai raigō bijutsu no ichi irei – Kagawa Hagiwaradera no Amida nyorai zō," *Yamato bunka* 72 (December 1983): 15–24; "Kōrai jidai no Kannon gazō," in *Kannou – sonzō to hensō*, Vol. 5 in *Kokusai kōryū bijutsushi kenkyūkai* series (Osaka: Osaka University and The Taniguchi Foundation, 1986): 58–67; "Kōrai jidai no Nehan hensō zu – Kagawa Jōtokuji-bon o chūshin ni," *Yamato bunka* 80 (September 1988): 17–35; see also his "Kōrai jidai no Birushana-butsu gazō," *Yamato bunka* 95 (1996): 20–32.

73. Kikutake first proposed this taxonomy in "Kōrai jidai no Kannon gazō," 1986, and has most fully expanded upon it in "Kōrai jidai no bukkō kaiga" in Kikutake and Yoshida Hiroshi, eds., *Kōkuri, Kudara, Shiragi, Kōrai*, Vol. 10 of *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū Tōyō hen* series (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1998): 273–84. The concept of a palace style, however, was initially developed by Hirata Yutaka in his "Kagami jinja."
74. The only exception is the Kagami Shrine painting, which appears to have had its

original inscription removed at some point. This inscription is recorded by the Japanese geographer Inō Tadataka (1745–1818) in his diary in 1812. For more on the inscription, see Hirata Yutaka, "Kagami jinja."

75. Concerning the sponsorship of Buddhist sculpture by one such lay religious society of the late Goryeo period, see Naitō Hiroshi, "Mantoku-zan Byakuren kessha to Amida shinkō o megutte – Kōrai jidai kōki bukkō bijutsu no shinkōteki haikai," *Tetsugaku* 98 (January 1995): 72–94.
76. Chung Woothak is a Korean scholar who obtained his Ph.D. from Kyushu University. He has been unique in publishing widely in both Japanese and Korean, thus bridging the concerns of to different scholarly environments. His activities have ranged from the close formal readings of individual scrolls to the iconographic analysis of Goryeo Buddhist subjects. See, for example, "Nara Hasedera no Yōryū Kannon zu," *Nikkan ryōkoku ni shozai suru Kankoku bukkō bijutsu no kyōdō chōsa kenkyū* (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1993), 69–72, and "Kōrai jidai no rakan gazō," *Yamato bunka* 92 (1994): 35–49. Chung has also made meticulous comparative studies of garment patterns that provide a more refined cartography of sartorial decoration in fourteenth-century painting. See his "Kōrai butsuga no zuzō to utsukushisa – sono hyōgen to gihō," 368–377, and "Kōrai butsuga no kōgakuteki chōsa," 377–88, in *Kōrai jidai no butsuga*, ed. Chung Woothak and Kikutake Jun'ichi (Seoul: Sigonga, 2000).
77. Chung Woothak (J. Tei Utaku), *Kōrai jidai Amida gazō no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1990). See also the review by Ide Seinosuke, "Shohyō – Kōrai jidai Amida gazō no kenkyū," *De Arute* 7 (March 1991): 144–49.

78. Two other theses of the study are worthy of mention here: 1) Most Goryeo iconography can be linked directly to Dunhuang, although stylistically this corpus should be seen as emerging from the influence of Chinese painting of the Song period; 2) the general religious context for Goryeo Buddhist painting is found in a pervasive Amitabha cult that combines elements of esoteric thought with Lotus Sutra worship. These factors, which transcend sectarian affiliation, led to the development of several new painting subjects reflecting this coexistence of Buddhist concerns, such as the combination of Kṣitigarbha and Avalokitesvara in the same image, witnessed in paintings in the Saifukuji and Minami Hokkeji temple collections.
79. Ide's research has also explored the deep politics of court patronage and the relationship between Goryeo and Chinese painting. Concerning the former, see "Kōrai butsuga no sekai – kyūtei shūhen ni okeru ganshu to shinkō," in *Nihon no Sōgen butsuga*, 88–98; "In and Around the Koryo Royal Family: The Patronage and Production of Buddhist Images," a paper delivered at the conference "Art and Patron in Korea," July 14–16, 2000, at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Concerning the latter, see "Kyōkai bijutsu no aidentitii – shōrai butsuga kenkyū no tachiba kara," in *Kataru genzai, katarareru kako*, ed. Tōkyō kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999), 169–84; "Gen jidai no Amida sanson zō zakkan – Tōfukuji kyūzō-bon o megutte," in *Mihotoke no osugata*, ed. Seikadō Museum (Tokyo: Seikadō Museum, 1999), 11–21. The most accessible introduction to his work in English, however, is "The World of Goryeo Buddhist Painting," in Kim, *Goryeo Dynasty*, 34–97.

80. They are *The Teaching of Infinite Life* (the larger *Sukhavativyuha*), the *Amitabha Sutra* (the smaller *Sukhavativyuha*), and the *Sutra on the Meditation of the Buddha of Infinite Life* (C. *Guan wuliangshou jing*). Concerning the influence of Japanese Pure Land belief on the reception of Goryeo Buddhist painting, it is important to bear in mind Hirata Yutaka's observation that many paintings were deposited in regional Pure Land temples. See his "Kōrai butsuga to Nihon no Jōdo-kyō," 276–77, in *Shiragi, Kōrai bijutsu*, Vol. 2 of *Kankoku bijutsu* series (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1987).
81. See Ide's "Kōrai no Amida gazō to Fugen gyōgan-bon," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 362 (March 1995): 1–32; "Kōrai butsuga ni mieru manji to senpukurin-mon," in *Higashi ajia bijutsu ni okeru hito no katachi*, ed. Tokyo kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo (March 1995); "Tayō no naka no tōitsu – Kōrai butsuga no ryōbun," in Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum, *Kōrai Richō no bukkuyō bijutsu ten*, 88–94; "Kegon shisō to Kōrai butsuga no ryōbun," in Chung and Kikutake, *Kōrai jidai no butsuga*, 368–76; "The World of Goryeo Buddhist Painting."
82. See Buswell, "The Koryo Period," 83–84.
83. In fact, the representation of Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara appears to have several textual sources, its origins ultimately overdetermined.
84. This work was introduced in Kikutake Jun'ichi, "Kōrai jidai no Birushana-butsu gazō," *Yamato bunka* 95 (1996): 20–32. See also Ide Seinosuke's entry on the painting in Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum, *Kōrai Richō no bukkuyō bijutsu ten*, 177–78.
85. See Kikutake, "Kōrai jidai no Birushana-butsu gazō," 24–25.
86. See Kamata Shigeo, *Chōsen bukkuyō shi* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1987).
87. Such is the case with numerous Goryeo-period sutras and, as Chung Woothak has pointed out, the 1235–36 *Five Hundred Arhats* set; "Kōrai jidai no rakan gazō," *Yamato bunka* 92 (1994): 35–49. See also Naitō Hiroshi, "Mantoku-zan Byakuren kessha."
88. On this work, see Yukio Lippit, "Engakukyō hensō zu," *Kokka* 1313 (March 2005): 38–39.
89. The Marici-attributed group includes paintings in a private collection, at the Seikadō Museum (Tokyo), and Shōtaku'in Temple (Kyoto). See Ide Seinosuke's entry in Kim, *Arts of Goryeo*, 87.
90. Concerning the Ōtani missions, see Peter Hopkirk, *Devils of the Silk Road* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), and Dainobu Yūji, *Otani Kōzui to Saiiki bijutsu*, Vol. 434 in *Nihon no bijutsu* series (Tokyo: Shibundō, 2002). Japanese scholars of Central Asian art who also took an interest in early Korean Buddhist painting include Matsumoto Ei'ichi and Kumagai Nobuo.
91. For a description of this legend see Youngsook Pak, "Kṣitigarbha as Supreme Lord of the Underworld," *Oriental Art* 23.1 (1977): 96–104.
92. See his "Hibō Jizō bosatsu zō no bunpu," *Tōhō gaku* 3 (1932), found in a slightly revised version as Chapter Seven to his *Tonkōga no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tōhō bunka gakuin, 1937): 368–401.
93. In this regard, see Chi-chiang Huang, "Elite and Clergy in Northern Sung Hang-chou: A Convergence of Interest," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 295–339, and Nishigami Minoru, "Shu Tokujun to Shin'ō," *Bijutsu shi* 104 (March 1978): 127–45.
94. The hooded Kṣitigarbha is found in niche no. 177 in the Beishan Grottoes, dated to 1126. For an illustration, see Tanabe Saburōsuke, "Nansō Kin no chōkoku," in Nakazawa Fujio and Shimada Hidemasa, eds., *Nansō Kin*, Vol. 6 of *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū Tōyō hen* series (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 2000), 186. See also Kamata Shigeo, "Daisoku sekkutsu to Kōrai butsuga," 274–275 in *Shiragi, Kōrai bijutsu*, Vol. 2 of *Kankoku no bijutsu* series (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1987). Ide Seinosuke has informed me that the hooded Kṣitigarbha also makes an appearance in the fifth scroll (Yama) of a set of Ten Kings paintings of Ningbo manufacture in the collection of Jōkyōji Temple (Wakayama Prefecture), illustrated in the exhibition catalogue *Myōe – furusato de mita yume* (Wakayama: Wakayama Prefectural Museum, 1996), 70.
95. "Nansō no iryūjonizumu – Chion'in 'Amida jōdo zu' ni tsuite no monдай teiki," *Yamato bunka* 86 (September 1991): 1–9. A follow-up on this argument can be found in Toda Teisuke, *Nihon bijutsu no mikata* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1997), 66–73. Previous to Toda, Kumagai Nobuo had included the same scroll in his 1967 list of Korean Buddhist paintings.
96. Toda also points out that while the era name employed for the date ("tenth year of Chunxi") is Chinese, inscribed Goryeo paintings consistently use Yuan-period era names, so that the inscription alone does not discount the possibility of its Goryeo manufacture. See "Nansō no iryūjonizumu," 4–6.
97. The Chion'in painting was published as Chinese in Nara National Museum, ed., *Higashi Ajia no hotoke tachi* (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1996), 138. See also Ide Seinosuke's entry on the painting in Nakazawa and Shimada, *Nansō Kin*, 381–82.
98. Cheeyun Lilian Kwon, "The Ten Kings at the Seikadō Library" (Ph.D. diss.,

- Princeton University, 1999). The scrolls had originally been published as Chinese in Seikadō Museum, ed., *Chūgoku kaiga* (Tokyo: Seikadō Museum, 1986).
99. See Miyazaki Noriko, "Seikadō bunko bijutsukan zō Jūō zu Nishisha zu ni tsuite," in *Mihotoke no osugata*, ed. Seikadō Museum (Tokyo: Seikadō Museum, 1999), 22–30, and Cheeyun Lilian Kwon, "A Repositioning of a Medieval Painting Monument: the Ten Kings at the Seikadō Library," *Oriental Art* 46.5 (2000): 64–72.
 100. "Gen jidai no Shaka sanson zō zakkan — Tōfukuji kyūzō-bon o megutte," in *Mihotoke no osugata*, ed. Seikadō Museum (Tokyo: Seikadō Museum, 1999): 11–21.
 101. See, for example, T. Griffith Foulk, "Religious Functions of Buddhist Art in China," in *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Marsha Weidner (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 13–29.
 102. Kwon's research already points to the complexity of Goryeo court ritual programs. See also Jongmyung Kim, "Buddhist Rituals in Medieval Korea (918–1392): Their Ideological Background and Historical Meaning" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1994).
 103. A study of original ritual contexts would also need to take into account the new ritual uses to which painted icons were put once in Japan. Although most settled in Pure Land temples, Goryeo paintings served a variety of religious needs. According to an inscription on its reverse side dated to 1477, for example, the *Amitabha Triad* in Kakurinji Temple was employed in repentance rituals as well as hung on the occasion of lecture-rituals on the Buddha's relics and the Six Realms. See Kikutake Jun'ichi, "Kōrai butsuga ni miru Chūgoku to Nihon," 9–16, Kikutake and Yoshida Hiroshi, eds., *Kōrai butsuga* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1981), 16.
 104. For example, see the full conservation report of Liang Kai's *Śākyamuni Descending from the Mountain* (Tokyo National Museum) in *Shūfuku* 3 (Kyoto: Oka Bokkōdō, 1996).
 105. Pak Youngsook, "The Korean Art Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art," in *Arts of Korea*, ed. Judith G. Smith (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 426.
 106. Shirono Seiji, "Kinsekigaisen gazō no keisei to riyō," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 376 (March 2002): 372–86.
 107. Concerning the history of Buddhist institutions in the early Joseon period, see Lancaster and Yu, *Buddhism in the Early Choson*; and Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992).
 108. In Japan there have been a handful of synthetic studies of Joseon Buddhist painting. See Kikutake Jun'ichi, "Chōsen ōchō bukk'yō bijutsu ron," in Kikutake Jun'ichi and Yoshida Hiroshi, eds., *Chōsen ōchō*, Vol. 11 of *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū Tōyō hen* series (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1999), 185–96. The entries in this volume on individual Joseon pieces in Japanese collections are highly useful, as are those found in Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum, *Kōrai Richō no bukk'yō bijutsu ten*. A full bibliography of articles on Joseon Buddhist paintings in Japan is found in the latter publication.
 109. Kikutake, "Kōrai butsuga ni miru Chūgoku to Nihon," 16, declared that there was only a slight relationship, and attributed the lack of influence to a difference in taste.
 110. As Chung Woothak has demonstrated, a Japanese painting in Bujōji Temple (Tottori Prefecture) is a copy of the Goryeo-period *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* in Hasedera Temple (Nara). See his "Nara Hasedera no Yōryū Kannon zu," in *Nikkan ryōkoku ni shozai suru Kankoku bukk'yō bijutsu no kyōdō chōsa kenkyū*, ed. Nara National Museum (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1993), 69–72. A Japanese copy of the Korean *Maitreya Waiting to Descend* (Shin'ōin Temple, Wakayama Prefecture) is also known.
 111. See Yamamoto Tai'ichi, "Shinshutsu no Tōhon Amida sanson raigō zu ni tsuite — Kaikei saku Harima Jōdoji Amida sanson zō no hon'yō ka," *Kinko sōsho* 17 (1990): 343–62.
 112. See Kikutake, "Kōrai butsuga," 15. Other examples can be found at Zenkōji in Yamagata Prefecture and Ankoji in Toyama Prefecture.

Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field

Edited by Joshua S. Mostow, Norman Bryson, and Maribeth Graybill. University of Hawai'i Press, 2003. 368 + xii pages, 108 illustrations (8 color). \$39.00 hardcover

The Artist as Professional in Japan

Edited by Melinda Takeuchi. Stanford University Press, 2004. 262 + xvi pages, 2 tables, 59 black-and-white illustrations, 1 map. \$45.00 hardcover

THE TWO ANTHOLOGIES under review offer up some of the best scholarship on Japanese art to appear in English in recent years, albeit in different forms. *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field* is a theoretically-charged challenge to recent Japanese historiographies of sex and visibility, with essays by scholars working in the United States, Canada, Germany, Denmark, Japan, and New Zealand. This book pulses with the energy of a transnational assault on Japanese exceptionalism and art historical formalism. *The Artist as Professional in Japan*, on the other hand, seemingly has no ambition other than to respond to a lacuna in the field, yet manages—through the deft editing by Melinda Takeuchi and the compelling analyses of seven of America's most influential art historians of Japan—to avoid the fate of many conference volumes that fail to gel. The methods on display in these books are disparate, to be sure, but seem less like clashing visions of what matters in the study of culture than examples of the richness of a changing field.

Joshua S. Mostow introduces *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field* in a short but stimulating first chapter that makes a number of claims worth examining in detail. From the very first paragraph, he explains that the book includes “not *only* representations” of gender and sexuality (emphasis mine) “but also interventions in the re-presentation of such visual artifacts in contemporary scholarship,” the implication of course being that analysis of historical objects without attention to their “reception history” would be inadequate (p. 1). The sentence concluding this opening paragraph is particularly revealing: “In all cases, our concern is how the cultural constructions of gender and sexuality serve the purposes of power, especially as it is organized under state and interstate regimes.” My interpretation of this stirring call-to-arms is that the book represents not only a rejection of stylistic analysis as a self-contained method, but a critique of attempts to apply said schema to cultural production in the interwoven fields of gender and sexuality. As an aside, the emphasis on “power” as a kind of disembodied yet active subject of course brings to mind the work of Michel Foucault, who hovers, unnamed, above much of the writing in this book like a hungry theoretical ghost.

Mostow next proceeds to explain the origins of the volume, which helps us to understand something of its zeal. He briefly reviews feminist art history in English, and finds, not surprisingly, that Euro-American art historians ignored Japan until Asia specialists became interested in gender in the 1980s. In Japan, meanwhile, translation of key feminist texts authored by the likes of the pioneering historian Joan Scott inspired art historians such as the late Chino Kaori to challenge prevailing orthodox approaches. Concomitant with these developments, the Japanese photographer Shinoyama Kishin, among others, had been waging a war against the Japanese government's censorship of depictions of genitalia and pubic hair. This struggle came to an end with the defeat of the ban in 1991, allowing,

among other things, the publication of reams of previously censored erotic woodblock prints known as *shunga* (spring pictures). This convergence of theoretical trends and newly available old materials led to a series of sessions on early modern Japanese erotica at a Japanese Studies conference hosted by the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken) in Kyoto in 1994. Although the availability of uncensored *shunga* materials and the opportunity to analyze them openly were new, the responses of conference presenters and authors of the many new *shunga* studies were, according to Mostow, uncomfortably familiar. Most Japanese art historians promoted the materials as records of “the erotic paradise that was Japan before foreign intervention” (p. 6). Referring to the occlusion of issues such as rape and “pornographic production in modern Japan” as “entirely uncritical,” Mostow explains that it was “this approach to *shunga* that the editors of the present volume sought to contest.” By extension, I think it is fair to say, they challenge the entire field of mainstream Japanese art history.

The second chapter in the volume is the most explicit in its assault on a specific historiography. Chino Kaori’s “Gender in Japanese Art History,” originally a presentation at the Eastern Regional Conference of the Art History Association of Japan in 1993, begins with the statement “I will be reporting no newly discovered works of art or historical documents” (p. 17). She continues in this vein, arguing that “[w]hen studying a work of art, it is important to place it in its sociohistorical context” and “[a]rt history does not exist in a vacuum” (p. 18). More directly, she challenges her peers to create a “pluralistic art history” by acknowledging the connection between Japanese power, historical and contemporary, and the role of art historical discourses in marginalizing certain Others: “It is time to open our eyes to the present state of the world” (p. 19). Such rhetoric will no doubt be familiar to many in Euro-American academic and art institutions today, but this was heady, radical talk in the art history world of Japan in the early 1990s. She goes on lucidly and clearly to explore the tangled meanings of sex, gender, masculinity, and femininity, followed by a brief case study in the implications of “the gender axis” for art and identity in the Heian period. The essay should be extremely useful in teaching advanced undergraduates and graduate students just beginning the study of gender and art.

Ikeda Shinobu’s “The Image of Women in Battle Scenes: ‘Sexually’ Imprinted Bodies” is the anthology’s first sustained example to apply Chino’s argument about sociohistorical context and power relations to a discreet body of materials. The author analyzes in terms of gaze and the representation of bodies the *Night Attack on the Sanjō Palace* scroll from the *Illustrated Scrolls of the Tales of the Heiji Era*. She argues that the figures of women victims are depicted with fragmented sexual characteristics such as exposed breasts and flowing black hair. Parallel to

this imagery is the representation of the marauding warriors as distant, subservient subjects. Ikeda sees these two aspects of the scroll as separate from the narrative itself, revealing the instrumentality of the images as providers of “sexual pleasure for the men who viewed them” and reminders of the superior status of the aristocracy in their emphasis on “the barbarity and Otherness of the warriors” (p. 48).

Mostow’s chapter, “The Gender of *Wakashu* and the Grammar of Desire,” traces one early modern system of gender and sexuality as articulated in an anonymous picture-book (*ehon*) titled *Aloeswood Incense Pillow Youngman-Play*. Mostow’s reading of this 1675 example of Edo pornography reveals a set of hierarchical and phallocentric relationships that do not seem to correlate well with either the erotic utopia described by many recent commentators or the “the discourse of modern homosexuality” (p. 70). He argues that *shunga* scholarship that employs the modern, “Western” rubric of sexual identity is inadequate, and offers a compelling critique of recent scholarship by the likes of Paul Schalow and Hayakawa Monta, among others, particularly the notion “that the visual images in premodern Japanese pornography are easily read and interpreted” (p. 67). This is a significant chapter both in its adept explication of the visual and textual elements of *Aloeswood Incense Pillow* and its much-needed assessment of the field.

The next chapter, David Pollack’s “Marketing Desire: Advertising and Sexuality in Edo Literature, Drama, and Art,” explores the “economy of desire” that the author claims “forms the context for what are usually now seen as the more remarkable manifestations of the erotic life of the Edo period” (p. 88). The title of the essay is somewhat misleading, as “sexuality” is really only mentioned in the final paragraph, but Pollack’s narrative—a witty ramble through ad copywriting, literary advertising in *gesaku* fiction, and product placement on stage and in *ukiyo-e*—more than makes up for it. The overarching argument, that “the central subject and the driving force of the bourgeois-oriented arts during the Edo period is ... the representation of desire in all its multifarious aspects” (p. 72) certainly situates pornography at the center of cultural discourse rather than at the margins.

The first chapter to focus on post-Restoration issues is “Westernizing Bodies: Women, Art, and Power in Meiji *Yōga*” by Norman Bryson. He begins the essay with an evocative portrait of the Rokumeikan, the expensive Western building commissioned by the Meiji government in the 1880s to house social and political events. Designed by Josiah Conder, the building was intended, according to Bryson, to be “a forcing house, an irritant in the social body that nevertheless [would] generate new kinds of national force and confidence” (p. 90) through the close intermingling of bodies. The women from both sides who were necessarily present during Rokumeikan performances of ballroom diplomacy “were the great equalizers of the show” (p. 98). As in the previous chapter by Pollack, the key

to this “exchange” is desire: “By possessing what Western men desired, [Japanese men] could enter into the Orbit of the West through identification: in possessing the desire of the other, they could assimilate the Other to the order of the Same” (pp. 98–99). The women involved were not, however, empowered agents so much as vehicles for the development of Japan: “The men were modernity’s subjects, women its objects, mirrors, satellites” (p. 101). Bryson next turns to representations of “the nude” (meaning, of course, naked women) in Western oil painting (*yōga*), which, like the *Rokumeikan*, were opportunities to display intimacy with European culture embodied in women’s languorous forms. The author argues that, on the one hand, the shared desire of painters (Japanese and European) working in studios from live female models produced an equalizing camaraderie among the artists as well as a “male-centered visuality” (114). On the other, exhibition of *yōga* advertised Japanese familiarity with Western culture as well as the centrality of “the modernizing male consciousness” (pp. 116–17).

Doris Croissant’s chapter, “Icons of Femininity: Japanese National Painting and the Paradox of Modernity,” examines the dilemma of the *nihonga* (Japanese picture) painter Tsuchida Bakusen (1887–1936) in his attempt to “revitalize native painting and subject matter” (p. 119). Although Tsuchida was committed to native traditions of painting, he was also inspired by the work of modernist painters such as Paul Cézanne and Paul Gauguin, particularly the latter’s Primitivist paintings of Tahitian women. Edo-period *ukiyo-e* representations of beautiful women (*bijinga*) seemed to present one potential model for an exploration of “pure art,” but the sociopolitical climate of the day required that *nihonga* images be cleansed of any hint of eroticism. As Croissant concludes, “Bakusen’s icons of Japanese womanhood encoded the sanctimonious message that imperial Japan had successfully withstood the temptations of modernity as it kept its art and its women in a pristine condition” (p. 139).

Kim Hyeshin explores the implications of Japanese colonial dominance in the development of the modern field of art in Korea in “Images of Women in National Art Exhibitions during the Korean Colonial Period.” From 1922 to 1944, the state-controlled exhibition nicknamed Sonjon — modeled after the Imperial Art Institute Exhibition in Japan — “controlled all initiatives in the Korean art world” (p. 141). The author argues that analysis of the art selected for this exhibition (particularly paintings depicting women) allows “‘colonized Choson’ to be seen” (p. 142). She somewhat perfunctorily examines recurring themes such as women who appear to be tired or asleep, women taking care of children, women in rural and natural settings, and women engaged in pro-Japanese acts. The introduction and conclusion to this essay are compelling, but the consideration of the paintings is brief and unsatisfactory. Kim argues that the paintings introduced here “function

as a metaphor for the twisted form of orientalism that Japan planted in the soil of the colonies" (p. 153); hopefully, more of her research will become available in English so that this and her other arguments can be substantiated more completely.

Chigusa Kimura-Stevens's chapter, "The Otherness of Women in the Avant-Garde Film *Woman in the Dunes*," focuses on the connection between Surrealism and the depiction of the unconscious desires of Niki, the male protagonist. She disputes the common contention that Niki is a prisoner in the sandpit. Her analysis of dialogue, imagery, shots, and angles allows her to argue that the village in the dunes instead represents a kind of Surrealist utopia. Niki's goals are to escape his "nagging" wife, to "regain his full virility" (p. 159), and to become an important member of the community. The woman is not, as often described, his jailor, but is instead understood to be "sexually experienced and fertile, as well as having a nurturing quality" (p. 161), making her an ideal vehicle for him to realize his desires. The dunes, likewise, do not represent a prison but an opportunity for Niki the scientist to better the community by finding a way to collect water from the sand using a buried barrel labeled "Hope" (p. 173). This essay is a compelling example of interdisciplinary criticism of visual and literary texts with gender as the theoretical focal point.

The next chapter, "Gender in Contemporary Japanese Art" by Gunhild Borggreen, surveys developments in art production in the 1980s, as well as the work of more recent artists who reconsider gender and identity in their work. The author begins by examining the 1980s discourse of female art found in the "super girls of art" special issue of the magazine *Bijutsu techō*. Domestic materials and objects, "organic forms and things that grow," and "simplified biomorph patterns that are repeated and combined in color and shape" (p. 181) were, according to contemporaneous commentaries, the typical characteristics of the work of these "super girls." Several of the artists highlighted in this special issue, Borggreen informs us, continued to receive attention into the 1990s. Naitō Rei, for example, was praised for her womb-like textile pieces, not to mention the "feminine sensitivity or spirituality in the work" (p. 188). Particularly interesting is the gap that the author highlights between critical discourse about works by such women artists, in which connections to the female body or the domestic sphere were emphasized, and the more voluminous discourse about art by men (or rather, about art in general, with men as the primary subjects) in which similar themes and materials appear but without emphasis on the ostensible "feminine sensitivity" of the makers (p. 192). The author concludes by exploring the work of Yanagi Miwa, whose photographic work "can be seen as a critical comment ... on consumer culture in general" (p. 194) and particularly on female participation therein; and Moriumura Yasumasa, a photographer whose

work “can be interpreted not only in regard to gender relations, but also in regard to issues of ethnicity and power structures that are more complex than the simplistic dichotomy of West versus East seems to suggest” (p. 199).

The last essay in the volume, “Busty Battlin’ Babes: The Evolution of the *Shōjo* in 1990s Visual Culture” by Sharalyn Orbaugh, is mostly compelling but poorly linked to the rest of the volume. The central argument is that while female protagonists in *shōjo* (girls) *manga* and *anime* of this decade experienced a “steady progress in strength and autonomy,” this progress was tempered by 1) a seeming choice between either “libidinal activity or power and autonomy,” and 2) the fact that most of these characters were “cyborgs, androids, or aliens” rather than human females (p. 226). This core line of reasoning is well supported, but the essay’s overarching argument—that these female protagonists represent hybrid characters aimed as much at boys as at girls—is less persuasive. One problem is the author’s conviction that we need not distinguish in analysis of popular culture between “examples or audiences of North American or Japanese origin” (p. 203). Orbaugh’s opening anecdote (a discussion of Lara Croft, the heroine of the video game and movie series *Tomb Raider*) and her use of Carol Clover’s writings on American horror films would appear to be examples of this conviction in action. While it is undeniable that scholarship on transnational culture and hybridity has rendered problematic the tendency of Japanologists to focus strictly on the products and trends of the modern nation-state in isolation, Orbaugh’s approach would seem to efface the possibility of different manifestations of modernity. American and Japanese kids may play many of the same video games and watch some of the same films and television shows, but the author’s apparent willingness to dismiss local disparities in state control of culture, the relationship between consumption and identity politics, and corporate penetration of daily life is problematic. Second, the author’s explicit contention that boys identify with hybrid female *shōjo* characters “rather than the reverse” (p. 203) is contradicted by her own evidence. Orbaugh cites many examples of girls’ identifying with hybrid male characters, not the least of which is found in the genre of *yaoi* narratives briefly mentioned here but more thoroughly explored in English by scholars such as Sharon Kinsella, Midori Matsui, Mark McLelland, and Veruska Sabucco. Lastly, the author ultimately marshals no evidence that young men in Japan (or for that matter anywhere) actually “identify with the female characters in these 1990s hybrid narratives,” which is of course the social phenomenon the essay attempts to explain. Perhaps as a result of these three problems, the essay feels disengaged from the issue of *shunga* and the methodological problems posed by what Mostow called at the beginning of the anthology “pornographic production in modern Japan.”

The second volume under review, *The Artist as Professional in Japan*, is less

ambitious in its theoretical scope and therefore less exposed than *Gender and Power*. In her introductory essay, Melinda Takeuchi explains that the book originated in a College Art Association Meeting session in 1990 devoted to the “elephantine” topic of modes of artistic production in Japan (p. 2). She then turns to the discourse of “art” and “artist,” reviewing the basic assumptions she encounters in her classroom, some recent scholarly attempts to grapple with this terminology, and the dual influences of Chinese and Western rubrics of cultural production in the development of the discourse in Japan. Takeuchi closes by briefly sketching three “leitmotifs” that appear throughout the volume: origin myths, tradespeople, and canon formation. This is a short and readable chapter that could easily be assigned to undergraduates studying Japanese art.

The next essay, Donald McCallum’s “Tori-busshi and the Production of Buddhist Icons in Asuka-Period Japan,” synthesizes formal analysis of certain seventh-century Buddhist sculptures with a skeptical critique of scholars’ attempts to imagine the maker of the Horyūji Shaka Triad. Moving fluidly from stylistic comparisons to exegesis of a problematic inscription to criticism of Japanese historiographical denials of the Korean artisinal connection, the author ably dismantles the canonical understanding of the Shaka Triad as the product of a “hands-on sculptor.” McCallum’s argument that Tori-busshi was the well-connected supervisor of a diverse atelier represents an important challenge to the art-historical tendency to conceive of “artists” in premodern Japan as autonomous, individualistic geniuses. His focus on patronage, the role of guilds, and the network of sculptors that extended from the Japanese archipelago to the Korean peninsula is a much-needed correction to the “imperialist” position still dominant in the field (p. 34).

Karen Brock’s “E’ nichibō Jōnin, the Saint’s Companion” explores the tangled strands of attribution and hagiography that surround the figures of Jōnin, a thirteenth-century monk painter, his teacher Myōe, and the patron of Kōzanji temple. The central argument—that the characterization of Kōzanji as a kind of painting atelier with Myōe as its supervisor is anachronistic, and that certain famous works attributed to Jōnin, such as *Kegon Origin Tales*, are probably not his works—is compelling. However, Brock’s attempts to unravel every historical knot are unfortunately not always transparent to readers. To cite one small example, the author makes reference to the *Gangyō* and the *Gishō* scrolls (p. 45) before they have been introduced to readers. Only four pages later do we learn that *Tales of Gishō and Gangyō* is another name for *Kegon Origin Tales* (p. 49). An initiate to the scholarship of esoteric Buddhism and its associated arts would no doubt be unperturbed in the face of such irregularities, but for a general reader they render the essay opaque. This is a pity, because Brock’s meticulous effort to take apart the orthodox understanding of Jōnin’s works as “masterpieces of Japanese painting” (p. 77)

and her analysis of the economic and social context for the production of “true reflections of Saint Myōe” (p. 77) deserve to be read even by those outside the narrow field of early medieval Buddhist painting.

The next chapter, Melinda Takeuchi’s “Signed, Sealed, and Delivered: Tosa Mitsunobu (1434–ca. 1523) and the Afterlife of a Name” begins on a very different note than either McCallum’s or Brock’s essays. The epigraph is by Pierre Bourdieu and the first citation is to Jacques Derrida’s *On the Name*, telling us from the outset that we are on new methodological ground. Takeuchi’s subject is the elusive painter Tosa Mitsunobu, a sixteenth-century artist who has been connected to a changing body of work at different historical moments: “the screens stood mute while Mitsunobu’s name was made by others to speak for them, thus binding the objects with an authoritative—if fictitious—medieval workshop” (p. 79). This is, however, less an essay about “art” or “artist” than an exploration of the instrumentality of the myth of Mitsunobu in the Edo period. Many issues remain unresolved. For example, I could not help but wonder about the meaning of Takeuchi’s title, which comes, of course, from the old honky-tonk song penned by Cowboy Copas in the 1940s and then made famous in a very different version by Stevie Wonder in the 1970s. Is the author’s disconnected use of a lyric from American popular music meant to remind us of how painting workshops and collectors in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Japan reinvented Mitsunobu for their own purposes? Ironically, considering the fact that Takeuchi’s interest is in how “the name of an artist transcends time, space, materiality, and ultimately discourse itself” (p. 102), the names of the artists who penned the song that she appropriates in her title are effaced from this otherwise interesting essay.

At just ten pages, Louise Allison Cort’s “A Tosa Potter in Edo” is the shortest essay in the volume. Despite its brevity, it accomplishes something none of the other chapters attempts: it considers a historical figure who is not today included in the canon of important Japanese “artists,” an aspect of the history of art-making as profession that certainly merits our attention. Cort tracks Morita Kyūemon, a samurai trained as a potter, as he traveled from Shikoku to Edo via Osaka and Kyoto on a mission to develop a high-quality, exportable ware that would strengthen the economy of his home domain of Tosa. Kyūemon emerges as a “rustic potter” trying to master both the styles of the big cities and the more mercurial art of connoisseurship (p. 108) in a landscape of proud daimyo-sponsored kilns and innovative commercial kilns. He also hoped to network with potential customers, and to this end gave workshops in Edo, which Cort compellingly labels “pottery making as performance” (p. 110). At one of these events, the guest-of-honor, the Great Elder Sakai Tadakiyo, praised Kyūemon as “handsome, intelligent, and so neatly dressed that he does not resemble an artisan” (p. 110). On his

return to Tosa, Kyūemon brought clay, paper designs, and a wealth of new ideas, but the kiln never thrived as had been hoped. Cort's essay thus reminds us that the history of "art" is built not only on "the afterlife of a name," as Takeuchi styled it, but on the unacknowledged work of countless professional artists whose identities and in some cases works did not survive the curatorial culling of history.

"Artistic Identity and Ukiyo-e Prints: The Representation of Kitagawa Utamaro to the Edo Public," by Julie Nelson Davis, suggests an alternative reading of the career of one of Japan's most famous *ukiyo-e* masters. The author argues that the modern perception of Utamaro as an artist with great natural talent who painted from direct observation represents a marketing triumph for his contemporaneous publisher, Tsutaya Jūzaburo. Davis analyzes prints attributed to Utamaro with particular attention to how they were framed—through their composition and presentation—to advertise certain paradigmatic qualities of the artist. Imagery and text in Utamaro prints frequently characterized him "as a master of the arts of the brush and of sex" (p. 131), as a physiognomist, and as one who set artistic standards in Edo. The author does not claim that we have the historical resources needed to adjudicate these claims. Instead, this impressive essay—which manages to integrate stylistic analysis with references to Roland Barthes—illuminates the striking degree to which "these prints partook in the cultural construction of the 'artist,' his subjects, and his audiences" (p. 150).

Christine M. E. Guth's "Takamura Kōun and Takamura Kōtarō: On Being a Sculptor" examines the shift in the sculptor's position "from nonliterate craftsman to intellectual artiste," from makers of "contextualized devotional icons to decorative objects for domestic and international consumption and then to fine art sculpture" (p. 152). More than any other chapter in the volume, this essay grapples directly with the variable nature of the "artist" as a professional. Takamura Kōun (1852–1934) began his career as a *shokumin*, a typical Edo period craftsman, but gradually adopted modern techniques and followed Western trends that irrupted in Meiji and Taishō Japan. Kōun learned to carve sculptures from life and have them cast in bronze; he exhibited his work at such national and global festivals of modernity as the Domestic Industrial Expositions and the International Expositions; and he led a studio as a professor at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. His son Kōtarō (1883–1956), by contrast, fell in love with oil painting and learned to make sculptures by modeling in clay. His travels in the United States and Europe, and his embrace of Auguste Rodin in particular, led him to reject the commercialism, respect for titles, and participation in "government-sponsored competitive exhibitions" (p. 175) that, he claimed, made his father "a craftsman, not a sculptor" (p. 178). This piece is essential reading for any student of the interplay between art and modernity, though I feel that Guth's conclusion somewhat disregards the literal

and metaphorical violence of Japan's colonization by Enlightenment-era notions of culture and artistic value.

The final essay in the volume, Jonathan M. Reynolds's "The Formation of a Japanese Architectural Profession," examines the Meiji-period emergence of the architect as a figure who navigated the ill-defined territory between artist and engineer. The author begins by reviewing the influence of Western architecture on Japanese building in the mid-nineteenth century. He then turns to government support of Western architecture for both pragmatic and ideological reasons in the 1870s and 1880s, concomitant with the institutionalization and professionalization of architecture in the same period. He concludes by introducing two professionals who exemplify debates within the field. Itō Chūta (1867–1954) was a member of the generation of architects, trained in the 1880s and 1890s, who demonstrated "a growing appreciation of Japan's architectural past" (p. 194) emerging from the broader trend of national self-confidence. Reynolds comments that "Itō's campaign to assert the primacy of aesthetics in architecture became intimately bound up with a commitment to Japan's architectural heritage" (195). I wonder if this would not be better understood instead as a typical late-Meiji attempt to imagine and appropriate the past in the particularly modern context of Japan's growing culture of nationalism and individualism? Reynolds contrasts Itō with Sano Riki (1880–1956), who studied the effects of the 1894 Tokyo Earthquake and the 1906 San Francisco Earthquake. Sano saw his role as "more engineer than artist" (p. 198), but like Itō, he defined himself and his profession in opposition to the "specter of the Great Powers and of their ever-increasing military strength" (p. 200).

The ending of this volume in the prewar period is somewhat unsatisfactory, due not to any weakness in the essays by Guth or Reynolds but simply to the fact that wartime, Occupation-era, and postwar developments need to be addressed as well. In her introduction, Takeuchi warns readers that the authors "set aside the unattainable goal of being comprehensive in favor of attempting to raise basic questions about what it meant (and still means) to be a Japanese artist" (p. 2). Both books serve as welcome provocation for our entire field to pay increased attention to the shifting relationships between representation and power in Japan's visual culture.

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Shahnama: The Visual Language of the Persian Book of Kings

Edited by Robert Hillenbrand. VARIE Occasional Papers II. 184 + xiv pages, bibliographies, index, 111 illustrations (62 color), 6 tables. London: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2004. \$99.95 hardcover

THE TWELVE PAPERS composing this volume derive from a conference convened at Edinburgh University in March 2001. In his preface, Robert Hillenbrand notes that this conference, “devoted exclusively to questions of art history,” is but one of several organized “under the wider remit of the Cambridge-Edinburgh *Shahnama* project.” The latter, a five-year project (1999–2004) generously funded by the British Academy’s Arts and Humanities Research Board, was jointly directed by Charles Melville and Robert Hillenbrand and also sponsored a database of illustrated *Shahnama* manuscripts and single folios. No less important than this ambitious project is another one based at Princeton University, established by Marianna Shreve Simpson and the late Jerome W. Clinton. It presently comprises a database of 277 images from five *Shahnama* manuscripts housed in the Firestone Library, Princeton University.¹ To these two initiatives may be added a third: the new edition of Firdawsi’s *Shahnama* (Book of Kings) currently in preparation by Djalal Khaleghi-Motlagh. Since 1987, five volumes (out of eight) have been published. The promise of these three initiatives is not only to generate a critical mass of interest in the *Shahnama* of Firdawsi, but also to provide crucial resources for scholars of the history of art and literature. Both the Cambridge-Edinburgh and Princeton projects have brought together specialists in literature and art history. Their cross-disciplinary aspect now establishes the possibility of tackling in an unprecedented way interactions and interrelations between text and image through the chief epic of Persian poetry.

Shahnama: The Visual Language of the Persian Book of Kings opens with an essay by Robert Hillenbrand in which he glosses the subject matters of the contributions and goes on to note that “It is no longer enough to answer the standard questions of who, what, where and when—questions that, rooted as they are in the evolution of Western art history, are inappropriately Eurocentric for an art forged in quite another culture” (p. 5). Later, he concludes: “The time-honoured focus on patronage, date, provenance and style is as relevant as ever, for it provides the basic building blocks for more elaborate investigations. But to a steadily increasing extent it is being supplemented by new approaches which can be sampled in this volume” (p. 7).

The “new approaches” evidenced in most of the volume’s essays, especially those focused on manuscripts, however, involve the application of codicology to well-known and less well-known objects. Essays by Jonathan Bloom, Sheila Blair, Elaine Wright and Tim Stanley all demonstrate the continued importance of physical analysis, whether of paper or the structure of the book, and the formal analysis of calligraphy and painting, to uncover the original constitution of an object and reveal changes made in later periods. These approaches, while hardly new—they have been applied with greater rigor and consistency in scholarship since the late

1980s—remain essential to the study of Islamic books given the forces of the art market beginning in the early 1900s.

From that time onward, manuscripts were frequently disassembled to enable dealers to maximize the profit of a given book by selling its multiple paintings as individual folios. Sheila Blair's contribution to the volume continues her research presented in earlier articles and in a book co-authored with Oleg Grabar on the Great Mongol *Shahnama* of the 1330s. Here she pays close attention to the manuscript's calligraphy, identifying hands datable to between the fourteenth and twentieth centuries. She also reviews recent arguments by Abolala Soudavar, who similarly analyzed the copyists' hands and proposed that each subject selected for illustration did double service by depicting a tale from the *Shahnama* that also resonated with an event from Mongol history.² Many of the challenges to art historians presented by the Great Mongol *Shahnama* today result from its disassembly by the Belgian dealer Georges Demotte in the early 1900s. Demotte also had many folios altered to prepare them for sale. Though these modern interventions are often the most dramatic and physically invasive, accounting for the many single-page paintings now held by private and public collections worldwide, earlier moments in the history of key objects are also considered. Thus, Jonathan Bloom discusses the papers of the Great Mongol *Shahnama* and the repairs and alterations made to the manuscript under the Qajar dynasty of nineteenth-century Iran.

The two essays by Blair and Bloom point to the fact that our knowledge of the Great Mongol *Shahnama* as a totality, as a bound manuscript, is still elusive. They offer a caveat to any attempt at an overarching interpretation of the factors that shaped the original illustrative program and how its illustrative cycle generated meaning for contemporary viewers. Moreover, while fifty-eight paintings from the manuscript are known to have survived into modern times, it remains unclear how they were fitted into the original text and how many paintings are missing. In earlier research, Blair adjusted the projected estimate—the likely total number of manuscript paintings—that she initially calculated in her study co-authored with Oleg Grabar.³ Making these projections seems to be an intractable problem. Since we do not possess the complete recension of the *Shahnama* copied in the Great Mongol *Shahnama*, and we know of no *Shahnama* from the period—either earlier or later—that matches any other line for line, on what grounds can one hypothesize the nature and scope of the text in a now dispersed manuscript? Grabar and Blair already in 1980 addressed the methodological problem of a mutating text and the same point is made again in Hillenbrand's edited volume (pp. 3 and 97). As Tim Stanley adroitly puts it, the project pursued by art historians in fact “runs entirely counter to the philological traditions canonised in the nineteenth century, which have focused all efforts on the establishment of an *Urtext*” (p. 97). This

phenomenon—the addition or removal of lines of poetry or even larger-scaled alterations of cycles within the *Shahnama*—calls for a wholly different mode of text-image analysis if one is to consider a whole book and not just single page after single page (meditations on the immediate relationship between a text and how its image sits inside it). A mode of treating the individual book as a whole—and not just the seemingly infinite single pages that will be scanned into the Cambridge-Edinburgh database—has yet to be conceptualized.

Elaine Wright's contribution considers two manuscripts containing Persian epics, including Firdawsi's *Shahnama*, now in the British Library, London, and the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. The two manuscripts were once bound together as a single textblock. Through a painstaking study of codicology (especially paper and calligraphy), she determines that paintings were added to the originally single manuscript several years after the dated colophon (1397). She thus redates a manuscript once thought to represent the bibliophilism of Timur, founder of the Timurid dynasty, to the early 1400s and the bibliophile activity of one of Timur's grandsons, possibly Iskandar Sultan. Though Wright presents her findings modestly, the implications of her discovery are clearly important for our understanding of Persian painting in the late 1300s and early 1400s and for reconstructing the chief lines of development in multiple bookmaking centers of Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia.

Tim Stanley's essay uses a related approach, presenting a sixteenth-century manuscript made in Shiraz through a detailed description that includes translations of later seals and notations added by Mughal owners. Stanley also reassesses the value of Grace Guest's work on the "Shiraz canon," whereby she attempted to explain proportional relationships between pictorial spaces in paintings in relation to the surface area of written text on each folio.⁴ An essay by M. Amin Mahdavi, who studies evidence of grid layouts in a sampling of Persian manuscripts in the British Library, pursues Guest's line of research.

Other contributions that focus on manuscripts include Marianna Shreve Simpson's review essay examining historiography during the 1900s. As a scholar who has made several important contributions to the study of the *Shahnama*, the formative phases of *Shahnama* illustration in books and *Shahnama* related subject-matter on portable objects, she offers many cogent and prescient observations. Her essay concludes with a superb bibliography. Ada Adamova, who has also devoted considerable energy to the study of the *Shahnama* in the early 1300s, turns her attention to the still intact "St. Petersburg *Shahnama*," dated 733/1333. She not only compares this manuscript to others produced for the Inju dynasty of the province of Fars (southwestern Iran) and identifies patterns of illustration across them, but helps to "recuperate" these manuscripts as objects worthy of art

NOTES

1. www.princeton.edu/~shahnama/
2. Abolala Soudavar, "The Saga of Abu-Sa'id Bahador Khan. The *Abusa'idname*," in *The Court of the Il-khans, 1290–1340*, ed. Julian Raby and Teresa Fitzherbert, *Oxford Studies in Islamic Art* 12 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 95–218.
3. Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980).
4. Grace Dunham Guest, *Shiraz Painting in the Sixteenth Century* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, 1949).
5. Marianna Shreve Simpson, "Narrative Allusion and Metaphor in the Decoration of Medieval Islamic Objects," in *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and Marianna Shreve Simpson, *Studies in the History of Art* 16 (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1985), 131–49.

historians' interest. For a long time, manuscripts produced under the Inju were regarded as sub-par artistically, and yet Adamova reveals the excitement of their drawing style and their frequently daring composition (relative to the four small *Shahnamas* of ca. 1300). She also suggests, though does not elaborate, possible interactions between the painted illustrations found in the Inju material and the small *Shahnamas* and other metropolitan Ilkhanid manuscripts from Tabriz.

The remaining four essays in the volume under review by Sylvia Auld, Avinoam Shalem, Ulrike al-Khamis and Godfrey Evans, and Jennifer Scarce take a wholly different tack. Rather than focusing on manuscript copies of Firdawsī's *Shahnama*, they each consider objects—metalwork, textiles, and relief sculptures—that employ *Shahnama*-related subject-matter in their visual programs and over a larger chronology that spans the fourteenth to nineteenth century. Although these are thoughtful and judiciously researched essays, careful studies of individual objects, they do not surpass in their methodological implications the essay published by Shreve Simpson in 1985.⁵ Already by that time, Simpson had identified the various vehicles—textual and oral—through which epic tales such as Firdawsī's *Shahnama* found life and cultural currency and the various ways that visual subject-matters could be related to a text, whether written down or recited from memory.

Shahnama: The Visual Language of the Persian Book of Kings contains much of interest and importance to students of Islamic history of art and literature. It may very well facilitate the "quantum leap forward" (p. 7) in the study of illustrated *Shahnamas* predicted by Robert Hillenbrand.

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Elegant Debts: The Social Art of Wen Zhengming, 1470–1559

By Craig Clunas. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004. 223 + xx pages, 98 illustrations (63 color). \$55.00, hardcover

I MAY AS WELL SAY IT at the outset: this is an outstanding book.

In all his work on Ming art and culture, Craig Clunas's object is to understand the realities of artistic practice obscured behind the layered scrims of later historical constructions and interpretations—all of them having the same object as his, of course, but often beginning with other assumptions, asking other questions, or drawing on other sources. These interpretive accretions have produced a picture of Ming art and artists, their motives and practices, about which Clunas is sharply skeptical. The question he poses here is meant to get to the heart of things: why does a Chinese literatus paint and write? Or, as he puts it, what has called these works into being? why does this body of objects exist at all?

The Suzhou gentleman Wen Zhengming serves as a case study for this inquiry. There are plenty of scrims to work through. Of good family and well connected, famous in his own day and continuously thereafter, Wen lived to a great age, painting and writing actively for seventy years. Generations of followers gave his style a long half-life; commentaries and biographical sketches abound in the later literature. Today he stands out in any course or exhibition on later Chinese art; he had a one-man show in Ann Arbor in 1976, and is the subject of many scholarly articles and books. Two earlier books by Clunas—*Superfluous Things* (1991) and *Fruitful Sites* (1996)—are concerned in good part with Wen and his family.

What called Wen Zhengming's works into being? The idea long held sway that the best Chinese artists were autonomous creative spirits, their works "heart-prints"—acts of self-expression and communication with kindred minds. That was, by and large, the party line; "My heart's criss-crossings give birth to bamboo and rock," Su Shi (1037–1101) famously said, a claim echoed again and again by later artists. Its limitations are thoroughly apparent to modern scholars who, focusing on historical contexts, find economic pressures, political agendas, and strategies of identity construction to be among the things that call works of art into being—the new (by now, not so new) party line.

Clunas' work is aligned with this new historicism, and vehemently rejects the notion of artistic autonomy. His explanation centers on reciprocity, acts of giving and receiving—the very bedrock of social relations in China, as declared of old in the *Li ji* ("If a gift goes and nothing comes in return, that is contrary to propriety"). "Going and coming," *wanglai*, propels the intercourse of which Wen Zhengming's works are a part; a large proportion of them were "done for someone, and on a specific occasion." Everyone knows this, but Clunas believes its implications have not been fully recognized. The very genesis of these objects, what called them into being, was to create or discharge obligations, initiate or sustain relationships (sometimes to close them) and give them material form.

Different categories of relationships call for different forms of social discourse. Taking an anthropological interest in these differences, Clunas structures his material around Wen's social networks. Each chapter takes as its frame of reference a field or set of relationships through which Wen's activities were focused, sorted in a rough chronology: family, teachers and patrons, and friends mainly from the first half of his life; clients, friends, pupils and younger contemporaries largely from the latter half; and, in play throughout his life, the fields of officialdom and of local or regional identity. Works made for the same individual are discussed together, hinting at the dynamics of specific relationships. Individuals connected to Wen in similar ways are grouped together, showing how he used his art to negotiate different hierarchies and categories of obligation. (Obligation, Clunas emphasizes, does not imply insincerity; social duties, codes of decorum, and the conventions of polite discourse need not be at odds with authentic feelings.) The book is beautifully illustrated with color reproductions of every extant painting or calligraphy that Clunas has been able to connect with Wen's social interactions throughout his life.

Along with this new way of thinking about Wen's oeuvre, Clunas has a new approach to defining its boundaries. He takes into consideration all the surviving traces of Wen's cultural productions: not only extant examples of his painting and calligraphy, but a large corpus of writings now available only in printed versions. The brush-written originals of these texts—poems, prefaces, letters, colophons, eulogies, funerary writings—were treasured objects; handed down in print they remain important vestiges of Wen's art, preserving the content if not the brushwork, for “there is no calligraphy without content.” (Clunas's interest is overridingly in “content,” a point I will return to below.) It seems a radical move, but woodblock copies of lost paintings are sometimes used to the same ends. The greater part of *Elegant Debts* is about Wen's art as preserved in print.

Clunas's chief source for Wen's recorded writings is Zhou Daozhen's *Wen Zhengming ji* (1987), a two-volume compilation containing about twice as much material as the *Futian ji* collection published by Wen's family shortly after his death. While some of the newly assembled writings may be spurious, Zhou's book makes available a wealth of new material, fleshing out many aspects of Wen's social activities; it also shows him to have had a wider range of acquaintances than we knew, including people important to him who are forgotten today. Following this greatly expanded paper trail, Clunas is able to describe the circumstances and purposes of Wen's art-making in unprecedented detail, reconstructing the nature and trajectory of his many relationships and the place of specific works within them.

The result is a thoroughly absorbing, impressively documented account, raising one arresting idea after another and laying many facile generalizations

to rest. Clunas points out, for instance, the multi-dimensional nature of many social interactions: patron /client roles generally rotated between the participants; groups of “friends” (the author’s quotation marks) could be more like what we call factions, clusters of allies; praise given could redound to the giver; distant kinships might have near claims. Delays in completing a promised work, spoken of in letters and colophons by Wen and many other artists—apologizing and explaining, pleading illness or overwork or some untoward event—need not indicate reluctance, as is often thought. They can be read as ways to extend and warm a relationship, slowing the process of exchange. The gaps in the original *Futian ji* exposed by Zhou Daozhen’s modern compilation are themselves food for thought: the *Futian ji* is a record of Wen’s social connections as he and his family wanted it known, so Clunas speculates that the dedicatees of excluded texts were people who did not make the cut. He assumes perhaps too readily that the omissions were intentional (the family is unlikely to have had copies of everything Wen sent out), but uses the possibility to telling effect in interpreting subtleties of social capital and image construction. These and any number of other acute observations make for a sharpened, complicated, and extremely interesting account of Wen’s cultural activities, and invite rethinking those of many artists, not only in the sixteenth century, who worked in comparable social contexts.

I have mentioned Clunas’s near-exclusive interest in the “content” of Wen’s cultural productions; setting questions of form and style aside, he is able to consider texts preserved in print on the same footing as originals. And he is really interested only in verbal material. The texts are fluently translated and their layered meanings interpreted with great finesse: the framing of a tomb inscription, for example, the implications of anecdotes mentioned, the choice of locutions, the degrees of deference expressed. No such analysis is brought to bear on Wen’s pictorial and calligraphic art—what Clunas calls the “appearance” or the “visual qualities of individual works,” distancing turns of phrase which suggest both discomfort and lack of interest. Discussion of appearances, he says, is best deferred until his primary question—“why does this body of objects exist at all?”—has been addressed. Only then can we ask, “And why does it look like *this*?”

Well, the conventional wisdom in art history is that the “visual qualities” of a painting—not just the texts inscribed on it—can help to answer the first question itself. What is going on in the picture, the style of brushwork, and details of composition are not neutral or coincidental; they were chosen. They contain information about the artist’s thinking, his relationship with the painting’s recipient, and other reasons for the work’s existence. Not always easy to interpret, to be sure, especially in the sometimes formalized conventions of mid-Ming painting, they are still evidence—authentic, contemporary relics. On a few occasions Clu-

nas takes the meanings in a painting's style or composition into account; the large majority of his illustrations, however, is provided basically for the reader's reference and virtually without comment.

Not that he does not speak of the materiality of these objects, their reality as things. It is not his intent, he says, to contextualize the works of Wen's brush in the usual way, as products of historical circumstances and social discourses within which they are framed (this is a "history of a social art," not a "social history of art"). He thinks of them as dynamic presences that generate as well as receive: "relations between agents, relations in which the work is embedded, illuminate the object, but ... equally the object enacts those social relations (p. 13)." They are context themselves, "as much ground as figure (p. 15)." A work from Wen's brush, given or commissioned, "makes the relationship, does not merely reflect it"; and scrolls as physical objects are players on the social scene, sustaining relationships over time. It is not easy to reconcile this conviction with the author's reluctance to engage directly with the works as objects; throughout his book, their very existence remains largely notional, an effect only partly mitigated by the illustrations.

And, I might add, in the "visual qualities" we can see what goes beyond *wanglai* in Wen's art: artistic autonomy (or whatever one wants to call it) after all. Run-of-the-mill calligraphy would have served to negotiate Wen's social world, and he didn't need to paint at all. He must have liked to. The pleasure of making images and working with the brush, the flow of visual thinking was part of what called his works into being, and the people who received them knew it. If reciprocity is the proximate cause, it is not the whole answer to Clunas's big question. But of course a great deal has already been written about the "autonomous" aspects of Wen's art. Reciprocity is an overlooked part of the equation, and one whose importance we can no longer doubt.

The concluding chapter of the book traces Wen's posthumous reputation and the emergence of the "myth" of him as an artist, a free agent—the steps whereby the products of his archetypically social art came to be seen as free acts of self-expression. Over time, Clunas shows, Wen's biographies make less and less mention of his social connections. First to go among his associates are those without enduring reputations, leaving him in highly select company, one of the Olympians—whose ranks, in turn, are gradually thinned as more emphasis is placed on his stand-alone personal virtues and traits. The construction of his identity over time is described as a process of "occlusion" or falling-away of many roles, in contrast to the familiar model of accretion or "superscription." *Elegant Debts* goes a very long way toward restoring what has fallen away. Clunas reminds the reader that his book is just another construction of Wen for our times, but it is one that will put the study of later literati art on a new footing and enrich and energize the

field at large: as a work of outstanding scholarship, a source of much new material, a model of theoretically grounded, self-aware thinking, and a gold mine of provocative ideas and questions about social art in China.

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